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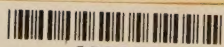
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HANSARD'S  
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.

THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

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47<sup>o</sup> VICTORIÆ, 1884.

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VOL. CCLXXXVI.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM  
THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF MARCH, 1884,  
TO  
THE SEVENTH DAY OF APRIL, 1884.

---

Third Volume of the Session.

---

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## MOTIONS.

—o—

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—o—

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed,  
“That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:”—

NAVY—MARINE ARTILLERY AND INFANTRY—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into and report upon the expenditure incurred for the professional training and technical instruction of the Officers of the Royal Marine Artillery and Royal Marine Light Infantry, the position these Officers occupy, and the duties they perform, both afloat and ashore, when serving under the Naval Discipline Act, and further to inquire and report whether the administration of the Royal Marine Forces adequately provides for the due representation of their special interests, and sufficiently secures economy and efficiency of the public service,”—(*Viscount Lewisham*) .. 314

After short debate, Question put:—The House divided; Ayes 63, Noes 36; Majority 27.—(Div. List, No. 47.)

Main Question, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,” again proposed:—

NAVAL DISCIPLINE ACT, 1866—PUNISHMENTS IN THE NAVY—Observations, Sir Frederick Milner:—Short debate thereon .. 330

NAVY—STATE OF THE NAVY—THE ARMOUR-CLAD NAVY—Observations, Sir John Hay:—Debate thereon .. 336

Main Question, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,” put, and agreed to.

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| (1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That 56,950 men and boys be employed for the Sea and Coast Guard Services for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, including 12,400 Royal Marines,"—( <i>Mr. Campbell-Bannerman</i> ) ..                                           | 362         |
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| (2.) £2,671,800, Wages, &c. to Seamen and Marines.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |             |
| (3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,531,050, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, viz.:— .. .. ." | 387         |
| [Then the several Services are set forth.]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |             |
| Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a sum, not exceeding £3,530,550, be granted, &c.,"—( <i>Mr. Arthur Arnold</i> ):—After short debate, Question put:—The Committee divided; Ayes 43, Noes 85; Majority 42.—( <i>Div. List, No. 48.</i> )                                       |             |
| Original Question again proposed .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 403         |
| After short debate, Original Question put, and agreed to.                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |             |
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## WAYS AND MEANS—

*Considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the Service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, the sum of £10,432,850 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock; Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

|                                                                                                                                                                  |        |
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| Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order Bill—Ordered ( <i>Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain</i> ); presented, and read the first time [Bill 142] ..          | 412    |
| Life Leaseholders Enfranchisement Bill—Ordered ( <i>Mr. Charles Ross, Sir Edmund Leachmere, Mr. Puleston</i> ); presented, and read the first time [Bill 143] .. | 412    |
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### PRIVATE BILLS—

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### *London, Reigate, and Brighton Railway Bill—*

*Moved*, "That the Examiners' Certificate be referred back to the Standing Orders Committee,"—(*The Earl Cadogan*) .. 413

After short debate, on Question? *Resolved* in the negative.

### SUNDAY OPENING OF NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES—RESOLUTION—

*Moved*, "That, in the opinion of this House, the time has now come to afford to the working classes of London the opportunity of visiting, on Sunday afternoons, such of the national collections of books, natural history objects, and of works of art of an elevating character, as may from time to time be sanctioned for Sunday opening by the President, in Council, and thus give to the working classes of London opportunities for recreation and instruction equal to those enjoyed by the working classes of Birmingham, Manchester, Middlesboro', Newcastle-on-Tyne, Wigan, Stoke-on-Trent, Dublin, &c.,"—(*The Lord Thurlow*) .. 419

### Amendment moved,

To leave out all the words after ("That") and insert ("inasmuch as a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Institutions have reported, on the 27th of March 1860, that such institutions as the British Museum and the National Gallery should be opened on week-day evenings to the public between the hours of seven and ten in the evening at least three days in the week, this House is of opinion that the time has arrived when this recommendation should be carried out,")—(*The Earl of Shaftesbury.*)



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*Resolved in the negative.*

*Moved* to resolve, "That inasmuch as a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Institutions have reported, on the 27th of March 1860, that such institutions as the British Museum and the National Gallery should be opened on week-day evenings to the public between the hours of seven and ten in the evening at least three days in the week, this House is of opinion that the time has arrived when this recommendation should be carried out,"—(*The Earl of Shaftesbury.*)

After short debate, on Question? *Resolved in the negative.*

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| After debate, Question put, and agreed to :—Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday next.                                                                                                                                                                                                        |         |     |
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| Ordered, That the Resolutions which, upon the 18th day of this instant March, were reported from the Committee of Supply, and then agreed to by the House, be read.                                                                                                                                        |         |     |
| Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to provide, during Twelve Months, for the Discipline and Regulation of the Army, and that <i>The Marquess of Hartington, The Judge Advocate, and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman</i> , do prepare and bring it in; presented, and read the first time [ Bill 144. ] |         |     |
| WAYS AND MEANS—REPORT—Resolutions [ 18th March ] reported, and agreed to.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |         |     |
| Instruction to the Committee on the Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill, That they have power to make provision therein pursuant to the said Resolution.                                                                                                                                                        |         |     |
| Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) Bill—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |         |     |
| Order for Committee read :— <i>Moved</i> , “ That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,”—( <i>Mr. Trevelyan</i> )                                                                                                                                                                                            | .. .. . | 498 |
| <i>Moved</i> , “ That the Debate be now adjourned,”—( <i>Mr. Plunket</i> : )—After short debate, Question put :—The House divided; Ayes 67, Noes 127; Majority 60.—( <i>Div. List, No. 49.</i> )                                                                                                           |         |     |
| It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till <i>To-morrow</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         |     |
| The House suspended its Sitting at five minutes to Seven of the clock.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |         |     |
| The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |         |     |

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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| SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, “ That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair : ”—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |         |     |
| BISHOPS (HOUSE OF PEERS)—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,<br>To leave out from the word “ That ” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “ the legislative power of Bishops in the House of Peers in Parliament is a great hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by Bill,”—( <i>Mr. Willis</i> ),—instead thereof | .. .. . | 501 |
| Question proposed, “ That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question : ”—After debate, Question put :—The House divided; Ayes 148, Noes 137; Majority 11.                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |         |     |
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| <b>Superannuation Bill</b> —Ordered (Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Courtney); <i>presented</i> , and read the first time [Bill 146] ..                  | 557     |
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| <b>ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS—HOUSE PROPERTY IN SOUTHWARK—MOTION FOR A PAPER—</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |        |
| <i>Moved</i> for, “Copy of the Report of the Select Committee of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, recently presented to the Board in reference to certain house property in Southwark,”—( <i>The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury</i> ) ..                                                                                                              | 557    |
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| <b>WEST INDIES—THE WINDWARD ISLANDS—REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION—Question, Lord Balfour; Answer, The Earl of Derby</b> ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 560    |
| <b>METROPOLIS—HYDE PARK CORNER—THE SITE FOR THE WELLINGTON STATUE—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |        |
| <i>Moved</i> , “That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that the equestrian statue of the late Duke of Wellington may not be removed from London, but replaced in the vicinity of Apsley House on a site not less appropriate than that from which it has been taken,”—( <i>The Lord Stratheden and Campbell</i> ) .. | 561    |
| After short debate, on Question? their Lordships <i>divided</i> ; Contents 20, Not-Contents 26; Majority 6.— <i>Resolved</i> in the <i>negative</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                 |        |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | [6.0.] |

## COMMONS, MONDAY, MARCH 24.

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| <b>Cork Butter Market Bill—</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |     |
| <i>Moved</i> , “That it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Cork Butter Market Bill that they do provide that the Butter Inspectors shall not be accompanied by, or interfered with by, any Butter Merchant or Broker, or other person, save and excepting the officials of the Market, during their inspection, and that the Trustees do frame by-laws to protect the Inspectors from all pressure and undue influence in the discharge of their duty,”—( <i>Mr. Moore</i> ) .. | 574 |
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## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Representation of the People Bill—[Bill 119]—SECOND READING  
[FIRST NIGHT]

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*) .. .. 619

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*Representation of the People Bill*—continued.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House declines to proceed further with a measure, having for its object the addition of two million voters to the electoral body of the United Kingdom, until it has before it the entire scheme contemplated by the Government for the amendment of the Representation of the People,"—(*Lord John Manners*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Raikes*,)—put, and *agreed to*:—Debate adjourned till Thursday.

**Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill** [*Lords*] [Bill 120]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That the Committee on the said Bill be deferred till To-morrow, at Two of the clock" .. .. 712  
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*.

**Isle of Man Harbours Bill** [Bill 138]—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. J. Holms*) .. 713  
After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and committed for Thursday.

**Real Assets Administration Bill** [Bill 98]—

Bill considered in Committee [*Progress 19th March*] .. .. 713  
After short time spent therein, Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Monday next.

## MOTIONS.

—o—

**ENDOWED SCHOOLS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—CAM SCHOOL—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—**

*Moved*, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to withhold Her consent from Sections 28, 32, 33, and 34 of the Scheme now lying upon the Table for the future management of the Charity known as the School founded by Francis Hepton, in the parish of Cam,"—(*Colonel Kingscote*) .. 718  
After debate, Question put:—The House divided; Ayes 49, Noes 53; Majority 4.—(*Div. List, No. 51.*)

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (Alton-Barnes, &c.) Bill—**  
*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*); presented, and read the first time [Bill 147] .. .. 734

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) (Bovey-Tracey, &c.) Bill—**  
*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*); presented, and read the first time [Bill 148] .. .. 734

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 3) (Ashill, &c.) Bill—**  
*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*); presented, and read the first time [Bill 149] .. .. 734

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) (Belchalwell, &c.) Bill—**  
*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*); presented, and read the first time [Bill 150] .. .. 734

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 5) (Acton, &c.) Bill—**  
*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*); presented, and read the first time [Bill 151] .. .. 734

**Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 6) (Ashen, &c.) Bill—**  
*Ordered* (*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*); presented, and read the first time [Bill 152] .. .. 734



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| Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 8) (Abergwilly, &c.) Bill—Ordered (Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke); presented, and read the first time [Bill 154] | 734     |
| Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment Bill—Ordered (Sir Richard Cross, Mr. Hinde Palmer); presented, and read the first time [Bill 155]                              | 734     |
| Land (Perpetual Grants) Bill—Ordered (Sir John Jenkins, Mr. Powell); presented, and read the first time [Bill 156]                                                           | 734     |
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## LORDS, TUESDAY, MARCH 25.

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| PARLIAMENT—THE ADJOURNMENT FOR THE EASTER RECESS—Question, The Earl of Redesdale; Answer, Earl Granville | 735 |
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### Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill—

Read 1<sup>a</sup>; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> on Thursday next (*The Earl Granville*); and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered on Thursday next in order to its being dispensed with: [5.15.]

## COMMONS, TUESDAY, MARCH 25.

### QUESTIONS.

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| LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. M'CORKELL, CROWN PROSECUTOR FOR TYRONE—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan                                                            | 736 |
| POOR RATES—RAILWAY BOOK-STALLS—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. George Russell                                                                                             | 736 |
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| POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS AT ANNAKISSY, MALLOW—INTIMIDATION BY A LANDLORD—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan                                      | 741 |
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| LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—CORK DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUM—DISPOSAL OF DECEASED PATIENTS—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; [No reply] | 742 |
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## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

### Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill—

*Moved*, “That the Bill be now read the third time :”—

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE EASTERN SOUDAN)—POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “this House is of opinion that it would be inexpedient to assent to the Third Reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill before receiving further information as to the Military operations in the Eastern Soudan, the position of General Gordon at Khartoum, and the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt proper,”—(*Lord Randolph Churchill*)—instead thereof ..

752

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :”—After debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question put, and *agreed to* :—Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with a New Title.

### Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 120]—

Order for Committee read :—*Moved*, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,”—(*Mr. Dodson*) ..

782

After debate, it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

MADAGASCAR—PROTECTION TO BRITISH INTERESTS AND SUBJECTS—Observations, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett ..

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[House counted out.] [9.25.]

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26.

## QUESTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—EVENING SITTINGS—THE “COUNT-OUT”—“KEEPING A HOUSE”—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington ..

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## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

### Patent Medicines Bill [Bill 9]—

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| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—( <i>Mr. Warton</i> ) .. ..                                                                                 | 801 |
| Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of<br>the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—( <i>Mr.</i><br><i>W. H. James.</i> ) |     |
| Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question :"<br>—After short debate, Question put, and <i>negatived</i> .                                    |     |
| Words <i>added</i> :—Main Question, as amended, put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Second<br>Reading <i>put off</i> for six months.                                          |     |

### Infants Bill [Bill 14]—

|                                                                                                                                                                                                     |     |
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| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—( <i>Mr. Hopwood</i> ) .. ..                                                                                                              | 811 |
| Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of<br>the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—( <i>Mr.</i><br><i>Ince.</i> )                                      |     |
| Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question :"<br>—After debate, Question put :—The House <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 208, Noes<br>73; Majority 135.—( <i>Div. List, No. 52.</i> ) |     |
| Main Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill read a second time, and <i>com-</i><br><i>mitted for Monday 7th April.</i>                                                                           |     |

### Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill [Bill 50]

|                                                                                                                                            |     |
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| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Order for the Second Reading be discharged, and that<br>the Bill be withdrawn,"—( <i>Mr. Broadhurst</i> ) .. .. . | 842 |
| After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> :—Second Reading <i>de-</i><br><i>ferred till To-morrow.</i>                        |     |

### REVISION OF VOTERS AND JURORS LISTS (DUBLIN COUNTY) [SALARY]—

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### Waterworks Rating Bill—Ordered (*Mr. Dodds, Mr. Barran, Mr. Jackson, Mr. North-* *cote, Mr. Coddington*) ; *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 158] .. .. .

[5.55.]

## LORDS, THURSDAY, MARCH 27.

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| Colonial Prisoners Removal Bill [H.L.]— <i>Presented</i> ( <i>The Earl of Derby</i> ) ; read 1 <sup>a</sup><br>(No. 44) .. .. .                                        | 855 |
| Criminal Law Amendment Bill [H.L.]— <i>Presented</i> ( <i>The Earl of Dalhousie</i> ) ; read 1 <sup>a</sup><br>(No. 45) .. .. .                                        | 855 |



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## Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill

Read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order); Committee *negatived*: Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with*: Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and *passed*.  
[6.0.]

COMMONS, THURSDAY, MARCH 27.

## QUESTIONS.

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| Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [24th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate resumed .. .. . | 893 |
| After long debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(Mr. W. E. Forster :)—After further short debate, Motion agreed to :—Debate further adjourned till To-morrow.                                                                       |     |
| Army Annual Bill [Bill 144]—                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |     |
| Order for Second Reading read .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 979 |
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| <i>Moved</i> , "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for copies or extracts of any recent correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor of the Mauritius on ecclesiastical and educational questions,"—(The Earl of Carnarvon) .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 1001 |
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## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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| SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |      |
| LOCAL TAXATION—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,<br>To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, while ready to entertain any necessary reforms in local administration, deprecates the postponement of further measures of relief acknowledged to be due to ratepayers in counties and boroughs in respect of local charges imposed on them for National services,"—( <i>Mr. Pell</i> )—instead thereof .. .. . | 1023 |
| Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House divided; Ayes 197, Noes 208; Majority 11.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |      |
| Division List, Ayes and Noes .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 1102 |
| Words added:—Main Question, as amended, put, and <i>agreed to</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |
| Representation of the People Bill [Bill 119]—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |      |
| Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [24th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |      |
| —Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question" .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 1105 |
| After short debate, Debate <i>further adjourned till Monday next</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |      |
| Army (Annual) Bill [Bill 144]—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |      |
| Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—( <i>The Judge Advocate General</i> ) .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 1108 |
| After short debate, Motion <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill read a second time, and <i>committed for Thursday next</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |      |

## MOTIONS.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |      |
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| COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL—RESOLUTION—NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |      |
| Moved, "That all Petitions against the Bill, presented not less than three clear days before the sitting of the Committee, be referred to the Committee, and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, Agents, or Witnesses, be heard upon their Petitions, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bill against such Petitions,"—( <i>Mr. Halsey</i> ) .. .. . | 1114 |
| After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |      |
| Moved, "That the Committee do consist of Thirteen Members,"—( <i>Mr. Waugh</i> ):—Motion <i>agreed to</i> :—List of the Committee .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 1117 |
| ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY [ADDITIONAL OFFICERS, SALARIES, &c.]—RESOLUTION—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |      |
| Committee to consider of empowering the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to appoint certain additional Officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and of authorising the payment of their Salaries and Allowances out of moneys to be provided by Parliament ( <i>Queen's Recommendation signified</i> ), upon <i>Monday next</i> .                                                                                       |      |
| After short debate, Resolution <i>agreed to</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |      |

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| <b>Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment Bill</b> — <i>Ordered</i> (Mr. Torrens, Mr. Slater-Booth, Mr. Arthur Cohen, Mr. Ritchie); <i>presented</i> , and read the first time [Bill 159] .. .. . | 1118        |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                    | [1.30.]     |

## LORDS, MONDAY, MARCH 31.

### HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF ALBANY—ADDRESS OF CONDOLENCE TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN—

*Moved*, “That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to express the deep concern of this House at the great loss which Her Majesty has sustained by the death of His Royal Highness Prince Leopold George Duncan Albert, fourth son of Her Majesty the Queen, and to condole with Her Majesty on this melancholy occasion :

“To assure Her Majesty that this House will ever feel the warmest interest in whatever concerns Her Majesty’s domestic relations; and to declare the ardent wishes of this House for the happiness of Her Majesty, and of Her family,”—(*The Earl Granville*) 1118

After short debate, on Question, *agreed to nemine dissentiente*.

*Ordered*, That the said Address be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

### HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF ALBANY—ADDRESS OF CONDOLENCE TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS OF ALBANY—

*Moved* to resolve, “That this House do condole with Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany on the loss which she has sustained by the death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Albany,”—(*The Earl Granville*) .. .. .

On Question, *agreed to nemine dissentiente*. 1121

*Ordered*, That a message of condolence be sent to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany, and that the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Bedford do attend Her Royal Highness with the said message.

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EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE MAHDI—Question, Observations, Lord Colchester; Reply, Earl Granville .. .. . 1122

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF GENERAL GORDON—Question, Observations, Lord Strathnairn, The Marquess of Salisbury, Viscount Cranbrook; Reply, Earl Granville .. .. . 1124

### Medical Act Amendment Bill (No. 34)—

Order of the Day for Consideration of the Report of Amendments read. . 1127

After short debate, Amendments *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bill to be read 3<sup>d</sup> on *Thursday* next. [5.15.]

## COMMONS, MONDAY, MARCH 31.

### INDISPOSITION OF MR. SPEAKER—

Sir ARTHUR OTWAY, the Chairman of Ways and Means, took the Chair as Deputy Speaker, pursuant to the Standing Order .. .. . 1130

## PRIVATE BUSINESS.



### *London and South Western Railway Bill*—

Order for Second Reading read .. .. . 1130

After short debate, Bill read a second time, and *committed*.

### *Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.) Bill* (by Order)—

Bill, as amended, *considered* .. .. . 1130

After short debate, Bill to be read the third time,



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Letter received by Mr. Deputy Speaker from Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the Members for Northampton .. .. 1137

Moved, "That Mr. Bradlaugh be permitted to use the Library of this House, being otherwise subject to the Resolution of the 21st February."—(Sir Stafford Northcote.)

After short debate, Motion agreed to.

## QUESTIONS.

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| DEATH OF H.R.H. THE DUKE OF ALBANY—VOTE OF CONDOLENCE—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |      |
| Motion for an Address ( <i>Mr. Gladstone</i> ) .. ..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 1175 |
| After short debate, Motion agreed to.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |      |
| <i>Resolved, Nemine Contradicente</i> , That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to express the deep concern of this House at the great loss which Her Majesty has sustained by the death of His Royal Highness Prince Leopold George Duncan Albert, Duke of Albany, Fourth Son of Her Majesty the Queen, and to condole with Her Majesty on this melancholy occasion : |      |
| To assure Her Majesty that this House will ever feel the warmest interest in whatever concerns Her Majesty's domestic Relations ; and to declare the ardent wishes of this House for the happiness of Her Majesty and of Her Family.                                                                                                                                               |      |
| To be presented by Privy Councillors.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |      |
| <i>Resolved, Nemine Contradicente</i> , That this House do condole with Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany, on the great loss which she has sustained by the Death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Albany.                                                                                                                                                                 |      |
| <i>Ordered</i> , That a Message of Condolence be sent to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany, and that the Marquess of Stafford and the Earl of March do attend Her Royal Highness with the said Message.                                                                                                                                                                     |      |

## ORDER OF THE DAY.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                  |      |
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| Representation of the People Bill [Bill 119]—SECOND READING—                                                                                                                                     |      |
| [ADJOURNED DEBATE] [THIRD NIGHT]—                                                                                                                                                                |      |
| Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [24th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time : "                                                           |      |
| —Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question : "—Debate resumed ..                                                                               | 1181 |
| After long debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—( <i>Sir Michael Hicks-Beach</i> )—After further short debate, Motion agreed to :—Debate further adjourned till To-morrow. |      |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That this House do now adjourn,"—( <i>The Marquess of Hartington</i> ) :—Question put, and agreed to. [12.15.]                                                                   |      |

## LORDS, TUESDAY, APRIL 1.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |      |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment Bill (No. 43)—                                                                                                                                                                                   |      |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read 2 <sup>d</sup> ,"—( <i>The Earl of Dalhousie</i> ) ..                                                                                                                                     | 1252 |
| Motion agreed to :—Bill read 2 <sup>d</sup> accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Friday next.                                                                                                            |      |
| Isle of Man Harbours Bill (No. 47)—                                                                                                                                                                                                 |      |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read 2 <sup>d</sup> ,"—( <i>The Lord Sudeley</i> ) ..                                                                                                                                          | 1253 |
| Motion agreed to :—Bill read 2 <sup>d</sup> accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Thursday next.                                                                                                          |      |
| EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD—MOTION FOR A PAPER—                                                                                                                                                                    |      |
| <i>Moved</i> for, "Copy of the Memorial forwarded to the Education Department relative to the examination of young children in schools ; with the answer of the Education Department thereto,"—( <i>The Earl De La Warr</i> ) .. .. | 1254 |
| After short debate, Motion agreed to,                                                                                                                                                                                               |      |



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| THE NEW EDUCATION CODE—ARTICLE 107 B—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—<br><i>Moved</i> , “That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that after the word ‘Examination’ in Article 107 B. of the new Code of Regulations issued by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education the following words be added ‘but infants till they have attained the age of five years shall be exempted from examination in reading, writing, counting, and needlework,’”—( <i>The Earl De La Warr</i> ) .. .. . | 1256        |
| After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) <i>withdrawn</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | [5.45.]     |

## COMMONS, TUESDAY, APRIL 1.

### INDISPOSITION OF MR. SPEAKER—

|                                                                                                                           |      |
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| Sir ARTHUR OTWAY, the Chairman of Ways and Means, took the Chair as Deputy Speaker pursuant to the Standing Order .. .. . | 1264 |
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### QUESTIONS.

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| PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS ON WEDNESDAY—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. .. .                                                                             | 1288        |

## MOTION.

### NOTICES OF MOTIONS AND ORDERS OF THE DAY—MOTION FOR POSTPONEMENT—

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Order for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Second Reading of the Representation of the People Bill have precedence, this day, of all Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day,"—( <i>Mr. Gladstone</i> ).. .. . | 1288 |
| After debate, Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                           |      |

|                                                                                           |      |
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| LOCAL TAXATION (RESOLUTION OF 28TH MARCH)—Notice of Motion and Question, Mr. Peel .. .. . | 1303 |
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## ORDER OF THE DAY.

### Representation of the People Bill [Bill 119]—SECOND READING.—[ADJOURNED DEBATE] [FOURTH NIGHT]—

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [24th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time :"—Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :"—Debate <i>resumed</i> .. .. . | 1303 |
| After long debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—( <i>Mr. Marriott</i> :)—After further short debate, Question put, and <i>negatived</i> .                                                                                                    |      |
| Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :"—After further debate, Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned," put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Debate <i>further adjourned</i> till Thursday.     |      |

## MOTION.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                        |      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| <i>Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement) Bill</i>                                                                                                                      |      |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That Sir James McIvor-Hogg be a Member of the Select Committee on the Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement) Bill,"—( <i>Mr. Shaw Lefevre</i> ) .. .. . | 1360 |
| After short debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—( <i>Mr. Sturt</i> :)—After further debate, Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Debate <i>adjourned</i> till Thursday.         |      |

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| THE EDUCATION CODE—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |             |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, in respect to the Education Code now lying on the Table of this House, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that regulations shall be made so as to secure the following objects, that is to say :— |             |
| (1.) That scholars under seven years of age shall not be presented for examination individually, but by class;                                                                                                                                                                                   |             |
| (2.) That greater liberty than at present shall be given to managers and teachers to classify children according to their acquirements and abilities ;                                                                                                                                           |             |
| (3.) That a larger share of the Government Grant shall depend upon attendance, and a smaller upon individual examination,"—( <i>Mr. Stanley Leighton</i> )                                                                                                                                       | .. 1366     |
| After debate, Question put :—The House divided ; Ayes 135, Noes 184 ; Majority 49.—(Div. List, No. 54.)                                                                                                                                                                                          |             |
| Post Office Protection Bill—Ordered ( <i>Mr. Twycott, Mr. Courtney</i> ) ; presented, and read the first time [Bill 161]                                                                                                                                                                         | .. 1388     |
| ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY [ADDITIONAL OFFICERS, SALARIES, &C.]—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |             |
| Considered in Committee                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | .. 1388     |
| Resolution agreed to ; to be reported To-morrow.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | [1.30.]     |

## COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 2.

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| MR. SPEAKER'S INDISPOSITION—Observations, Mr. Speaker .. | .. 1389 |
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## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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| Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays Bill [Bill 11]—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |         |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—( <i>Mr. Stevenson</i> )                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | .. 1389 |
| Amendment proposed,                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |         |
| To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, whilst unable to concur in a proposal to close houses of refreshment during the whole of Sunday, is of opinion that the hours during which such houses are open on that day might be materially curtailed,"—( <i>Mr. John Talbot</i> )—instead thereof. |         |
| Question proposed. "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :"—After long debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till To-morrow.                                                                                                                                                |         |

## MOTIONS.

|                                                                                                                                                                                          |         |
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| Gas Provisional Orders Bill—Ordered ( <i>Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain</i> ) ; presented, and read the first time [Bill 162]                                                           | .. 1452 |
| Water Provisional Orders Bill—Ordered ( <i>Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain</i> ) ; presented, and read the first time [Bill 163]                                                         | .. 1452 |
| CHARITABLE TRUSTS ACTS—                                                                                                                                                                  |         |
| Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Select Committee on Charitable Trusts Acts to inquire into the working of "The Allotments Extension Act, 1882,"—( <i>Mr. Jesse Collings</i> .) |         |
| Public Health (Members and Officers) Bill—Ordered ( <i>Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Cowen, Mr. Long</i> ) ; presented, and read the first time [Bill 164]                                      | .. 1452 |
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Her Majesty's Answer to the Address [31st March] *reported* .. 1453

**Criminal Law Amendment Bill (No. 45)—**

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>,"—(*The Earl of Dalhousie*) .. 1453

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee,"—(*The Earl of Milltown*):—After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*:—Bill *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday the 29<sup>th</sup> instant.

**Medical Act Amendment Bill (No. 34)—**

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>a</sup>,"—(*The Lord President*) .. 1462

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 3<sup>a</sup> accordingly.

On Question, "That the Bill do pass?" Further Amendments *moved*, and *agreed to*:—Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—MOTION FOR A RETURN—

*Moved*, That there be laid before the House a Return of—

"(1.) The number of applications to fix judicial rents filed in the office of the Irish Land Commission Court (a) up to the last day of June 1883, and (b) during each of the nine months ending 31st March 1884;

"(2.) The number of judicial rents fixed by the sub-commissioners during each of the same months, giving the average percentage reduction of rent for each month;

"(3.) The number of applications remaining to be disposed of on the 31st March 1884,"—(*The Earl of Limerick*) .. .. . 1466

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*.

**Settled Land Bill [H.L.]—Presented** (*The Earl Cairns*); read 1<sup>a</sup> (No. 52) .. 1467

**Public Notaries Bill [H.L.]—Presented** (*The Lord Monson*); read 1<sup>a</sup> (No. 53) .. 1467

**Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (The Labourers Act) (Carrick-on-Suir) Bill [H.L.]—Presented** (*The Lord President*); read 1<sup>a</sup>, and referred to the Examiners (No. 54) .. .. . 1467

**Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Naas, &c.) Bill [H.L.]—Presented** (*The Lord President*); read 1<sup>a</sup>, and referred to the Examiners (No. 55) .. 1467  
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| PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—A FRIDAY'S SITTING—Question, Mr. McLaren; Answer, Mr. Gladstone ..                                                                                                                                                                    | 1508 |
| EGYPT—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Francis Buxton, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Sir Alexander Gordon, Baron Henry De Worms, Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, The Marquess of Hartington .. | 1509 |
| EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE SOUDAN)—VOTE OF THANKS TO GENERAL GRAHAM AND ADMIRAL HEWETT—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. Gladstone ..                                                                                                                           | 1523 |
| EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—SUPPLIES TO GENERAL GORDON—Questions, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, The Marquess of Hartington ..                                                                                                           | 1524 |
| PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAYS BILL—Question, Mr. Carbutt; Answer, Mr. Gladstone ..                                                                                                                                          | 1525 |
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| DEATH OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF ALBANY—Her Majesty's Answer to the Address [31st March] <i>reported</i> ..                                                                                                                                                     | 1525 |
| REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—DEBATE ON SECOND READING—Personal Explanation, Sir Robert Peel; Reply, Sir Charles W. Dilke ..                                                                                                                                       | 1525 |



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EGYPT—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT—NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—ADJOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE (RULE 2)—

*Moved*, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Sir Stafford Northcote*) .. 1526  
After debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Representation of the People Bill [Bill 119]—SECOND READING  
[ADJOURNED DEBATE] [FIFTH NIGHT]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [24th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—  
Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* .. 1551  
After long debate, Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Stuart-Wortley*.)—put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *further adjourned till Monday next*.

Army (Annual) Bill [Bill 144]—

Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,"—(*The Marquess of Hartington*) .. 1591  
*Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Parnell*.)—After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.  
Original Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *considered in Committee*:—Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

Trustee Churches (Ireland) Bill [*Lords*] [Bill 157]—

Bill *considered in Committee* .. 1595  
*Moved*, "That the Chairman do report the Bill to the House:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill *reported*, without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow*.

Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal, &c.) Bill [Bill 55]—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Hibbert*) .. 1596  
After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Second Reading *deferred till To-morrow*.

Summary Jurisdiction over Children (Ireland) Bill [Bill 75]—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Gibson*) .. 1597  
After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Parnell*.)—Question put, and *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned till To-morrow*.

## MOTIONS.

Land Improvement and Arterial Drainage (Ireland) Bill—

Motion for Leave (*Mr. Courtney*) .. 1599  
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill to consolidate and amend the Acts for facilitating the improvement of Landed Property, and for the drainage and improvement of lands in Ireland, *ordered* (*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Trevelyan*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 166.]

TURNPIKE ACTS CONTINUANCE ACT, 1883—APPOINTMENT AND NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE—

*Moved*, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Schedules of 'The Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1883:'"—Committee nominated:—List of the Committee .. 1599

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| TURNPIKE ACTS CONTINUANCE ACT, 1883— <i>continued.</i>                                                                                                                                  |             |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That the name of Lord Edward Cavendish be omitted from the said Committee,"—( <i>Colonel Nolan.</i> )                                                                   |             |
| After short debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn.</i>                                                                                                                                 |             |
| Original Question put, and <i>agreed to.</i>                                                                                                                                            |             |
| Board of Works (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill— <i>Ordered</i> ( <i>Mr. Courtney, Mr. Trevelyan</i> ): <i>presented</i> , and read the first time [Bill 165] .. .. .                             | 1604        |
| Burgh Police and Health (Scotland) Bill— <i>Ordered</i> ( <i>The Lord Advocate, Mr. Solicitor General for Scotland</i> ); <i>presented</i> , and read the first time [Bill 167] .. .. . | 1604        |
|                                                                                                                                                                                         | [1.30.]     |

## LORDS, FRIDAY, APRIL 4.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |         |
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| PRIVATE AND PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILLS—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |         |
| <i>Ordered</i> , That Standing Orders Nos. 92. and 93. be suspended; and that the time for depositing petitions praying to be heard against Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills, which would otherwise expire during the adjournment of the House at Easter, be extended to the first day on which the House shall sit after the recess .. .. . | 1604    |
| EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—KHARTOUM—Question, Observations, The Earl of Hardwicke: Reply, Earl Granville:—Debate thereon .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 1604    |
| RE-UNION OF AUSTRIA, GERMANY, AND RUSSIA—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |         |
| <i>Moved</i> , "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Copy of the diplomatic correspondence on the alleged re-union of Austria, Germany, and Russia,"—( <i>The Lord Stratheden and Campbell</i> ) .. .. .                                                                                                                                   | 1629    |
| After short debate, Motion (by leave of the House) <i>withdrawn.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |         |
| LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT. 1881—Notice of Question, The Duke of Argyll .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 1641    |
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## COMMONS, FRIDAY, APRIL 4.

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| EGYPT—DEFENCE OF THE NILE PROVINCES—Questions, Mr. Gourley; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington .. .. .                            | 1642 |
| INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND) ACT—CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT SUPERINTENDENTS—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. .. .    | 1643 |
| IRISH LAND COMMISSION—REDUCTION OF RENTS—Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. .. .                                       | 1643 |
| ENCUMBERED ESTATES COURT (IRELAND)—MR. GEORGE BOLTON—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. .. .                           | 1644 |
| PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—MAT MAKING—Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. .. .                                    | 1645 |
| LUNACY COMMISSIONERS—INSANE BRITISH SUBJECTS ABROAD—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. .. .               | 1645 |
| CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE—Questions, Mr. James Howard, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Dodson .. .. . | 1646 |
| AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENTS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES—DENMARK—Question, Mr. James Howard; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. .. .          | 1648 |
| PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND) ACT—MEDICAL OFFICERS OF HEALTH—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. .. .                   | 1648 |
| INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON PATENTS—Question, Mr. B. Samuelson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. .. .                            | 1649 |
| IRELAND—SUGO BOARD OF GUARDIANS—THE REV. THOMAS HEANY—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan .. .. .            | 1649 |

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| NAVY—OFFICERS OF THE ROYAL MARINES—Question, Captain Price; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                    | 1651 |
| INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—BRIDGES OVER THE SHANNON—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. .. .                                                                                                                                             | 1651 |
| PARLIAMENT—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS—Observations, Sir William Harcourt; Questions, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Gibson, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir William Harcourt, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. .. . | 1651 |
| LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (SCOTLAND)—SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND—Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. .. .                                                                                                                                    | 1654 |
| LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—A CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF POLICE—Question, Mr. Molloy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. .. .                                                                                                                                                      | 1654 |
| PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—COMPENSATION FOR MALICIOUS BURNING—MR. WALLER, J.P., MOYSTOWN—Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. .. .                                                                                                         | 1655 |
| THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. THOMAS DOWLING, CAPPATHWAITE—Question, Mr. Mayne; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. .. .                                                                                                                                                     | 1656 |
| CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE BALLYFARNON MURDER—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. .. .                                                                                                                                        | 1657 |
| POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ATHLONE BOARD OF GUARDIANS—ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan .. .. .                                                                                                                                            | 1658 |

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

IRELAND—CONSTITUTION OF THE MAGISTRACY—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the present condition of the Irish Magistracy, constituted, as shown by a Return now in the possession of the House, almost exclusively from one religious denomination and one class, is offensive and injurious to the vast majority of the Irish people, and is calculated to destroy all confidence in the ordinary administration of justice in Ireland,"—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy*),—instead thereof 1658

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question: "—After long debate, Question put:—The House divided; Ayes 106, Noes 59; Majority 47.—(*Div. List, No. 55.*)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," by leave, withdrawn:—SUPPLY,—Committee deferred till Monday next.

Army (Annual) Bill [Bill 144]—

Bill considered in Committee [*Progress 3rd April*] .. .. . 1739  
After long time spent therein, Bill reported; as amended, to be considered upon Tuesday next, at Two of the clock.

Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement) Bill

—Nomination of Select Committee [Adjourned Debate]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Nomination of Committee [1st April]:—Question again proposed:—Debate resumed .. 1777

Question put, and agreed to:—List of the Committee .. .. . 1778



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## Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act (1878) Amendment (No. 2) Bill [Bill 82]—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. James Howard*) 1778  
 After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Herbert Gladstone*;)—Question put:—The House divided; Ayes 28, Noes 10; Majority 18.—(Div. List, No. 59 :)—Debate adjourned till Monday next.

[House counted out.] [3.45.]

COMMONS, MONDAY, APRIL 7.

## QUESTIONS.

—o—

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| SCOTLAND—GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH—REPRESENTATIVE ELDERS—LEGISLATION—Questions, Mr. Dick-Peddie, Mr. Dalrymple; Answers, The Lord Advocate .. | 1779 |
| TRAMWAYS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES (IRELAND) ACT, 1883—CLAUSE 10—Questions, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Mr. Biggar; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan ..                                | 1780 |
| ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND—PROFESSOR ARMSTRONG'S CLASS—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan ..                                                          | 1781 |
| LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE RIOTS AT LONDONDERRY—TRIAL OF DOHERTY—THE JUDGE'S NOTES—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan ..                            | 1781 |
| THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ENNISKILLEN PETTY SESSIONS—CAPTAIN M'TERNAN—MEETING OF THE MAGISTRATES—Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan ..               | 1782 |
| POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, KILKEEL UNION, Co. DOWN—REJECTION OF VOTES—Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan ..                           | 1784 |
| BOARD OF INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND)—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan ..                                                                        | 1784 |
| LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—PETTY SESSIONS CLERKS—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan ..                                                        | 1786 |
| ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—MARRIED CONSTABLES—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan ..                                                            | 1786 |
| IRELAND—REGISTRY OF DEEDS OFFICE, DUBLIN—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Courtney ..                                                                | 1787 |
| LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—SITTINGS OF THE JUDGES—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland ..                                   | 1787 |
| POOR LAW (SCOTLAND)—MAINTENANCE OF PAUPER LUNATICS—DUMFRIES PAROCHIAL BOARDS—Question, Captain Maxwell-Heron; Answer, The Lord Advocate ..                     | 1788 |
| TURKEY IN ASIA—AMERICAN SCHOOLS IN ARMENIA—Questions, Mr. Bryce; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice ..                                                           | 1789 |
| CRIMINAL LAW—BRUTAL ASSAULTS—LEGISLATION—Questions, Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. Ritchie; Answers, Sir William Harcourt ..                                              | 1790 |
| EXCISE—LABOURERS' BREWING LICENCES—Question, Mr. Biddell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer ..                                                           | 1791 |
| ELECTRIC LIGHTING—PROVISIONAL ORDERS—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain ..                                                                 | 1791 |
| LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (SCOTLAND)—SECRETARY FOR SCOTLAND—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Sir William Harcourt ..                                        | 1791 |
| THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—MR. JOHN E. VERNON—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan ..                                                                    | 1792 |
| THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE CORONERSHIP OF WESTMEATH—Question, Mr. T. D. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan ..                                                   | 1793 |

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| POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BOARD OF GUARDIANS, TUBBERCERRY, CO. SLIGO—ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN, DEPUTY, AND VICE-DEPUTY CHAIRMAN—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan                                           | 1795 |
| ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE 18TH (LIVERPOOL) RIFLE VOLUNTEERS—CHURCH PARADES—Question, Dr. Commins; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington                                                                     | 1796 |
| EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE NEW CODE—Question, Mr. Finch-Hatton; Answer, Mr. Mundella                                                                                                                         | 1797 |
| EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—INSTRUCTIONS OF 9TH AUGUST, 1882—EXAMINATION OF INFANTS—Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Mundella                                                                          | 1797 |
| THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—CREW OF THE "NISERO"—Questions, Mr. C. M. Palmer; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice                                                                              | 1798 |
| CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—DISINFECTION OF MARKET PLACES, &c.—Question, Mr. Hicks; Answer, Mr. Dodson                                                                                              | 1799 |
| EGYPT—THE KHEDIVE—PLEDGES OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT—Questions, Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord George Hamilton; Answers, Mr. Gladstone                                                                       | 1799 |
| EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—NUBAR PASHA—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone                                                                                                              | 1801 |
| CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—IMPORTATION OF CATTLE FROM IRELAND—Questions, Mr. Kenny, Mr. James Howard; Answers, Mr. Dodson                                                                          | 1801 |
| LONDON GOVERNMENT BILL—Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Sir William Harcourt                                                                                                                            | 1802 |
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| ARMY (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—STEEL FORGINGS FOR GUNS—Question, Mr. Stuart-Wortley; Answer, Mr. Brand                                                                                                         | 1803 |
| ARMY (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—RAPID FIRING GUNS—Question, Lord Henry Lennox; Answer, Mr. Brand                                                                                                                | 1804 |
| PORTUGAL—THE CONGO TREATY—Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice                                                                                                                     | 1804 |
| LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—PRISONERS AWAITING TRIAL—Question, Mr. Harrington; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan                                                                                                         | 1804 |
| SEA AND COAST FISHERIES (IRELAND)—THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES—ACCOUNTS FOR 1882-3—Question, Mr. Leamy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan                                                                                     | 1805 |
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| THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ENNISKILLEN PETTY SESSIONS—CAPTAIN M'TERNAN—Questions, Viscount Crichton, Mr. Sexton, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan                                                  | 1806 |
| SEA AND COAST FISHERIES (IRELAND)—ENCROACHMENT OF FRENCH FISHERMEN—Questions, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Kenny; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman                                                                       | 1808 |
| ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—COLONEL DIGBY, J.P.—Questions, Mr. Harrington; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan                                                                                                  | 1808 |
| POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, LOUGHREA UNION—COLLECTION OF VOTING PAPERS—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan                                                                        | 1809 |
| POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BOARDS OF GUARDIANS—ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN—Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan                                                                                                     | 1810 |
| EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—FLOGGING AT SPELDHURST NATIONAL SCHOOL—Question, Mr. Samuel Morley; Answer, Mr. Mundella                                                                                              | 1811 |

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| POST OFFICE (CONTRACTS)—THE WEST INDIA MAIL SERVICE—Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. .. . | 1813        |
| EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—KHARTOUM—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. .. .      | 1813        |
| PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE EASTER RECESS—Statement, Mr. Gladstone:—Short debate thereon .. .. .            | 1813        |

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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| Representation of the People Bill [Bill 119]—SECOND READING—<br>[ADJOURNED DEBATE] [SIXTH NIGHT]                                                                                                                                                          |      |
| Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [24th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate resumed .. .. . | 1815 |
| After long debate, Question put:—The House divided; Ayes 340, Noes 210; Majority 130.                                                                                                                                                                     |      |
| Division List, Ayes and Noes .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 1912 |
| Main Question put, and agreed to:—Bill read a second time, and committed for Thursday 24th April.                                                                                                                                                         |      |
| Real Assets Administration Bill [Bill 98]—                                                                                                                                                                                                                |      |
| Bill considered in Committee [ <i>Progress 24th March</i> ] .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                       | 1916 |
| After short time spent therein, Bill reported; as amended, to be considered To-morrow.                                                                                                                                                                    |      |

## MOTIONS.

|                                                                                                                                                               |      |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) Bill—Ordered (Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain); presented, and read the first time [Bill 170] .. .. .             | 1920 |
| London Government Bill—                                                                                                                                       |      |
| Moved, "That leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better Government of London, and other purposes connected therewith,"—(Lord Richard Grosvenor) .. .. . | 1921 |
| Debate adjourned till To-morrow, at Two of the clock. [2.15.]                                                                                                 |      |
| Middlesex Registry of Deeds Bill—Ordered (Mr. Courtney, Mr. Attorney General); presented, and read the first time [Bill 169] .. .. .                          | 1921 |

## NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

MONDAY, MARCH 24.

*Huntingdon Borough*—Sir Robert Peel, baronet.  
*Cambridge County*—Arthur John Thornhill, esquire.  
*Wexford Borough*—William Hoey Kearney Redmond, esquire.



# HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

FIFTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-SECOND PARLIAMENT OF THE  
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND \* IRELAND,  
APPOINTED TO MEET 29 APRIL, 1880, IN THE FORTY-THIRD  
YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

THIRD VOLUME OF SESSION 1884.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday, 17th March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—  
National Debt \* (30); Valuation (Metropolis)  
Amendment \* (31).

*Committee*—Trustee Churches (Ireland) \* (11-  
32).

*Committee*—*Report*—Brokers (City of London) \*  
(24).

SOUTH AFRICA—THE TRANSVAAL  
CONVENTION OF 1881, ARTICLE 20.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

**E**ARL CADOGAN, in calling their Lordships' attention to Article 20 of the Convention between Her Majesty the Queen and the South African Republic, signed in London on the 27th February, 1884, and in asking why an analogous provision in favour of this country had not been inserted in that

Convention? said, it would not be necessary to enter into any details of the various Articles contained in that Instrument; but, in order to justify the importance which he attached to Article 20 in the Convention, it was requisite that he should say a few words in regard to the circumstances in which the Convention had been carried out and signed. At the close of the unfortunate warlike operations against the Boers of the Transvaal, which terminated in great disaster to our arms at Majuba Hill, Her Majesty's Government came to the conclusion that they would yield to force that which they had previously declined to concede to argument, that they would retract the annexation which had been carried out by their Predecessors, and that they would give back to the Transvaal Boers the Constitution they had previously enjoyed. Her Majesty's Government, in 1881, concluded a Convention with the Transvaal Boers, of which he could only say that if they had not

assured Parliament that they intended to enforce the provisions it contained, neither Parliament nor the nation would have agreed to the somewhat humiliating peace which the Government then concluded. That Convention having been signed three years ago, they had all seen how completely its provisions had been ignored by the authorities of the Transvaal Government. Sir Hercules Robinson himself had described it within the last few days as mainly inoperative; and the Under Secretary for the Colonies, in "another place," on Saturday, said that although the Transvaal authorities had not fulfilled the conditions of that Convention, their sins had been chiefly sins of omission, not of commission. In fact, the Convention had been practically inoperative ever since it was concluded. That was the state of things until last year a deputation of Delegates from the Transvaal visited this country, whether at the invitation of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Derby) or not he had been unable to ascertain; and it consisted of Mr. Krüger (the President of the Transvaal Republic), the Minister of Education in the Transvaal, and a Member of the Volksraad, or Assembly of that Republic. They had watched the proceedings of the negotiations of the noble Earl with considerable anxiety. They had known that from day to day concessions were being extorted from the noble Earl; and it was with some relief that they heard last month that those concessions had been so far brought to an end that a new Convention had been signed between the Representative of Her Majesty and the Delegates of the Transvaal. He mentioned those facts to show that that Convention was no ordinary Instrument. It was not a Convention or Treaty signed between two parties acting on equal terms; it was a Convention purposely intended to carry out the concessions that had been extorted from the noble Earl by the Delegation which had spent the last few months in this country. He did not state that on his own authority; there was no doubt about the fact; the Government had not concealed it. The Preamble of the Convention began as follows:—

"Whereas the Government of the Transvaal State through its Delegates have represented that the Convention signed at Pretoria on the 3rd day of August, 1881, and ratified by the

Volksraad of the said State on the 25th of October, 1881, contains certain provisions which are inconvenient and imposes burdens and obligations from which the said State is desirous to be relieved. . . . Her Majesty has been pleased to direct, and it is hereby declared, that the following Articles of a new Convention signed on behalf of Her Majesty by Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa . . . shall when ratified by the Volksraad of the South African Republic be substituted for the Articles embodied in the Convention of the 3rd of August, 1881."

There was no question of the fact that the Natives who had been loyal to us during the late war were not adequately protected; there were no conditions in the Preamble of the Convention favourable to the views of this country; but it said that the new Convention was carried out entirely at the instigation and on the representation of the Delegates of the Transvaal Republic. Sir Hercules Robinson, who had signed the Convention on behalf of Her Majesty, had lately described the Instrument, saying that it could not but be considered as most liberal to the Transvaal State; that it gave to that State as much of Bechuanaland as could be handed over to it without abandoning our Native allies, or sacrificing the trade route; that it gave the Transvaal as complete internal independence as was enjoyed by the Orange Free State; and that, in regard to its relations with Foreign Powers, a veto only was reserved to Her Majesty's Government. In fact, as he understood the matter, the Suzerainty of the Queen was practically abolished. The Convention permitted the change of name from the Transvaal State to the more high sounding title of the South African Republic. He must also bring forward the Under Secretary for the Colonies as a witness to the character he had given the Convention. On Saturday Mr. Evelyn Ashley said that he did not think there was the slightest reason for distrusting the Transvaal Government; that, taking the whole of the Convention together, he thought we had got something very substantial; that, at all events, Her Majesty's Government had done their best. That was so far borne out by what was reported to have fallen from the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies at the banquet given to Sir Hercules Robinson a fortnight ago. The noble Earl was reported to have said that he thought what we had to do was to arrange the affairs of

the present time to the best of our ability, and leave the rest to Providence.

THE EARL OF DERBY: Where was that said?

EARL CADOGAN: In the report of the proceedings at a dinner given to Sir Hercules Robinson. That, then, was the Instrument to one of the Articles of which he wished to call attention. That Article (Article 20) ran thus—

“This Convention will be ratified by a Volksraad of the South African Republic within the period of six months after its execution, and in default of such ratification this Convention shall be null and void.”

That, he thought, was a very unusual provision to be inserted in any Convention or Treaty. They might be told that it was rendered necessary by the Constitution of the Transvaal. No doubt, the law of Great Britain was that the carrying out of Treaties and the making of war were vested in the Sovereign, and did not require ratification by Parliament. The Prime Minister, in various speeches, had dealt with that question; and although he had expressed the opinion that all Treaties made by Her Majesty with the advice or assistance of Her Ministers should be laid on the Table of either House of Parliament, yet he did not think the right hon. Gentleman had ever held the doctrine that the power did not lie entirely in the hands of the Sovereign. He was quite aware that in a Republic such as the Transvaal was, probably any Convention or Treaty signed between Her Majesty, through Her Representative, and the Representatives of the Republic, would require ratification by the Volksraad of that State. But Her Majesty had power to sign and conclude a Treaty which had also been signed by the three Representatives of the Transvaal who had no such power, and whose signature apparently had no effect until the Convention was ratified by the Volksraad. He did not know whether the noble Earl would justify that by suggesting that that Article merely contained a provision for the exchange of ratification; but the actual wording placed this country in a position of considerable difficulty. A Convention consisted entirely of concessions extorted from the noble Earl had been signed by Her Majesty's Representative. It was referred back for a period of six months for the ratification of the Volksraad. He had not found,

from a perusal of a very large number of Treaties and Conventions, that any actual precedent existed for the course which had been taken; but he did the noble Earl the justice to say that one comparatively close precedent was to be found in the action taken by the noble Earl who sat near him (the Earl of Kimberley) in 1881, because in the original Convention there was the same Article with a slight variation. Article 31 of that Convention provided that the Convention should be ratified by the newly-elected Volksraad within three months after its execution, in default of which ratification the Convention should be null and void. But in that Convention that Article was followed by another to the effect that the Representatives of the Transvaal State promised and undertook that the Convention should be ratified by a newly-elected Volksraad within three months. He felt that the position was one in which they were entitled to ask an explanation of the noble Earl. The Boers at present were in the possession of a Convention which they were to be left to ratify or not as they pleased. This country, on the contrary, had committed itself by the signature of Her Majesty's Representatives to a number of concessions contained in it. But supposing the Volksraad declined, at the end of six months, to ratify this Convention, what would our position be then? It was provided, as their Lordships were aware, that the old Convention would remain in force; but what was the use of the old Convention remaining in force, when they had extorted from the noble Earl opposite a certain concession in this Convention? He thought it would have been better if the noble Earl had not signed the Convention until the Delegates had obtained from the Volksraad an expression of opinion upon the Articles of the Convention to be signed. In either case, he trusted the noble Earl would give them two assurances—in the first place, that if this new Convention was ratified by the Volksraad he would give an undertaking on the part of the Government that they would insist upon the compliance with its provisions; or, in the event of their declining to ratify, that he would take steps to have the provisions of the former Convention carried out, which, at the present moment, was a dead letter.



THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, I think that the noble Earl's speech was a comment upon the Convention generally, whereas the Question he has put applies to one Article only of that Convention. Now, my Lords, I do not suppose it is the wish of your Lordships that we should go into the general question of the arrangements which have been concluded. It does not seem to me very material to inquire whether the Delegates originally came over here, or whether they came over on my invitation or their own. The fact is, that very soon after I came to hold the Office which I have now the honour to hold, an intimation was given by the Government of the Transvaal that they would be glad to have a revision of the Convention. When the Convention was originally concluded, I cannot say whether any promise was given; but, undoubtedly, hopes were held out that if the original Convention was found not to work smoothly, steps would be taken for the purpose of revising it when sufficient time had passed in order to enable us to judge of the effects of its working. A communication to that effect was made to me, and in the first instance I proposed to send a Commissioner to the Transvaal to obtain on the spot information as to what the objections of the Transvaal Government really were, and to discuss the matter with them. They, however, expressed an opinion in favour of sending a delegation over here, and I acquiesced in the idea, and that was the origin of the communications which went on in the course of the winter. Then the noble Earl said that the object of the Convention had been to abolish the Suzerainty of the British Crown. The word "Suzerainty" is a very vague word, and I do not think it is capable of any precise legal definition. Whatever we may understand by it, I think it is not very easy to define. But I apprehend, whether you call it a Protectorate, or a Suzerainty, or the recognition of England as a paramount Power, the fact is that a certain controlling power is retained when the State which exercises this Suzerainty has a right to veto any negotiations into which the dependent State may enter with Foreign Powers. Whatever Suzerainty meant in the Convention of Pretoria, the condition of things which it implied still remains; although the word is not actually em-

ployed, we have kept the substance. We have abstained from using the word because it was not capable of legal definition, and because it seemed to be a word which was likely to lead to misconception and misunderstanding. Then the noble Earl went on to call attention to a speech in which it was said I had made use of the phrase to the effect that all we had to do was "to arrange the affairs at the present time to the best of our ability and leave the rest to Providence." As a matter of fact, I do not believe there was any regular reporter present on the occasion on which the speeches referred to were delivered, and I very greatly doubt the verbal accuracy of the phrase ascribed to me. Whatever I did say in that sense, or with that tendency, applied to a totally different matter. It referred to an after-dinner suggestion that had been made with respect to the Imperial Federation of the Colonies—a matter as to which I do not profess to see my way clearly. At any rate, my remarks had nothing to do with the question of South Africa. The noble Earl then came to the Question of which he has given Notice. He asks why this ratification was required on the part of the Transvaal? Well, the noble Earl partly answered his own Question, because he himself called attention to the fact that the clause is transferred almost word for word from the original Convention.

EARL CADOGAN: The original Convention had a provision that the Delegates will insure ratification by the Volksraad.

THE EARL OF DERBY: Although that Convention contained many things that were objected to by noble Lords in this House and in the other House of Parliament, I do not recollect that that particular point was taken notice of by anyone. It passed, I believe, absolutely without comment. But when the question is put—"Why do you make the conclusion of the Convention dependent upon the ratification of the Volksraad?" the answer is plain. The engagement entered into had to be submitted for ratification in order to make it legal and binding, because, according to the Constitution of the Transvaal, the Executive alone has not the power of making a Treaty which shall be legally binding. That requires the ratification of the Volksraad. That condition of

things, I may be allowed to point out, is not peculiar to the Transvaal. The same course is followed, I believe, in the United States. Therefore, when it is asked—"Why do you require the ratification of the Volksraad?" I have only to reply, because in no other manner could the Convention be made legal or binding. The noble Earl again says—"Why is there no corresponding provision affecting this country?" I have to say, in answer to that question, that it has never been the practice to require Parliamentary ratification of Treaties concluded by the Executive. It is a fair matter of discussion, no doubt, whether our system is a good one or not; but it has always been the invariable rule in this country that arrangements of this character should be concluded upon the responsibility of the Executive. That is a part of the Constitution under which we live. The noble Earl then said what a difficulty this country would be in if it happened that the Volksraad refused to ratify the Convention; but that is not a case likely to arise. In my belief the Transvaal Government are quite ready to accept the engagements entered into on their behalf. They sent their Delegation over here for the express purpose of negotiating this new Convention; and, that being so, it seems to me a misapprehension to suppose that they will not carry into effect an undertaking which they themselves have shown so much anxiety to enter into. If, however, matters should not turn out as anticipated, we can simply fall back upon the original Convention of Pretoria, which the people of the Transvaal have been so anxious to modify. Considering the large concessions which have been made on our part, can there be anything more utterly illogical than that those who have succeeded in obtaining these concessions should turn round and refuse to ratify the Convention? I do not think there is any prospect of this occurring. If the Convention is not ratified, we shall be simply where we were before, and the Boers will have to fall back on the Convention of 1881—the Convention to which they have professed, and I have no doubt sincerely professed, to have so much objection. The noble Earl asks whether, in the event of the Convention being ratified, we will insist on its being fulfilled? Of course, when two parties enter into a

Treaty it is not intended that that Treaty shall be waste paper. As to what Her Majesty's Government would do in the event of the Convention not being ratified, that is an event so utterly improbable that it is unnecessary to discuss the question of what we shall do if it happens.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, the noble Earl is right in his contention that, according to the Constitution of this country, the consent of Parliament is not required to the Treaty-making power of the Crown. Yet it is not true to say that the consent of Parliament might not be one of the conditions of the Treaty, for it would be perfectly legitimate to make provision for such consent, and there are plenty of precedents for it. The complaint of my noble Friend is, that in a case where the noble Earl was compelled by the Constitution of the Transvaal to give to the Transvaal Legislature powers to revise or veto this Treaty he did not reserve any similar power to the Parliament at Westminster. I think there is considerable reason in the complaint of my noble Friend, because this is a Treaty of an unusual character, a Treaty to which we are not accustomed, a Treaty of concession, by which we are to go back—and back apparently under considerable pressure—from stipulations which we have previously obtained. I do not intend to discuss the Treaty at large, but merely with reference to this point—whether, in view of the condition of public opinion at home, it ought not to have been reserved for the assent of the two Houses of Parliament? There are two very important results of this Treaty; one is, that every kind of security for the proper treatment of the Natives within the Transvaal Republic has been abandoned. This Treaty is spoken of as if it were a Treaty of emancipation and enfranchisement—as if it were a Treaty in the interests of liberty; while it is really in the interest of slavery, in the interest of servitude, handing over more than 400,000 Coloured people to some 40,000 White people to do exactly as they like with them. Without expressing any opinion as to the policy involved, no one can deny that, in view of the feelings of the people of this country on the subject, that is a matter of great importance. Again, I thought



the noble Earl treated with some contempt the fact that the Transvaal State is to be called the South African Republic; but it is a very shallow philosophy which treats names as a matter of small importance. The fact that they call themselves the South African Republic, we may depend upon it, will be constantly dinned into the ears of the people of the same blood and race outside the borders of the Republic, and inferences will be drawn not favourable to our Imperial interests. The noble Earl treats with ridicule the suggestion that the Transvaal Government may decline to sanction this Treaty which is so favourable to them; but that, I think, shows an inadequate view of the tendency of human nature. When, with very great ease, they have induced a Great Power to tear up a Treaty to which it professed to attach great importance only four years ago, it is very possible that they may think that if they had made greater demands they would have obtained them also. It is very possible that when the Transvaal Commissioners get back their Government will say to them—"You see the kind of people you have to deal with; you might have got anything you liked. Why did you not ask for more than this?" It is exceedingly possible, I think, that they will turn round upon Her Majesty's Government and desire to obtain more. I believe that the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) is perfectly justified in what he has done, and that he has not gone beyond any Constitutional right or precedent; but, considering the vast importance of the subjects he is dealing with, and the great interest attached to them by public opinion, he has, I think, not paid sufficient regard to the opinions of the Imperial Parliament or the views of the people of this country.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: My Lords, I do not think this is a suitable opportunity for discussing the Convention which my noble Friend has concluded. The noble Marquess has said that he would express no opinion on the Convention, and yet proceeded to characterize one of the most important of its provisions as one leading to slavery and servitude. But, as I have said, I do not consider this a suitable opportunity for discussing the Treaty. What I wish to say is this, that if the Trans-

vaal Government have succeeded in extorting from us so many concessions it would be a strange thing if we were to allow them also to compel us to alter our Constitutional practice which, much to my surprise, the noble Marquess seems to desire. It has been the invariable Constitutional practice that the Queen concludes and ratifies Treaties, unless there was some point to which the power of the Queen does not extend—touching a Vote of money—in which case the House of Commons has to be consulted, and where no doubt the assent of Parliament is always reserved. That being the established Constitutional doctrine, the noble Marquess seems to desire that because a small foreign State happens to have in its Constitution a provision for the ratification of Treaties by an Assembly of that State, we should make a corresponding change in our Constitutional practice and introduce an entire novelty. That seems to me an extraordinary proposition. The fact of the matter is that a Treaty when concluded must be ratified by the Sovereign Power. Now, the Sovereign Power is not in the President of the Transvaal, but in the Volksraad itself, and the Treaty must, therefore, be ratified by the Volksraad there and the Queen here. The noble Earl (Earl Cadogan) also referred to another point—namely, that in 1881 the Delegates who concluded the Convention on the part of the Transvaal solemnly engaged to see that the Convention of that year should be ratified. The noble Earl will see that there is a considerable difference in the two cases. There was then no established Government in the Transvaal. The persons with whom we negotiated were Delegates of the Boers, and that was a wholly different case from the present, when there is an established and legitimate Government and the Delegates are acting under the ordinary authority given them by the State. I do not think this is a point of great importance; but, as there appears to be some doubt about it, I have thought it well to give this explanation.

#### FRANCHISE (IRELAND)—POPULATION —INHABITED HOUSES, &c. RETURNS.

##### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK asked the Lord President of the Council, Whether



any Return laid before Parliament contained the present numbers of inhabited houses in the various counties and boroughs in Ireland returning Members to Parliament, classified according to their various rateable values; whether the Return respecting the franchise in Ireland, ordered by the House on the 7th of February, would contain such information; whether it was a fact that the Return so ordered by the House could not be commenced until next month; and, if so, why; and, further, if such was the case, whether it was in accordance with the statement made in the House on the 7th of March, that every effort was being made for its production at as early a date as possible; and whether the Government had given any instructions for the immediate preparation of the Return, in compliance with the Order of the House? He felt that some apology was due to the Lord President for the fact that a Question on this subject was again put to him. The answer which he received on the last occasion was very full, and so far as he understood it was quite satisfactory. The Lord President stated that every effort would be made for the production of these Returns as soon as possible. He had since learnt, however, from an answer given to a Question in the House of Commons, that the work of preparing these Returns would not be commenced until after the 1st of April, and would not be proceeded with until the House of Commons should vote the necessary funds. He understood that the course pursued in this case had been somewhat unusual; the ordinary practice being to prepare such a document directly it was ordered by either House, even in cases where a little expense was entailed. It was a one-sided affair to say that a Return could not be prepared, whoever ordered by, until the House of Commons had voted money for it. If a Return were ordered by the House of Commons, their Lordships would never think of questioning it. As regarded Ireland, it was very desirable to know what the conditions of the constituencies might be in order that it might appear what was the number of inhabited houses which existed throughout Ireland when this Return was moved for and agreed to. He was informed there was no Return now before Parliament that conveyed the information he

asked for; if there had been he would certainly not have pressed for this Return.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that it would have been more convenient if the noble Earl had put the Question to the noble Lord representing the Treasury in their Lordships' House. The noble Earl was certainly right in supposing that there was no Return at present before Parliament which gave the number of inhabited houses in the various counties and boroughs in Ireland returning Members to Parliament classified according to their various rateable values; but the Return which the noble Earl had already moved for, and which had been ordered by the House, would give those details. The state of the case with respect to the Return was this. The noble Earl and the House would remember that there was an unavoidable difficulty in the way of the Valuation Office completing this Return within a short period with its ordinary staff and under its ordinary Vote, nearly the whole of its staff being engaged upon work of a statutory kind—on the revision of the valuations, which it was necessary should be completed by a certain day. He understood, however, that the Return had been put in hand, and was being carried on so far as the means of the Valuation Office at present permitted. But it would be impossible to complete it or get it ready within such a time as would suit the noble Earl's object without supplementing the Vote. The Treasury had consented to propose a Vote in the House of Commons, and that Vote would be moved as soon as it could be managed. As soon as the necessary money was obtained, the Return would be pressed on with all possible speed.

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock,  
till To-morrow, a quarter past  
Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 17th March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Charitable  
Trust Acts, *appointed*.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee—ARMY ESTIMATES, 1884-5.

*Resolutions* [March 10, 13, 14, 15] reported.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—£1,384,655 14s. 10d. Consolidated Fund.

PRIVATE BILL (by Order)—Second Reading—Folkestone, Sandgate, and Hythe Tramways.\*

PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—First Reading—Isle of Man (Harbours) \* [[138]; Royal Courts of Justice \* [139].

Second Reading—Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) \* [124].

### PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—o—

#### CORK BUTTER MARKET BILL.

##### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. MOORE said, the Bill was one which affected a very large number of persons in Ireland, and its object was to put an end to certain grievous abuses connected with the Cork Butter Market. Those abuses were chiefly in the matter of inspection—and inspection in reference to the export of butter was a question of great importance to the Province of Munster. A very strong recommendation had been made against these abuses by the Richmond Commission. He had no desire to oppose the second reading of the Bill, but only on the clear understanding that the provisions of the measure would be modified in accordance with Lord Fitzgerald's award. The Bill, as circulated to Members, had not been so modified; but he had had placed in his hand by one of the agents a copy of it which had been so altered in accordance with that award. With that award the House was not concerned; but he had written to the right hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means stating that, on the understanding that the Cork Butter Market Bill be amended as proposed, he would allow the second reading to pass without opposition. He believed it would be found that, under the award of Lord Fitzgerald, the terms of the Bill would be beneficial to the producer, and nothing less would be satisfactory. He gladly accepted Lord Fitzgerald's award; and, under the circumstances, he would not move the Instruction to the Select

Committee which he had placed upon the Paper.

MR. HEALY said, he was glad to hear that the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore) had not any present intention to oppose the Bill. He must say that personally, he regarded the Bill with the Amendments engrafted on it by Lord Fitzgerald as an excellent Bill, and he thought Lord Fitzgerald was to be congratulated on the important work he had done in the interest of all parties. He thought the award was most creditable to his Lordship, and most creditable to the Corporation, and to all parties interested in Cork—first and foremost that Lord Fitzgerald had taken the trouble he had done to go into the question; and, secondly, it was satisfactory that the City of Cork, with interests so divergent, should have agreed and have submitted to the award of a noble Lord so distinguished and so disinterested as Lord Fitzgerald. He trusted that all parties would be prepared to abide by the award. With regard to the Instruction which the hon. Member for Clonmel had proposed to move, he understood that it was postponed, at any rate, for the present. He further understood that a copy of the Amendments had been engrafted on the Bill; and, as far as one of them was concerned, that the promoters were prepared to insert, upon page 4, a provision declaring that whereas the principal object to be obtained was increased facilities for the sale of butter in the market, careful and impartial inspection and classification would be secured. He was of opinion that if that provision was inserted, and careful and impartial inspection and classification were carried out loyally by the Trustees, a great deal of good would have been accomplished. But, at the same time, he would rejoice if the Trustees came to an agreement not to impose fines. He would not, however, go into the subject at present; but he would only congratulate the Corporation of Cork and Lord Fitzgerald on the Bill as it had been amended, and he hoped the result would be to restore Cork butter to the position it had previously occupied in the markets of the world.

Motion agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed.

## QUESTIONS.

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### LAW AND POLICE (SCOTLAND)—CASE OF THREATENING LETTER WRITING AT ROUSAY — FREDERICK LEONARD.

DR. CAMERON asked the Lord Advocate, With reference to the case of Frederick Leonard, a boy of 14, examined by the Procurator Fiscal of Orkney as a witness in the Rousay threatening letter case, who, after the conclusion of his regular precognition, was asked to give a specimen of his writing, as explained, for his own exoneration; whether his attention has been called to the boy's version of the occurrence, that he was directed to write expressions apparently taken from the threatening letter; and, whether he has any objection to produce the Document written by Leonard after the conclusion of his regular precognition?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Sir, the words and expressions which Frederick Leonard was requested to write were for the most part taken from the threatening letter. This was plainly the proper course when the question had been whether he was the writer of that letter, and the Fiscal desired to preserve evidence for the boy's exoneration of the soundness of the conclusion at which he had arrived, that the letter had not been written by the boy. I have no objection to lay a copy of the document written by Leonard on the Table of the House, if this is desired, and to exhibit the principal to any hon. Member who may wish to see it.

### VACCINATION ACTS (PROSECUTIONS) —MR. J. A. PETVIN.

MR. HOPWOOD asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he is aware that, in the case of J. A. Petvin, already summoned three times, twice convicted in full penalties, and three times condemned in costs in respect of refusal to vaccinate his child, notwithstanding the Local Government Board, by his direction in August last, sent a copy of his Evesham letter in relation to a prosecution then pending against Mr. Petvin, deprecating such repeated prosecutions to the Guardians of the Axbridge Union, that body has

ordered a fresh prosecution against Mr. Petvin in respect of the same child; and, whether the Local Government Board will signify to the Guardians, decidedly, its disapproval of such prosecution?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: Sir, the convictions of J. A. Petvin were in respect of the non-vaccination of a child named Annie Petvin. The Local Government Board are informed that there has been no prosecution in the case of that child since 1882, and that no further proceedings are contemplated. The Guardians have, however, ordered proceedings in the case of another child of Mr. Petvin, an order for the vaccination of the child which was made in August, 1883, not having been complied with.

MR. HOPWOOD: Do the Local Government Board, then, approve of further prosecutions in respect of another child?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: The Board do not disapprove of repeated prosecutions in regard to another child in the same way that they disapprove of repeated prosecutions in respect of the same child.

### VALUATIONS (IRELAND).

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If he will inquire into the circumstances under which Mr. Bell, revising valuer, struck off 100 acres of land from the valuation of Patrick Devine, a tenant on the Duke of Abercorn's property, county Tyrone; whether Mr. Bell had previously visited the land, or consulted the Rate Collector or Board of Guardians; whether the revision was made by him in the Duke's rent office; whether Mr. Ball Greene, the head of the Valuation Department, sent down another revising officer to examine into the case; and, whether a revision has been made on the Gweedore estate of Lord George Hill, in which the valuation of land has been raised?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, I have inquired into the circumstances of this case. In 1881 or 1882 Mr. Bell, it appears, having received certain information from the estate office, visited the land held by Devine, and made the alteration mentioned in the Question. Subsequently a dispute and a considerable conflict as to the facts arose, whereupon the old arrangement was ordered to be restored. No case has been discovered of any change in the Gweedore estate,



CUSTOMS DEPARTMENT—CUSTOM  
HOUSE AT KINGSTON.

MR. LODER asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is not the case that there is now a Custom House conveniently situated and in close proximity to the Railway station at Shoreham, holden for an unexpired term of three years at a rent of eighty guineas per annum; and, whether it is true that it is the intention of the Government immediately to erect another Custom House at Kingston at a distance of upwards of a mile from the station, and why?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, in order to follow a change in the course of trade the head office of the Customs has been removed from Shoreham to Kingston. This rendered the present Custom House at Shoreham superfluous, but necessitated additional accommodation at Kingston. The new building at the latter place will take about a year to finish, and the lease of the present one expires in 1886, so that we are not in danger of having both on our hands at once for any appreciable time.

PARLIAMENT — PRIVILEGE — “BRADLAUGH v. GOSSET”—SHORTHAND  
NOTES.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether shorthand notes were taken of the argument and judgments in the case of *Bradlaugh v. Gosset*; and, whether he will lay them upon the Table of the House?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, it had not been the practice to lay Copies of shorthand notes on the Table of the House, as that would entail great expense. The matter, however, was entirely in the hands of the House. With regard to the notes in the case of “*Bradlaugh v. Gosset*,” perhaps it would be sufficient if the hon. Member was allowed to see them.

MR. LABOUCHERE: Will the Attorney General allow Mr. Bradlaugh to see them?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Well, I have said what I have said.

THE SUEZ CANAL.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whe-

ther, at the meeting of the Suez Canal Company held at Paris on Wednesday the 12th of March, the arrangement was confirmed by which seven new English Directors are to be added to the Council of Administration; and, if not, whether Her Majesty's Government are in any way bound to consider the rest of the new arrangement as conclusive and binding?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I have conferred with the official Directors of the Suez Canal Company, and they inform me that the Report of the President of the Company embodying the agreement between M. de Lesseps and the Association of Shipowners Trading with the East was approved at the meeting on the 12th instant. One of the articles of that agreement is in the following words:—

“In addition to the three Directors designated by the English Government, seven new Directors, chosen from among English shipowners and merchants, shall at once be admitted as members of the Board. In order to confer upon these seven Directors the power of voting, which attaches to the present Directors, the Administration will propose to the shareholders to modify the statutes, and to revert to the figure at first fixed for the number of Directors—namely, 32. In the meantime, and until the necessary formalities shall be accomplished, the Administration will invite these seven Directors, as soon as they have been chosen, to be present at the meetings of the Board.”

For the alteration of the statutes contemplated by this article, a separate vote was required. The proposal to modify the statutes in this respect was adjourned, a quorum not being present; and until that proposal has been put to the shareholders I can say nothing.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he wanted to know whether, pending the alteration, these new Directors would have the right of voting at the Board; whether, in fact, they would not be there merely as shareholders; and, further, whether it was not a fact that existing statutes could only be altered by a vote of two-thirds of the shareholders present; and whether, in case two-thirds of the shareholders did not consent, the remainder of the agreement would hold good?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I cannot answer the last Question, and can only reply as to matters of fact. I have already informed the hon. Gentleman that the

seven new Directors would be at once admitted as members of the Board; but in order to confer upon them the power of voting, the Administration proposes to modify the statutes. I believe a vote of two-thirds will be necessary, but that does not appear on the report of the proceeding.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, it was impossible to get an intelligible answer from the right hon. Gentleman. He wished to know whether the new Directors would be legal Directors of the Company until the statutes were altered, and whether till that was done the Resolution he had laid before the House would be of any avail?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): I have answered that as plainly as possible. Surely the hon. Gentleman could not have heard me. Shall I read the extract again?

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I heard you.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS) then re-read a portion of his answer, and added—Of course they have not the power to vote.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: They have not?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): No.

#### STATE OF IRELAND—MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE—INTRUSION OF THE POLICE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in view of his statement that the police are instructed not to persist in remaining at indoor meetings of the National League if the meeting object to their presence, Whether, on Sunday the 9th instant, Acting-Sergeant M'Guire entered the meeting place of the Sovey (county Sligo) branch of the National League, while the members of the branch were engaged in the transaction of their business, and, being informed by the chairman that the meeting objected to his presence, replied that he would not leave until removed by force, and dared those present to lay hands upon him; whether the secretary objected to this observation of Acting-Sergeant M'Guire, and asked him if he had instructions from his superiors to insist upon remaining; whether he replied that he had such instructions from his officer; whether the acting-sergeant re-

mained until after the meeting had concluded; whether any intimation as to his conduct will be conveyed to him; and, what steps will be taken to restrain police constables from provoking breaches of the peace, by interfering with persons engaged in the exercise of their legal rights?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, it was true that Police Sergeant M'Guire, accompanied by a constable, seeing the door open, entered the house in which this meeting was being held, and found about 20 persons assembled. The sergeant did not remain in the room; but as soon as he was informed that the room had been rented from the owner for the purpose of holding meetings of the National League, he withdrew outside.

#### ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—THE PHOENIX PARK DEPÔT.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If there are at present in the Constabulary Depôt, Phoenix Park, 450 men, of whom 300 are Catholics and 150 Protestants; whether, of the 12 cadets now acting as officers at the Depôt, not one is a Catholic; whether the Catholic men have no Catholic officer to march them to Mass on Sundays and holidays; whether there has been no Catholic cadet at the Depôt for the last three years; whether the District Inspectors of the Constabulary throughout Ireland are drawn from the cadets at the Depôt; and, whether three Protestant cadets were admitted to the Depôt, a few days since, without examination, one of them, Mr. Penrose, being a gentleman whose family had rendered services to the Tory candidate in the recent election for the city of Cork?

MR. TREVELYAN said, there were 680 men at the Constabulary Depôt, of whom 421 were Roman Catholics and 259 Protestants. There were nine young officers, all of whom were Protestants. The Roman Catholic men were marched to church by a Roman Catholic officer. Six Roman Catholic cadets had been passed through the depôt in the past three years. The District Inspectors were drawn from the cadets, except those promoted from the ranks, of whom there were 19 during the last three years, nine of these being Roman Catholics. Three Protestant cadets in the month of January passed the prescribed examina-

tion, one of them being Mr. Penrose; and the suggestion that his appointment had any connection with the subsequent City of Cork Election has no foundation, as he was nominated on the 19th June, and he was selected out of a large number of other candidates by competitive examination conducted by the Civil Service.

#### THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many Methodists are now in the Senate of the Royal University of Ireland; whether Dr. Scott, the Principal of the Methodist College in Belfast, was an original Member of the Senate, and continued a Member until his death; why a Methodist gentleman was not appointed in his place; and, whether there are in Ireland many Methodist gentlemen eminently qualified for that position?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, there is one Wesleyan Methodist on the Senate of the Royal University now. The late Dr. Scott was, as stated, a member of the Senate, and continued a member until his death. No doubt, there are many Wesleyan gentleman qualified to occupy the position; but in filling the vacancy the Government did not feel bound to appoint a gentleman of the same denomination. In making the appointment, the Irish Government paid careful regard to the proportion of the several denominations of the population of Ireland.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON: I beg to give Notice that I will call attention to this matter.

#### ARMY—RECRUITING.

COLONEL CLIVE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the "preliminary Annual Return, which will shortly be issued," alluded to in the footnote on page 5 of the Annual Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, dated 28th February 1884, will contain information as to the age, height, and weight of recruits enlisted in 1883, in continuation of Appendix C of the Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting, dated 1st March 1883; or, if not, in what form will this important information be given this year?

*Mr. Trevelyan*

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the preliminary Annual Return will show the ages of recruits passed into the Service in 1883. The statistics relative to their height and weight will not be ready at the time the preliminary Return is issued. It will, however, contain a statement of the height and chest measurement of men serving in the Army at home on the 1st of January, 1884. It is not practicable, under present arrangements, to give detailed statistics concerning the men enlisted in a year so soon after its close as the period when the Inspector General of Recruiting reports; and the information on these heads given in his Report of the 1st of March, 1883, did not refer to a later year than 1881. The information is always given in the Annual Report of the Army Medical Department, which is presented to Parliament later in the year; but I will endeavour to make arrangements so that in future years the preliminary Annual Return shall contain the particulars to which the hon. and gallant Member refers.

#### EGYPT—THE RIOTS AT ALEXANDRIA —INDEMNITY CLAIMS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, seeing that the original promise of the Khedive to compensate the losses at Alexandria was carefully limited to the principle of doing so "to a just degree compatible with the resources of the Country," either the Egyptian or the British Government have since given any pledge that the indemnities (amounting to upwards of four millions sterling) which the representatives of the various communities at Alexandria have awarded to one another, shall be paid in full, without regard to the circumstances and necessities of the Country, if the money can in any way be found; whether consequently, if a large new loan should really be raised, by far the greater part of it must go to these compensations; and, whether the following published telegram is true:—

"Cairo, March, 13th, evening This afternoon the French and Italian Diplomatic Agents sent an identical note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs demanding the payment of the claims awarded by the International Indemnity Commission."



**LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE:** No pledge to pay the indemnities in full has been given. I cannot at present make any statement in regard to the financial situation of Egypt. No information of the character indicated by the hon. Gentleman has been received at the Foreign Office.

#### MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER.

**Mr. BROADHURST** asked **Mr. Attorney General**, Whether his attention has been called to a letter, in *The Daily News* of the 10th instant, signed "A High Church Rector;" whether, as that letter indicates, it is possible for a person, married, while properly domiciled in the Australian Colonies, to the sister of his former wife, under the sanction of Laws solemnly ratified by the Queen in Council, to freely set aside his contract of marriage on landing in this Country, desert his children, and marry again; and, whether a person so acting would, on his return to Australia, again become the lawful husband of the repudiated wife, or render himself liable to prosecution for bigamy in respect of the marriage contracted in England?

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES):** Sir, I think there has been some misunderstanding on the subject referred to in this Question. I understand the law to be that if persons who are domiciled in a Colony where marriage with a deceased wife's sister is valid in effect, such a marriage is valid and fully recognized in this country, with, however, the qualification that the children of such a marriage would not inherit real property by descent in this country.

#### RAILWAYS (IRELAND)—RAILWAY AND CANAL RATES—LEGISLATION.

**Mr. KENNY (for Mr. O'SULLIVAN)** asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Government intend introducing a Bill this Session to carry out the recommendation of the Select Committee on Railway and Canal Rates and Charges, who reported to the House in 1882?

**Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:** Sir, I answered the same Question the other day in reply to the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. Gabbett). Any Bill introduced by the Government will be founded in part

on the recommendation of the Select Committee of 1882.

#### POST OFFICE—TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND.

**Mr. BUCHANAN** asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been called to the serious interruptions to telegraphic communication between Scotland and England that frequently occur, from the want of protection of the wires from storms; and, whether he will take into consideration the propriety of introducing an underground system of wires, at least on the more exposed parts of the line, so as to obviate the great commercial inconvenience caused by interruptions in the service?

**Mr. FAWCETT:** Sir, interruptions of telegraphic communication between Scotland and England have been frequently under consideration. They have not occurred in any particular locality, but have been experienced in various parts of the country traversed by the several main lines of telegraph between London and Scotland. The placing of any one section of the lines underground would not, therefore, insure immunity from interruption, while the cost of substituting underground wires for overground throughout the United Kingdom, or even between the principal towns, would be very great, probably not less than £1,750,000.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

**SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE** asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he proposes to introduce the Budget before Easter?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS):** It is, Sir, a little early to fix absolutely the day for opening the Budget; but I hope to do so before Easter, and probably on Monday, the 7th of April, provided that the Franchise Bill has been read a second time.

#### ARMY—COLONIAL GARRISONS—CONTRIBUTIONS.

**SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL** asked **Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer**, Why the following Colonies, which are in no degree mere Military posts, are not called on to contribute anything whatever towards the cost of British Troops

maintained in them, viz. Newfoundland, Jamaica, Windward and Leeward Islands, and Cape of Good Hope; why Natal, an exposed Colony, very expensive to the Mother Country, with a large and increasing Revenue now exceeding £800,000, great part of which is due to Imperial expenditure, is called on to contribute no more than £4,000; and, why the rich Island of Ceylon, which exists with a very small force practically under the protection of the neighbouring Indian Army, has now been excused a large proportion of the amount properly due, on the ground of inability to pay, while India has been compelled to pay, in the very worst times, by means of loans and extraordinary taxation?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, on behalf my right hon. Friend, I beg to say that where a garrison exists for Imperial purposes at a coaling station abroad no contribution is asked. At all other stations where the Imperial Revenues are subjected to a charge on account of military expenditure, a contribution by the Colony ought undoubtedly to be made; but in many cases circumstances render it inexpedient or impracticable to enforce the contribution. As the hon. Member intends to draw attention to this subject on the Army Estimates, it would perhaps be better to defer any further statement upon the matter.

#### LAW AND JUSTICE—THE SPRING ASSIZES.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is with his sanction that the judges have so rearranged the places for holding the Spring Criminal Assizes that prisoners will, in some cases, be taken from their own county, through four other counties, to a town over one hundred miles from their own homes to be tried; whether, since such a change of venue may amount, practically, to a denial to them of the means of defence, he will propose any allowance of money to such prisoners to enable them to procure the attendance of their attorneys and witnesses; and, whether he will propose any deduction from the sum allowed for travelling expenses to the Circuit judges, which will be largely diminished by the arrangements which they themselves have made?

*Sir George Campbell*

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, the arrangements made by the Judges for holding the Spring Criminal Assizes were similar to those which had existed for some years past.

#### EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)—THE RED SEA PORTS.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary of State for War, with reference to the announcement to the effect that it is not intended to hold any of the Red Sea Ports except Suakin, and that with regard to that other arrangements may ultimately be made, What are the other arrangements which Her Majesty's Government propose to make with regard to Suakin; and, whether, in view of the declared intention of the Government, to the effect that it is essential that the British Government should take care that these ports are held either by a civilised Power or by one under the influence of a civilised Power, and that British interests demand that no European Power should have a port on the Red Sea, there is any truth in the report that Her Majesty's Government propose to hand over the Red Sea Littoral to the Porte?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I do not think I said, and I certainly did not mean to say, that it was intended to hold any of the Red Sea ports, including Suakin, or that it was intended not to hold any of them with the exception of Suakin. What I said, or, if did not say it, certainly what I ought to have said, was that the Government had always announced their intention from the very earliest stage to assist the Egyptian Government in the protection of the Red Sea ports and the coasts of the Red Sea. With regard to the last part of the hon. Gentleman's Question, the Government have made no proposal to hand over the Red Sea ports to the Porte. Of course, I am aware that suggestion has been discussed; but I do not think it would be advisable or convenient for me at the present moment to give any answer as to the intentions of the Government with regard to that or to any proposals which may have been suggested.

#### ASSAM AND CACHAR—GROG SHOPS.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he will cause to be prepared, and lay upon the

Table, a Return showing the increase in the number of grog shops in the districts of Assam and Cachar during the last ten years, the Return to include the remonstrances made by the European managers of tea gardens and the Minutes of the Chief Commissioners of these districts upon the subject?

Mr. J. K. CROSS, in reply, said, he could not find that there had been any increase in the number of grog shops in Assam and Cachar in the last 10 years. During the five years ended 1874 the number of shops averaged 276; in 1881-2 they were 233; in 1882-3, 232. There would be no objection to give the Return asked for by the hon. Member, including what Correspondence the Government had on the subject.

#### EGYPT—JUDICIAL REFORM.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been drawn to the account given by the *Cario* Correspondent of *The Standard*, in the issue of March 13th, of the failure of the attempts at judicial reform in Egypt, in which it is stated—

“The new tribunals cannot indeed be said to work at all, but, as far as I can learn, they have not tried a dozen cases since their establishment. Out of 3,000 prisoners awaiting trial some 1,200 have been in gaol over six months, and some as much as five years, without trial, on charges of theft, for which, if convicted, the maximum punishment would be three months. No attempts, however, seem to be made to clear off the terrible arrears, or to effect a gaol delivery;”

and, whether he will cause an inquiry to be made into the truth of this statement?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, there is no reason to believe that there has been failure in the attempt at judicial reform in Egypt. The hon. Gentleman will find at pages 47, 49, and 67 of “Egypt, No. 1, 1884.” a description of measures which had been taken with a view to a general gaol delivery, and Sir Evelyn Baring has been instructed to report how far these measures have been successful.

#### SCOTLAND — SALE OF NEWSPAPERS AT WAVERLEY RAILWAY STATION, EDINBURGH—ALLEGED ILL-USAGE OF CHILDREN BY RAILWAY OFFICIALS.

Mr. HEALY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whe-

ther he recently received a demand for inquiry, by Ex-Councillor Reid, Edinburgh, in regard to the treatment of children selling newspapers at Waverley Station; whether he read the statements forwarded to him, from twenty children of both sexes, as to the attacks made upon them in the exercise of their calling; and, whether any notice was taken of the subject by the police authorities?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Mr. Reid's communication was received, and full inquiry made into the allegation which it contained—the boys and girls said to have been maltreated, as well as the railway officials, and others likely to be able to give information, having been examined. The young persons mentioned a number of specific instances—the dates of which, however, they were unable to state—on which they say they were subjected to rough usage, and their newspapers taken from them, but neither they nor their friends lodged any complaint with the police. The railway officials, on the other hand, deny having assaulted or struck any of these young persons, but say that they cause much inconvenience both to the public and to the officials in discharging their duty, and that the young persons have not infrequently been taken before the Police Court for contravention of the Company's bye-laws, and there fined or admonished. If any charge of maltreatment is made to the police when it occurs it will be duly investigated.

#### EGYPT (RE-ORGANIZATION)—NATIVE EMPLOYEES DISMISSED.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is contemplated to give the Egyptian employes who have been dismissed, owing to the suggestions of Sir Evelyn Baring, such compensation as, under similar circumstances, would be granted to Government employes in this Country; and, whether it is a fact that when, on the appointment of Mr. Clifford Lloyd, it was deemed desirable to relieve a French gentleman, in the service of Egypt, who would have been senior to Mr. Lloyd, of his post and salary, this gentleman was granted a large retiring pension, and another French gentleman was appointed, who was thus Mr. Lloyd's



junior, and who is to receive the salary of his predecessor?

**LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE:** Sir, the question of the Pension List is one of those which form part of the general financial question into which I cannot at present enter. Mr. Clifford Lloyd was appointed Under Secretary of State at the Ministry of the Interior in the place of a Native official, who was transferred to another post. We have no knowledge of any further changes, or of any retirements consequent on Mr. Lloyd's appointment.

#### ARMY—THE FIRST ARMY CORPS.

**MR. TOTTENHAM** asked the Secretary of State for War, If it is the fact that two Battalions of the East Surrey and Royal Irish Regiments embarked last month for the Mediterranean with a nominal effective roll of 1695 privates, out of which 773 were recruits of less than a year's service, and 519 of whom had never fired a shot or been through a course of musketry instruction; whether these Battalions formed part of the first line and First Army Corps, and were pronounced by the Military authorities thoroughly efficient and fit for service abroad or in the field; whether the remaining Battalion of the Brigade, of which these formed a part, is a Battalion of the Dorsetshire Regiment, 335 men under its proper strength, and numbering only 515 privates out of an establishment of 850, and 262 of these recruits of less than a year's service; whether these Battalions are fair specimens of the state of efficiency of those belonging to the First Army Corps; and, if it is the case that some Battalions now serving at home have more non-commissioned officers than privates fit for duty?

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:** Sir, I must refer the hon. Member to previous replies, in which I have declined, and have stated my reasons for declining, to give the constitution of particular regiments. I may, however, say, generally, that it has not yet been possible to give full effect to the measures contemplated by my Predecessor for bringing the battalions in the First Army Corps into a state of complete efficiency. It is part of the arrangements for the First Army Corps that battalions do not send out drafts if their battalions abroad are within 12 months of being relieved;

but in the present instance, owing to the general deficiency last year of men in India, and from the necessity of maintaining the strength of the Army there, all men available for drafts were sent out irrespective of the position on the roster of the battalions shortly to be relieved. It resulted, in the case of the battalions quoted by the hon. Member, that they sent abnormally large drafts to India, and had to replace them by recruits very nearly to the number quoted by him.

**MR. TOTTENHAM** gave Notice that he would call attention to the matter further on the Motion to go into Committee of Supply.

#### FRANCHISE (IRELAND)—POPULATION—INHABITED HOUSES, &c. RETURNS.

**MR. TOTTENHAM** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any Return laid before Parliament contains the present numbers of inhabited houses in the various counties and boroughs in Ireland returning Members to Parliament, classified according to their various rateable values; whether the Return ordered by the House of Lords, on the 7th February, would contain such information; whether the Government will take the necessary steps to insure that the House shall have more information as to the character of the inhabited houses in the various counties and boroughs in Ireland before proceeding with the consideration of the Franchise Bill; and, why the preparation of a Return bearing on proposed legislation is not pushed forward with all possible speed?

**MR. TREVELYAN:** Sir, I am not aware that any Return on this subject has been already laid on the Table of the House; but a Return giving the information indicated in the Question was obtained on the 7th of July, and its preparation is being pressed forward as rapidly as possible.

**MR. HEALY:** Upon this matter may I ask whether this is the Return obtained by the House of Lords in opposition to the wishes of the Government; whether the Government intends to ask the House of Commons for a Vote to pay for this Return; and will the Return be prepared before the House of Commons has an opportunity of saying whether they will vote the money or not?

MR. TOTTENHAM: Will the second reading of the Franchise Bill be taken before this Return is laid on the Table?

MR. COURTNEY: As the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) is aware an additional Vote to pay for this Return has been placed on the Estimates.

MR. HEALY: But can the Secretary to the Treasury give the House of Commons any guarantee that no money will be spent in preparing this Return until the House of Commons has passed the money?

MR. COURTNEY said, that the special Vote would be taken in ordinary course, and in that case it would not be necessary to take it very soon. The Vote on Account which would be asked for must, however, be taken shortly.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: What will be the amount of the Vote on Account in reference to this matter?

MR. COURTNEY: I cannot say now. The figures will be furnished when the Vote is asked.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: Will it be £500?

MR. COURTNEY: I really cannot say.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: I beg to give Notice that I will move the reduction of the Vote by the amount asked for to cover the expenses of this Return.

#### ARMY (EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TO THE SOUDAN) — SMALL ARMS — CUTLASSES AND BAYONETS.

MR. TOMLINSON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has any reason to apprehend that there is any foundation for the following statement in *The Daily Telegraph*, as made by their reporter at the late battle:—

“I again noticed the poor quality of the steel wrought into cutlasses and bayonets for the soldiers. If those weapons touched a bone they bent like hoop-iron, without piercing the body of the Arabs;”

and, whether he will request General Graham to make a report on the subject?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the statement of an eye-witness of the battle of Tamai, to the following effect:—

“I noticed the poor quality of the steel wrought into cutlasses and bayonets for the soldiers. If these weapons touched a bone, they bent like hoop-iron, without piercing the body of the Arabs. Their spears and swords,

sharp as razors, cut, as I saw scores of them through bone, sinew, and every obstacle, without turning the edge of the weapon;”

and, whether he will ensure, by inquiry and experiment, that any additional troops that may be sent to Egypt from this country shall be equipped with the best quality of arms?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, in reply to these Questions, I can only say that the present pattern of bayonet is believed to afford a thoroughly serviceable weapon. General Graham has, however, been asked to report upon those with his force, and to send home for examination specimens of any which may have been found faulty.

#### ARMY—STRENGTH OF BATTALIONS.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, If the private soldiers furnished by the 3rd Brigade at Aldershot on the 18th, 21st, and 23rd of February for the 1st Brigade guard, belonged to the Royal Scots Fusiliers; whether any privates were furnished by the Royal Irish Fusiliers on those days for that guard; whether the 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Fusiliers now in India is still 147 men below its establishment, after receiving from its 2nd Battalion all the men available or liable to be transferred on that Battalion embarking for home; and, inasmuch as the 2nd Battalion was unable to complete its 1st Battalion up to its establishment, why upwards of 450 men were left behind on the embarkation of 1st Battalion for India?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, on two of the days named the privates furnished by the 3rd Brigade at Aldershot for the 1st Brigade Guard belonged to the Royal Scots Fusiliers, and on the other day to the Royal Irish Fusiliers. The 1st Battalion of the Royal Irish Fusiliers is now on the Indian Establishment, and its strength is in excess of the strength allowed for battalions on that establishment.

#### EGYPT—THE RIOTS AT ALEXANDRIA —CAPTURED ARTILLERY.

MR. TOMLINSON asked the Secretary of State for War, What measure of truth there is in the statements in *The Army and Navy Gazette* of the 8th instant, that, when Alexandria was occupied, beautiful breech-loading artillery

were rendered useless by the initial tubes being split by gun-cotton, and that a magazine of the most expensive torpedoes was destroyed; whether the guns so destroyed are to be replaced by Krupp guns lately ordered from Prussia; whether a steamer has sailed from England with torpedoes for Alexandria to replace those which were destroyed; and, whether the cost of the torpedoes so sent is included in the Army Estimates for the present year?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, only four 40-pounder breech-loading Armstrong guns were found at Alexandria; of these none were destroyed; 674 submarine mines of various natures were destroyed, but no torpedoes. I am not aware that torpedoes have been despatched to Egypt from this country, and no provision for such a service has been made in the Army Estimates.

#### ARMY PAY DEPARTMENT—GRIEVANCES OF OFFICERS.

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has received a memorial from the Officers of the Army Pay Department enumerating certain grievances under which they conceive the Department to be suffering; whether it is a fact that a large number of vacancies in that Department remain unfilled; and, whether he can hold out hopes of redressing one of the principal grievances complained of—namely, the absence of a permanent representative at the War Office, and of thus placing the Army Pay Department on the same footing as the Commissariat and the Ordnance Store Departments?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER: The answer to my hon. Friend's first Question is, Yes. To the second, that there are 23 vacancies out of a total establishment of 314 in the Pay Department, for which there are 12 candidates. To the third, that there is no intention of appointing a permanent representative of the Department at the War Office.

#### EMIGRATION (IRELAND)—MR. TUKE'S COMMITTEE.

MR. SHEIL (for Colonel NOLAN) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If an agent for Mr. Tuke's Committee for Emigration is now making a house-to-house canvass in the parish of Moyruss, in the county of Galway; and, if a house-to-house canvass has

ever been forbidden by the Government within that county; and, if so, would the Government at present discountenance this house-to-house canvass for emigration purposes?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, there is no foundation whatever for the statement that any such house-to-house canvass has taken place. It is not the practice to make visits to any house unless the owner has applied to the relieving officer of the district to have his name entered on the list of emigrants.

#### SEA COAST FISHERIES (IRELAND)—REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES FOR 1883.

MR. KENNY (for Mr. LEAMY) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there is any likelihood that the Report for 1883 of the Trustees to Aid the Sea Coast Fisheries of Ireland will be published in time to allow it to be in the hands of Members a few days previous to the 9th April, the day fixed for the Second Reading of the Fisheries (Ireland) Bill?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I understand from the Secretary to the Trustees that there is no probability of the Report being adopted before the 9th of April.

#### ECCELESIASTICAL BUILDINGS (ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND).

MR. ILLINGWORTH asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he is aware that cathedrals, and similar ecclesiastical buildings, in Scotland are under the management of the Board of Works; and, whether he will consider the desirability of placing Westminster Abbey, and all other cathedrals in England, under the same control, with the view to their adequate maintenance and preservation?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): Sir, on the abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland and the appropriation by the Crown of the Episcopal teinds, the obligation of supporting certain of the Cathedrals and Abbeys devolved upon the Crown; and since the separation of the Offices of Woods and Works this charge falls on the Estimates of the Office of Works. The case of the English Cathedrals and Westminster Abbey is quite different, the Church retaining the Episcopal and Capitular Revenues. Besides, I am one of those who think that the less busi-



ness is thrown on the Central Government the better; and I am not prepared to propose that English Cathedrals should be repaired either out of Votes of Parliament or under the responsibility of a Government Department.

#### AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS (IRELAND).

MR. DUCKHAM asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether the Agricultural Returns for Ireland will in future be published with those for Great Britain?

MR. DODSON, in reply, said, that the Irish statistics in these matters were collected by the Irish Government, and by different machinery from that by which they were collected in England. They were very much fuller in Ireland, and consequently were somewhat later. He presumed no one would wish the English statistics to be delayed. Whether the Irish statistics could be accelerated was a question which he could not answer.

MR. DUCKHAM: Could not the Irish statistics be pressed forward?

MR. DODSON: That is a matter for the Irish Government. I represent the English Department.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Could not the right hon. Gentleman make inquiries, and see whether the Irish Returns could not be got out a little earlier?

MR. DODSON: That is a Question which should be addressed to the Irish Government.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH—CREMATION.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, after the recent judgment of Mr. Justice Stephen as to the legality of cremation, he intends to interfere administratively with cremations conducted so as not to cause a public nuisance or provoke to a breach of the peace in cases in which there is evidence that death has resulted from natural causes; and, if so, under what Law he claims the right to interfere?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, I think I stated the other day that I did not care to express any opinion as to the legality of this practice; but I repeat, for reasons I have already stated, that any power that I have in the matter will

be used for the discouragement of a practice which, I think, for reasons I have already given, to be objectionable and repugnant to the feelings of the general community.

DR. CAMERON asked whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman had any power in the matter; and, if so, whether he intended to use it?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is a subject on which I should not like to express an opinion; but if I have any such power I shall use it the manner I have stated.

#### STATE OF IRELAND—PREVENTION OF CRIME ACT, 1882—EXTRA POLICE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in view of the unanimous congratulations addressed by Irish judges to grand juries at the Spring Assizes on the state of the respective counties, and also considering the undisturbed condition of society evidenced by the records of agrarian crime for the bygone half-year, the Government will discontinue the operation of those provisions of the Crimes Prevention Act which relate to the quartering of extra police, and the levying of taxes for compensation?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, there are but seven proclamations for additional Constabulary under the Crimes Act now in active operation, as against 57 in February, 1883. Of these, four affect districts in the county of Kerry. In the case of that county, the Judge's address to the Grand Jury at the late Assizes is not altogether of the character indicated in this Question; but, while remarking on the diminution of agrarian crime, clearly points to the value of the extra police force as one of the means to secure that end. With regard to the levying of taxes for compensation, it seems hardly necessary to say that the improved state of a district affords no ground upon which such a district could be relieved from payment of the compensation which has already been legally awarded to persons who, during the disturbed time, suffered injury or loss.

#### THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION (SUB-COMMISSIONERS)—PROFESSOR BALDWIN.

MR. M'COAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

If it is true, as reported in the newspapers, that Professor Baldwin has been allowed leave of absence for a year by the Land Commissioners, in order that he may aid in conducting the business of the Migration Company promoted by the honourable Member for Cork; if so, whether there are any precedents for a judicial functionary being so lent to the promoters of a private enterprise; and, whether, during such leave, Professor Baldwin will continue to draw his salary as a Sub-Commissioner?

MR. TREVELYAN: At the request of the Irish Land Purchase and Settlement Company, arrangements have been made by the Land Commissioners to grant Professor Baldwin leave of absence for a year to enable him to act on the Directorate of that Company. He will receive no pay as a Sub-Commissioner from the date of his quitting his Sub-Commission. The Land Commissioners felt unable to grant less than a year, as they could not obtain a competent person for less than a year. I am not aware whether there is any precedent for such an arrangement. The matter was decided on its merits, and without reference to precedent. Last year Parliament showed its interest in the subject of migration by assigning £50,000 to be devoted to such purposes; and while I must not be understood to assume that, as a matter of course, this Company will be aided by any portion of that sum, I do not think that an undertaking having such objects can properly be described as merely a "private enterprise."

#### INDIA—BENGAL TENANCY BILL.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true, as stated by the Indian press, that the Government of India will appoint a "roving Commission" to test the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Bill by local inquiries; and, if so, whether the Commission will be a merely private official one, or whether it will be on the lines of the Indigo Commission of 1860, that consisted of three officials and three non-officials, sitting publicly, and taking evidence on oath?

MR. J. K. CROSS, in reply, said, that the Secretary of State had received no information that it was the intention of the Government of India to appoint a Commission of the nature indicated by the hon. Member's Question.

*Mr. M'Coan*

#### LAW AND JUSTICE—THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC PROSECUTIONS—PROSECUTIONS IN CAPITAL CASES.

MR. MELLOR asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether it is true that the Government have determined that the prosecutions in all capital cases shall be conducted by the Director of Public Prosecutions; and, whether he has given any directions to that effect?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR HENRY JAMES): Sir, perhaps it will be the better course for me, in answer to the Question of my hon. Friend, to state what directions I have given to the Director of Public Prosecutions. I lately received a communication from the Home Office that in some recent cases great inconvenience, if not injustice, had resulted from no responsible person being in charge of cases when the life of the accused was at stake. I was also informed that the Home Office had found great difficulty in dealing with cases of alleged insanity in consequence of the facts not being brought before the jury, and only suggested after the trial. It seemed to me, therefore, advisable to take steps to insure that all the evidence bearing upon the case, whether tending to prove the guilt or innocence of the prisoner, should be placed before the jury; and with that object I have requested that whenever an accused person is brought before Justices on a capital charge, the magistrates' clerk shall communicate with the Solicitor of the Treasury, and that that officer shall take charge of the prosecution unless he finds that some competent private person or local body has the conduct of it; but, in the absence of such proper conduct, it will be the duty of the Treasury Solicitor, acting for the Director of Public Prosecutions, to see that the evidence in every capital case be fully brought before the jury. I have also requested that in those cases where insanity in the accused is alleged, full inquiry shall be made, and in the absence of his or his friends' ability to produce witnesses, the Treasury Solicitor shall secure their attendance.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman say whether the chief evil in this matter has not arisen in the Central Criminal Court; and if his attention has not been directed to the way in which prosecutions are carried on there?

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES):** The evils to which my attention has been directed are pretty general. One of the cases I have in my mind did occur at the Central Criminal Court. The question of the right hon. Gentleman involves the point whether the Director of Public Prosecutions should not take charge of them altogether.

**POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—BALTINGLASS UNION—MR. EDWARD P. O'KELLY.**

**MR. W. J. CORBET** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If, as President of the Local Government Board, he will inquire whether Mr. Edward P. O'Kelly, of Baltinglass, County Wicklow, is duly rated on a valuation of £27 5s.; whether he was nominated as a candidate for the office of Poor Law Guardian, on the 4th instant, in the Union of Baltinglass; and, whether the returning officer, Mr. Dagg, rejected the nomination paper; and, if so, on what grounds?

**MR. TREVELYAN**, in reply, said, it was true that Mr. O'Kelly was rated for the sum mentioned; but some of the lands were held as immediate lessor, in which case he was obliged to make a claim as required by law. He did make a claim, but it was found to be informal, and his valuation being thus reduced below the amount required by law his nomination was rejected.

**EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—THE SINKAT PRISONERS—AFFAIRS AT KHARTOUM.**

**MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT** asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will empower Admiral Sir William Hewett, now commanding at Suakin, to offer a ransom, for the release of the wives and families of the Commandant and the garrison of Sinkat, who have been sold into slavery by Osman Digna; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will lay upon the Table the instructions already issued upon this subject?

**SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL** asked whether the Government had received any authentic information that the wives and families of the garrison of Sinkat had been sold into slavery?

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:** Sir, I think that the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs answered this Question a few days ago. ["No."] We have called the attention of General Graham to the subject referred to, and have asked him whether it is possible to do anything for the release of the wives and families of these soldiers by ransom or otherwise. In reply to the hon. Baronet, I have to say that we have received no authentic information on the subject.

**MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT:** In consequence of the reply of the noble Lord, I will ask the noble Lord tomorrow whether it has not been stated to General Graham, by Egyptian soldiers who were survivors of the garrison at Sinkat, that 200 women and children have been carried off by Osman Digna?

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:** Sir, I cannot state exactly, but I believe it was reported that a certain number of women and children had been taken to the mountains, though whether they are in a state of slavery or not I cannot say.

**MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT** asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the following statements attributed to General Gordon by *The Times* correspondent at Khartoum:—

"There is a certainty that the emissaries of the Mahdi will succeed in raising the tribes between this (Khartoum) and Berber. This is not owing to disaffection, but to fear caused by the pronounced policy of the abandonment of the Soudan. We cannot blame them for rising when no definite sign is shown of establishing a permanent government here. . . . Be sure of one thing. If Her Majesty's Government do not act promptly, General Graham's victory will go for nought, and with the useless expenditure of blood the effect of it will evaporate. I do not believe we shall send any more telegrams, for it is no longer a question of days, but of hours;"

and, whether, in view of these grave statements, Her Majesty's Government will reconsider their orders for the abandonment of Khartoum, and will, in co-operation with the Sovereign Power, authorize the establishment of a civilized government in that region under efficient British supervision?

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:** Sir, I was under the impression that the subject referred to in this Question had been dealt with in the debate on Saturday. I hardly expected that the hon. Member would renew the Question. It



is not possible for me, or for any other Member of the Government, to give any further information on the subject at present.

MR. ASHMEAD - BARTLETT: I have again to ask the noble Lord whether he will reply to the last paragraph of this Question. [*Cries of "No!"*] I can assure the noble Lord that there was no statement in the course of the debate on Saturday which would furnish a reply to that paragraph.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I may say now, with reference both to this Question and the succeeding one, which stands in the name of the hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms), that I stated on Saturday that I was in communication with Sir Evelyn Baring on the subject of the intelligence received from General Gordon at Khartoum and the proposal which had been made by him, and that undoubtedly I would make a statement on the subject as soon as it was possible to consult him; but I think it would be detrimental to the Public Service to make a statement now.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask whether the communication with Khartoum is now open? We were informed the other night that the telegraph was interrupted.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The last news we have is that the telegraph is only open as far as Shendy, and that there is still an interruption in the telegraphic communication with Khartoum.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government have yet arrived at any decision with regard to the proposal that Zebehr Pasha should succeed General Gordon as Governor of Khartoum; and, whether, in view of the strong condemnation which has been expressed of the suggestion that the people of the Soudan should be placed under the rule of that notorious slave driver, Her Majesty's Government will give the House an opportunity of expressing their opinion on the subject before such an appointment is made?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am afraid I gave the only answer I could. In answering the previous Question of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), I referred to the Question placed on the Paper by the

hon. Member opposite, and the answer which I gave is the only one I am capable of giving at present.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked, whether the noble Lord would answer the last part of his Question, as to whether the House would have an opportunity of expressing their opinion before an appointment was made?

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF desired to ask a Question of which he had not been able to give the noble Lord Notice—namely, whether there was any truth in the telegrams of to-day stating that Admiral Hewett had issued a Proclamation offering a reward for the capture of Osman Digna alive or dead; whether that Proclamation had been issued with the previous or the subsequent sanction of Her Majesty's Government; and whether, in case this should lead to the private assassination of Osman Digna, Her Majesty's Government were prepared to pay the reward out of the funds of the British taxpayer?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In reply to the further Question of the hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry De Worms), I have only to say that I have undertaken that a full statement shall be made by the Government on this subject at the earliest possible moment. I do not think I am able to add to that. In reply to the Question of the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), I saw this morning a statement made in the newspapers that a Proclamation of this character had been issued by Admiral Hewett and General Graham. I at once communicated with my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty on the subject, and I found that he had already despatched a telegram asking Admiral Hewett whether it was true that such a Proclamation had been issued, and pointing out to him that Proclamations of such a character ought not to be put forth without communication with Sir Evelyn Baring. I ought, perhaps, to say, in justice to Admiral Hewett and General Graham, that I observe that the reports in the newspapers do not altogether agree as to the exact terms of the Proclamation said to have been issued.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he should like to ask whether, even with the concurrence of Sir Evelyn Baring, such a Proclamation should be issued;

whether such a Proclamation should be issued under any circumstances; and, whether the Government would withdraw it at once?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: What I intended to point out was that Proclamations of a political character such as this is ought not to be issued without the previous sanction of the Government. Sir Evelyn Baring, on any important subject of this sort, would communicate with Her Majesty's Government.

MR. STAVELEY HILL inquired whether any answer had been received from Admiral Hewett?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am not aware whether any answer has been received.

EGYPT—THE PRESS LAWS—THE  
"BOSPHORE EGYPTIEN."

MR. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Egyptian Press Law is still in existence; whether, according to it, three "warnings" must precede the suppression of any newspaper subject to its provisions; whether such "warnings" were given to *The Bosphore Egyptien* before its recent suppression; whether the decree ordering such suppression emanated from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as provided by the Press Law, or from the Ministry of the Interior, of which Mr. Clifford Lloyd is the Under Secretary; whether such decree has been sanctioned by Sir Evelyn Baring; whether the specific offence for which the suspension has been ordered was the publication of an article in the issue of the condemned newspaper for the 18th of February last, in which the influence of Sir Evelyn Baring on Egyptian Administration was unfavourably, but still moderately and respectfully, commented on; and, whether he will lay Copies of such article, of the decree suppressing the newspaper, and of any Despatches received from Cairo on the subject, upon the Table of the House?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Egyptian Press Law now in force is presumed to be that of November 26, 1881. According to Article 13 of that law, two warnings must precede the suppression of a newspaper; but it may be suppressed without warning by a decision of the Council of Ministers. The execution of the law rests with the Minister of the Interior, not with the

Minister for Foreign Affairs. Sir Evelyn Baring has been asked to communicate the facts in the particular case of *The Bosphore Egyptien*; and, as I have already stated, there will be no objection to presenting the Papers to Parliament.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS IN  
THE SOUDAN)—THE ROYAL IRISH  
FUSILIERS.

MR. O'SHEA asked the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, Whether the regiment referred to as being in front of the 2nd Brigade at Tamasi, whose steadiness enabled the 1st Brigade to rally and thus saved the honour of the British Arms, was the Royal Irish Fusiliers?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I wish the hon. Gentleman had given me Notice of that Question. I am not in a position at present to state the position of the regiments.

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS IN  
THE SOUDAN)—COLONEL BURNABY.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I want, with the permission of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, to ask him a Question of which I have not been able to give him Notice, but which, I am sure, from his position as the responsible Minister for the Army and from his knowledge of the Army, he will be able to answer without Notice, as it concerns the honour and character of a gallant officer. The Question is this—Whether it is not an invariable and immemorial rule of the British Army that any British officer on leave, who finds himself in the neighbourhood of British Forces engaged in military operations, is bound to place his services at the disposal of the officer commanding those forces? Further, whether Colonel Burnaby, acting on this invariable rule, placed his services at the disposal of General Graham; whether he received the thanks of General Graham for his services; whether he was seriously wounded; and, whether he was not intrusted by General Graham with the distinguished honour of bringing home despatches?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am not aware of any such rule as that referred to by the noble Lord; but I have not the least doubt that any officer on leave, finding himself in the neighbourhood of British Forces engaged in military operations, would offer his ser-

vices to the officer in command. I have no knowledge of the circumstances under which Colonel Burnaby's services were accepted by General Graham; but I have not the least doubt that the military authorities out there would be very glad to avail themselves of the services of so distinguished and so able an officer as Colonel Burnaby.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: That is not the Question. What I asked was, whether Colonel Burnaby was publicly thanked by General Graham for his services; whether he was severely wounded; and whether he was intrusted with the honour of bringing home the despatches? I wish, further, to ask whether the noble Lord is aware that his Colleague, the President of the Local Government Board, stated in this House, on his own knowledge, that Colonel Burnaby was under no necessity to take part in military operations?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I must entirely contradict that. What I said was, that Colonel Burnaby was under no military necessity to take part in the military operations by firing on the Arabs with a shot gun.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In reply to the other Question of the noble Lord, I am only aware officially of the fact that Colonel Burnaby was wounded. I have no further knowledge respecting Colonel Burnaby other than that which I have seen in the newspapers. I do not know whether he was thanked by the General, and I do not know whether he is bringing home despatches.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Is the noble Lord, as the Minister in this House responsible for the British Army, prepared to confirm the statement of his Colleague just made in the nature of an insult to a gallant officer? I must press for a reply to that Question.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not know what the noble Lords calls the statement of my right hon. Friend.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The statement just made—that Colonel Burnaby was under no military necessity to take part in the military operations at El Teb by firing on the Arabs with a gun.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I can only give an expression of my own personal opinion. I should certainly think that no British officer would

be under the necessity of taking part in an action in the manner described by my right hon. Friend.

MR. ONSLOW: I should like to ask the noble Lord whether he is aware that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, in his speech on Saturday, did not use the words which he just now said he used?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I beg most emphatically to say that I did make use of those words. ["Oh, oh!"]

MR. GORST: May I be allowed to ask the President of the Local Government Board on what authority he has publicly stated in this House that Colonel Burnaby did fire on the Arabs with a shot gun?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The noble Lord had accused the British Army of taking part in an operation the most wanton that has ever been known.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did not; I deny it flatly.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The words are to be found in all the reports of the speech which the noble Lord made on the 3rd of March. In the speech to which I allude—a very excited speech—the noble Lord said, or was reported to have said, that we had taken part in an operation the most wanton that had ever been known.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did not. ["Order, order!"] I did not.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: My statement is confirmed by all the reports of what the noble Lord said in this House on Monday, March 3. In the speech to which I alluded, the noble Lord was reported to have used these words—

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: To have used strong language in condemnation of the operations so conducted. In reply to the noble Lord, I said that I would leave him to settle that question with the gallant officer who was standing with him as a Colleague for the representation of Birmingham. The noble Lord interrupted me, and said that Colonel Burnaby was under orders when taking part in the operations in the Soudan. I, in reply to his interruption, said that I doubted that fact; and, the noble Lord having again interrupted me, I said I was not aware that Colonel Burnaby was under necessity of



taking part in these operations by firing with a shot gun upon the Arabs.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL : As a personal explanation—the House will allow me to contradict as strongly as I possibly can the statement of the President of the Local Government Board that I accused the British Army of having—what did he say?—that I accused the British Army of being guilty of inhuman—[*Cries of "Wanton!"*—] operations. I did nothing of the kind. I stated in this House that nothing was due to the British Army for those operations, except the thanks of Parliament; and the parties I accused of massacre and blood-guiltiness were Her Majesty's Government.

CAPTAIN FELLOWES : I wish to ask the President of the Local Government Board, whether there is any other authority except the reports in the newspapers for the statement that Colonel Burnaby fired on the Arabs with a shot gun?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE : No, Sir. I began by saying that I had not. I had not the least intention of making that statement. [*Cries of "Withdraw!"*] I should not have made it at all but for the interruption of the noble Lord. That statement with regard to the firing on the Arabs with the shot gun was given in much detail in all the newspapers which contained an account of the battle, and in one newspaper particulars are given as to the number of Arabs killed by Colonel Burnaby.

CAPTAIN FELLOWES : Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will let me tell him that my information is the direct contrary—

MR. SPEAKER : I beg to intimate to the hon. and gallant Member that he will not be in Order in continuing his remarks.

#### BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1883 (PATRONAGE)

##### —OFFICIAL RECEIVERS—

MR. MESSENT.

##### PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he rose for the purpose of making a personal explanation with regard to a Motion which he made in that House, for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the appointments made to Official Receiverships under the Bankruptcy Act of last Session, by the President of the Board of Trade,

and into the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman had exercised his patronage under that Act. That Committee was refused. On a subsequent day, when he was unfortunately absent through illness, the President of the Board of Trade read two letters to the House, which he should have answered if he had been present. He wished, therefore, to make some remarks in reference to those letters. He would have been prepared to answer the right hon. Gentleman on Thursday last; but the right hon. Gentleman was not in his place, and he thought it more courteous to defer the statement until the right hon. Gentleman was present. The first letter was from a person named Messent, who was appointed Official Receiver in Bankruptcy at Ipswich. That letter would be fresh in the memory of the House. The first part of the letter expressed indignation at the charge which he had made that Mr. Messent had asked for the indulgence of his creditors; and the second part stated that Mr. Messent, before his appointment, was permanently resident at Ipswich. It would be more respectful to the House if he stated the reasons on which he made that charge. He went to Birmingham specially to investigate the case; and he heard, not from one, but from dozens, that what he had said was the fact. He was not satisfied with that, but applied to one of the principal Trade Protection Societies. [*Loud cries of "Order!"*]

MR. DILLWYN : I rise to Order, Sir. Is this a personal explanation?

MR. SPEAKER : I understand that the hon. Member wishes to proceed to a personal explanation.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, that he had made certain charges, and wished to explain why he had done so. He, therefore, applied to one of the Trade Protection Societies without giving his reasons for doing so. The reply he received was as followed :—

"It is understood that F. M. has recently been appointed Official Receiver under the new Bankruptcy Act at Ipswich. He was in difficulties when in Birmingham, but has since paid 20s. in the pound."

Not satisfied with that, he repeated his question in another quarter, and the reply was that Mr. Messent had not actually failed, but had been in difficulties, and that he had since paid 20s.

in the pound. He applied to another Trade Society, and got the same answer. He thought that was sufficient reason for his statement that Mr. Messent had asked for the indulgence of his creditors; but, as his (Mr. Dixon-Hartland's) object was to perform a public duty, and not to wound anyone's feelings, he would wish to withdraw those words. But that did not alter one jot or tittle—[*Cries of "Order!"*]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is not entitled to enter upon matters of debate. So long as he confines himself to a personal explanation, he is in Order.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND: The rest of Mr. Messent's letter was that he was really an Ipswich man; but that did not alter the fact that he was a tailor living at Birmingham, a voter for Birmingham, a Guardian of the Poor for Birmingham, and an active member of the Birmingham Caucus. The second letter read by the President of the Board of Trade was from Mr. Hughes, the Mayor of Oxford; and if the right hon. Gentleman had examined the facts at first hand, instead of trusting to Mr. Hughes's testimony, he would have found that Mr. Mallam gave evidence on the Oxford Election Petition. [*"Order, order!"*]

MR. SPEAKER: I have allowed considerable latitude to the hon. Member, because I understood that he was going to confine himself to a personal explanation; but he is now introducing matter of fresh debate. I am sorry to interrupt the hon. Member; but he is really out of Order.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he was only referring to the cases mentioned in the letters read the other night. [*Cries of "Order!"*] Might he not refer to those letters?

MR. SPEAKER: So long as they have any reference to the personal explanation which the hon. Member desires to make. But, as I said before, to go into those cases would be to inaugurate a fresh debate, and that would not be in Order.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND only wished to vindicate what he had said before. [*"Order, order!" "Name!"*] Did Mr. Speaker rule that he could make this personal explanation?

MR. SPEAKER: Yes.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND said, he would read the evidence given upon the

Oxford Election Petition by Mr. George Mallam, the Official Receiver just appointed—

"What was the next election in which you took any part?—The first election of this year. Sir William Harcourt, with Mr. Chitty, called on my brother, and they sent for me. I came up, and they said they hoped they should get both our services. Who was acting as principal agent?—Mr. Bickerton. Did you act under him?—I acted with him."

He (Mr. Dixon-Hartland), therefore, thought that in this case also he was justified in saying that the appointment was for political services.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Perhaps the House will allow me to make one or two observations, which shall be very brief. [*Cries of "Order!"*]

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I wish to ask, Sir, whether the right hon. Gentleman is entitled to continue this debate?

MR. SPEAKER: After the statement which has just been made, and which has certainly exceeded the limits of a personal explanation, I do not think that anything more should be said on the subject.

#### EGYPT (AFFAIRS OF THE SOUDAN)— GENERAL GRAHAM'S PROCLAMATION.

MR. HEALY gave Notice that, in the event of the reports being true that a reward had been offered for the assassination of Osman Digna, he would ask the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, Whether he would consider the effect of that Proclamation upon General Gordon in case the gentleman whom the noble Lord had recognized as Sultan of Kordofan—namely, the Mahdi—should offer a reward in analogous terms for the capture of General Gordon, dead or alive?

#### SOUTHERN PACIFIC—SOUTH SEA ISLANDERS.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any reply has been given by Her Majesty's Government to the complaints of the Imperial German Government, that "vessels sailing under the English flag, and regularly accompanied by Government officers," not only carry off South Sea Islanders into slavery under the name of free labour, but that even "the violent proceedings of the labour traffic ships are directed against the property of German traders;" whe-

ther the German Imperial Government have, as stated by Baron Plossen—

“Permanently stationed a ship of the Imperial Navy in South Sea waters during the so-called labour season from May till end of September, with instructions to repel by force attacks upon the life and property of Germans;”

and, what action Her Majesty's Government intend to take in case the German Imperial Navy considers it to be necessary to use force against ships engaged in the so-called labour traffic under the English flag?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have replied by communicating to the German Government the Report of the Commission recently presented to Parliament. The intention of the German Government, as announced to us, is to station a man-of-war in the South Sea waters during the labour season, which does not commence till May. The object, as defined in Baron Plossen's note annexed to the Report, will be to control German labour ships. Her Majesty's Government, having no knowledge of any intention to interfere with ships under the English Flag, do not think it necessary to take any steps.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

### SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair.”

### ARMY (TERM OF SERVICE).

#### RESOLUTION.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, in rising to move—

“That experience shows that no system will provide adequately for the military requirements of the British Empire which does not provide for two distinct classes of soldiers, short service men to stay at home and form a reserve for defence, and long service men to form a professional Army to serve in India and distant Foreign possessions;”

said, he had hoped that the Secretary of State for War would have made his statement with regard to the Army Estimates before going into Committee of Supply; but as the noble Lord had not done so he wished to call attention to a Motion that he had had upon the Paper for

several years. He had placed it on the Paper because he had always had a strong opinion respecting the system of long and short service. His experience of India had convinced him in regard to the past that nothing but an Army of the most thoroughly efficient character would have stood the strain that our Indian Army had had to bear. The language of his Resolution was very weak compared with that which military men were in the habit of using every day as to the soldiers we now had in our regiments. The Resolution did not mean that they should have two Armies, but that they should attract into the Army two classes of men. They should have long service men for the defence of our great Possessions abroad, and they should endeavour to attract to the Service intelligent men who were willing to accept the Army as their profession in life. With regard to the short service men, he thought they should offer inducements to men of good character to accept what he might call a retaining fee for service at home in the Reserves, to be employed in the defence of their country, if, unfortunately, foreign aggression should render it necessary. As to the necessity for a long service system, he believed that Her Majesty's Government had come to his way of thinking, as he understood, from the announcement made by the noble Lord last year, that men of good character were given the privilege of re-enlisting for long service, by which they obtained certain advantages. He hoped that would not be a temporary offer on the part of the Government, but that men would be assured that if they liked to devote themselves to the profession of arms they would eventually retire upon pensions. The present system of deferred pay, however, was almost incompatible with long service, as it acted as a kind of bounty or premium to men to retire from the Army when their short-service term expired. Though he would be the last person in the world to object to any system under which men of intelligence could be induced to enter the Army, he believed that the system of deferred pay was against the interests and efficiency of a long-service Army. In former days, when the Army was under a different system, one of severe discipline, the men fought well; but nowadays men had become too comfortable and too intelligent to knock



their heads against a wall unless some kind of promotion and advantage could be offered for their ambition. It was unfortunate that in our Army promotion from the ranks to the grade of officer was not so welcome a change as it ought to be. It too often happened that a man so raised was made wretched, for he was cut off from his former friends, and he could not associate with other officers on equal terms. The East India Company got a better class of men in this way, because under the Company there was a wider field open to ambition. There was every probability that it would add to the popularity of the Army at home if men could be enlisted for short periods without the liability to serve abroad with the prospect of returning to civil occupations after they had served long enough to be entitled, as he had said, to a retaining fee for service in the Reserve. He hoped that in urging these views upon the Secretary of State for War he was only flogging a willing horse, and that the noble Lord would be prepared to extend to the Line the system of enlistment that was producing favourable results in the case of the Guards. We must make the payments that were necessary to induce men to enlist for foreign service. Without detaining the House, he would like to say just one word about the next Motion upon the Paper, in the name of the hon. Member for Kirkcudbright (Sir Herbert Maxwell). For his part, he did not hold with the view of the hon. Baronet with regard to the ostrich feather, or, in fact, with anything else that came from Egypt. He was one of those who thought that the sooner we washed our hands of everything connected with Egypt the better. He should much prefer to see the use of what might be called the national Tam o' Shanter bonnet than of these extraordinary headpieces. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, that, in seconding the Resolution of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy, he did not bind himself to all the details of the hon. Member's plan. He was inclined to think that what the Secretary of State for War did last year would have been a sufficient step in the direction indicated, if it had only been carried out. He (Colonel Colthurst) believed that a system of free trade in enlistment was what was re-

quired—namely, that every man who enlisted in the Guards or in the Line for three years should at the end of that period have the power of going on to nine years more, and that, if approved, he might at the end of his 12 years continue his service for the purpose of obtaining a pension. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War would remember that it was found impossible to get 600 men who had completed six years in India to continue their service. They stated that they had their deferred pay, and could get civil employment, and that if they re-enlisted for six years more they would at the end of that time be turned adrift with worse chances of obtaining work than they then had. He thanked the noble Marquess for recognizing the situation last year, but regretted that the boon which he had given to the Army had been needlessly restricted. Without going into details, he might be allowed to express his conviction that what had been given to the Foot Guards might with advantage be given to the Infantry of the Line. With reference to deferred pay, he hoped the noble Lord would take into consideration the possibility of giving the money in the shape of weekly or monthly pay. Deferred pay ought not to be made a premium to the men to leave the Army as it was now. Men often wasted the £18 which they received at the end of six years' service, and they then became discontented and fell back upon the 4*d.* per day reserve pay, and many of them fraudulently re-enlisted. He suggested that the War Office should issue a clear statement to the men pointing out that the changes which had been made with reference to re-engagement were permanent. There was a general impression that those changes were not of a permanent character, and the men had no confidence that the promises which had been made would be continued. He hoped the noble Marquess would consider the suggestion he had made.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "experience shows that no system will provide adequately for the military requirements of the British Empire which does not provide for two distinct classes of soldiers, short service men to stay at home and form a reserve for defence, and long service men to form a professional

Army to serve in India and distant Foreign possessions,"—(*Sir George Campbell*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he considered that the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy had done good service in calling the attention of the noble Marquess to the defects which especially applied to the European portion of the troops forming the Indian Army from the changes of late years in regard to the periods of service of the men. But there was one matter to which he had not referred—the deficiency in the strength of the European division of the Indian Army. He found that last year there had been a deficiency of 5,500 in the European portion of the soldiers on the Indian Establishment, and that the strength of the Infantry of the Line was still 3,500 deficient. Such a deficiency was, he thought, a serious reflection upon the Horse Guards, and he mentioned this because it was not the first time that so great a deficiency had taken place. He contended that the Mutiny would never have taken place if the Army had been kept up to its proper strength. As far as could be ascertained, the European Force was then 6,000 rank-and-file short of its proper strength, being thus one-sixth of the whole number. At that very time there were at home abundance of soldiers. Between 1860 and 1872 the European strength was again allowed to fall several thousands below the total enlistment; but by letters to *The Times*, pointing out the short numbers, the deficiencies were promptly made good. Again, recently, the Establishment was far short of its proper complement of men. He could not understand why last year the Indian Army was allowed to fall so far below its establishment. The defect must be owing to bad arrangements for recruiting and for training the men. Under the old East India Company recruits enlisted most freely, and any number could be obtained. But now, when all were Imperial soldiers, the deficiencies existed. The question was a serious one, and it was the duty of the Government to maintain the strength of the Indian Establishment whatever that strength might be.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I will say a very few words upon this subject before the Question is put, because it is one which may, perhaps, be discussed more conveniently in Committee. My hon. Friend is perfectly right in saying that I agree to a great extent with the views which he has expressed; and the measures taken in June last went considerably in the direction of the proposal now before the House. Our present system does practically provide for two classes of soldiers serving in the Army—one class enlisting for short service only and subsequent service in the Reserve, and another class having the privilege of extending their short service, and ultimately of re-engaging. The system under consideration does give a very considerable amount of such elasticity as my hon. Friend desires to see in the terms of soldiers' engagements. I cannot, however, commit myself to the acceptance of the Amendment that has been moved. My hon. Friend appears to desire that the Army should be separated by a hard-and-fast line into two divisions, the first of which would contain short service men, who would serve for a very short time and then go into the Reserve, and who in no circumstances would leave this country; while the second would contain men who would enlist for some long period of service, and do all the foreign service required of the Army. Now, I do not think that it would be advantageous to have a large Army at home which would never have an opportunity of doing any foreign service. I should not like to see such a line as that drawn; although I admit that there ought to be more elasticity in the terms of soldiers' engagements. My hon. Friend has pointed out that the grant of deferred pay when a soldier leaves the Colours acts practically as a bounty to induce men to go into the Reserve. That is a fact; but we must recollect that the deferred pay is part of the inducement offered to a recruit to join the Colours; and now that the system has been established so long, we ought to be very careful how we alter or interfere with the advantages which are offered to recruits, and which experience tells us are so successful in influencing large numbers of men to enlist. It is extremely desirable, in the interests of the Army and of the soldier himself, that he should be given the means of

taking with him into private life a considerable sum of money, in order that he may start in some business or occupation. I am afraid that too often the deferred pay is wasted; but in many cases it does enable the soldier to resume the avocation which he followed before his enlistment, and so adds to the popularity of the Service in many districts of the country. Reference has been made to the alteration in the terms of enlistment in the case of the Guards. No doubt that experiment has been extremely successful so far as it has gone; but it would be premature to say that it ought to be extended to the whole Army. As yet only half the experiment has been tried. It has induced recruits to join, but we do not know yet what number of them will be willing to prolong their service with the Colours after the expiration of the stipulated three years. There will be no inconvenience in the case of the Guards if the period of service is not extended, because the Guards have no foreign service; but if we were to enlist men in the Line for three years only, and were not to find a sufficient number of men willing to extend their service, we should find ourselves in difficulties in connection with our battalions abroad. Therefore, before going further with the experiment initiated last year, it will be necessary to have more experience than we have at present as to the willingness of men not only to enlist, but to extend their service. Reference has also been made to the alleged uncertainty of the policy of the War Office. It has been said that this uncertainty has caused a considerable number of men to abstain from taking advantage of the changes introduced last year. There must be some misapprehension here. No doubt I have said that the changes made last June were introduced experimentally, and might not be permanent; but there is no uncertainty whatever attaching to the cases of the men who have availed themselves of those changes. The only doubt is, whether similar proposals will be made to men who may join the Army hereafter. To a certain extent, we have adopted the opinions which my hon. Friend holds, and I ask him not to press us to extend this experiment too far and too rapidly. Before I sit down, I may be allowed to make an appeal to hon. Members who have Motions on the Paper. Several of

those Motions will be discussed equally well, if not with greater advantage, after I have had the opportunity of making my statement in Committee. I hope I may be allowed to make that statement without any very great delay, so that the House may be placed in possession of the policy of the Government.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether the noble Lord could give him any further information about the Proclamation for the capture of Osman Digna?

MR. SPEAKER ruled that the question of the hon. Gentleman was irrelevant.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

#### ARMY—DRESS OF THE ARMY—THE FEATHER HEAD-DRESS OF THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS.

##### OBSERVATIONS.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL, in whose name the following Resolution stood upon the Paper:—

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable to retain distinctive uniforms for the Territorial Regiments; that the proposed discontinuance of the feather bonnet, which has been worn by the Highland Regiments for upwards of a century in many victorious campaigns, is especially to be deprecated; and that, in view of the unsatisfactory materials issued from the Clothing Department to Highland Regiments, the provision of all Highland articles of clothing be intrusted to the regimental or battalion authorities, as was formerly done by the Colonels in Chief, when Regiments were clothed by them,"

said, he was most anxious to adopt what the noble Marquess thought was the best means of discussing his Motion; but he thought the House would know the difference between discussing a subject before going into Committee now, and discussing it in Committee, perhaps, between 2 and 3 o'clock in an August morning. There was additional reason for discussing the matter now, and that was that it had already been, no doubt involuntarily, on the part of the Heads of the Departments, the subject of several mis-statements. These mis-statements had been allowed to go forth, and so far they had had no opportunity of contradicting them. English Members might, perhaps, not understand fully the feeling with which the announcement had been received in



Scotland that the head-dress which had been so long inseparably associated with a Highland regiment, and which had been worn on the battle-field in every part of the civilized world, was about to be abolished. Such a step ought not to be taken unless it could be shown that it was highly expedient, and he was prepared to show that it was not. Two years ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was at that time Secretary of State for War, in answer to his Question whether the head-dress of the Highland regiments was to be changed, said that there had been for some time a discussion as to the suitability of the present heavy and costly bonnet, and, after many complaints, the Duke of Cambridge had appointed a Committee, consisting of officers of Scotch regiments, to inquire into the matter; that the Report had not yet reached him; but when it should he would give it his most earnest consideration. What was the result of that inquiry? The Committee separated and never made a Report; and, what was more, the Instructions to that Committee—and he defied contradiction in that—were not to inquire into the utility of the present head-dress of Highland soldiers. The Instructions to the Committee contained the statement that the abolition of the bonnet had already been decided on, and that they were to select a proper substitute. The fact was that Sir Archibald Alison's Committee had been mixed up with another Committee over which Lord Morley presided, and the Report of which contained the recommendation that the head-dress should be abolished. But upon what ground was that Report founded? It was founded upon this—that in order to give symmetry to the artificial, and in many respects undesirable, scheme of the late Secretary of State for War, under which three additional regiments were put in kilts, in order to meet the additional expense it was decided to take away the head-dress of the existing battalions. The late Secretary of State for War had talked of the bonnet as heavy and costly. Now, about three hours ago he had an officer's bonnet in his hand, and what did it weigh? It weighed only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lbs. Twenty years ago it cost £8, and it had been in constant use ever since. In reply to a Question put by him the other day, the noble Marquess hazarded the statement that the present head-dress had no national

origin. [The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, that he relied upon the Report of the Committee.] He would have to go a little into ancient history to show how utterly without foundation the assertion was. The first instance he had been able to find of an artistic representation of the feather bonnet was in a picture by Jameson, who was known as the Scottish Vandyke, of one of the Earls of Moray, in the Reign of Charles I. The Earl was represented in kilt and broad blue bonnet with ostrich feathers. The broad blue bonnet was the national Scotch head-dress. The present feather bonnet had come by evolution, as it were, out of the broad blue bonnet. When the latter was selected as the soldier's head-dress, it was made as tall and imposing as possible. The broad blue bonnet was pulled up and stiffened, and feathers were put upon it. Anyone with any experience of Infantry knew that the last instructions given to soldiers before going into action were to fire low, and the effect of the feather bonnet was to make their adversaries fire high, as it added a foot to the height, and thus afforded the men a better chance of escaping. In 1739, on the formation of the 42nd Regiment, according to one of the greatest authorities on the subject, they received a blue bonnet with a border of red, white, and green in colours of different branches of the Stuart family, and a tuft of feathers. The feathers were no unmeaning appendage, but indicated gentility and the right to bear arms, the greater part of the 42nd being duinnie-wassals, or small gentry. Was it right or just to attack the Scotch regiments—for it was nothing less than an attack—and inflict a slight upon them, by asking them to surrender, from motives of economy—which were very much exaggerated—a distinction inherited from so honourable a source? Had this been an Irish question, hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway would have made the position intolerable for the Government. Because they were Scottish, and were accustomed to let things pass without much discussion, did they think they were going to allow their bonnets to be taken away? Not at all. The noble Lord had stated that the Highland head-dress was never worn abroad. For the last three or four years it had not been worn abroad; but in all our great battles it was one of the most familiar of head-dresses. It

was worn by the 42nd in Flanders, and there they received the red hackle as an honourable distinction, which, up to the present time, they wear. Would the Government take away that honour from a regiment which was bearing the brunt of the present campaign in Egypt? The Highland bonnet was worn in America, at the siege of Gibraltar, at the storming of Seringapatam in 1799, in the Peninsula, at Waterloo, in the Crimea, and during the Indian Mutiny. There were 3,200 Highland soldiers at the relief of Lucknow who all wore the Highland bonnet. Both officers and men of the 93rd Highlanders wore it from the date of landing, all through the Mutiny, including the relief of Lucknow in 1858, and the action of Bareilly, which was fought on one of the hottest of days, and yet the 93rd lost fewer men from sunstroke than any other regiment. And with regard to cold climates, a gallant friend of his testified that in the Crimea, on the 14th of November, when a storm wrecked the tents, he had seen a great number of bonnets swept away into the muddy trenches at Balaklava, and they were afterwards recovered, rinsed and dried, and completely restored to their normal condition. It was a well-known fact that many feathered bonnets worn in the Crimea and during the Indian Mutiny were the very same bonnets and plumes which had waved on the field of Waterloo. The sentiment connected with the Highland bonnet should not be disregarded. It was impossible with safety to dispense with the little peculiarities which distinguished one regiment from another. Mr. Kinglake had borne testimony, in his *History of the Crimean War*, to the reality of the sentiment attached to this fantastic head-dress, which "struck a vague terror as of things unearthly" into the hearts of the Russians. He held that the sole reason of this movement on the part of the War Office was the unsatisfactory manner in which the clothing was made at Pimlico. They did not know how to make a Highland bonnet at Pimlico, and it was not to be expected they could. He would suggest to the noble Lord a return to the system which prevailed not very long ago in Highland regiments, by which an annual contingent grant was allowed to the commanding officers of battalions, in order to supply the stuff, which could

not be got in London. A great saving would thereby be effected, even in the matter of feather bonnets. The present total cost of a feather bonnet was £3 6s. 3d. His proposal was that the Government should make a grant to the battalions they had put in kilts, and who were at present without any head-dress at all. If an annual grant of 7s. per man were made to the commanding officers of battalions, he pledged his reputation for intelligence and foresight that the supply of feather bonnets could be kept up in a much more satisfactory degree, and with a saving of 10s. 3d. per bonnet. Not only were the bonnets of unsatisfactory material, but so was the whole of the Highland clothing supplied from Pimlico. The Glengarry caps were absolutely ridiculous. It was the same as regards the tartans, about which at Pimlico they knew nothing. The tartan was not only bad, but it was inadequate. If colonels of regiments were to make the kilts out of the 6½ yards of material allowed, the result would be a little wretched scrimp kilt that was positively indecent. The minimum quantity of cloth required to make a kilt as it should be was 7½ yards, and the difference between that and the 6½ yards supplied was furnished by the officers of the Highland regiments. The Department ought to be ashamed to allow Her Majesty's officers to help to clothe their own men. He threw all the blame on the Pimlico Clothing Establishment, and on certain officials, who would like to see the whole of the British Army clothed alike in brown paper and red tape. It was, indeed, very hard, when the Highland soldiers were laying down their lives in Egypt, that they should receive what the regiments would regard as an unhandsome and unmerited slight.

Dr. FARQUHARSON said, he thought it was an unfortunate thing to interfere with the Highland bonnet without some urgent necessity for that interference being shown. He believed it was practically a tailor's question. The tailors discovered that a certain dress was inconvenient to make, and so they did all they could to discourage its use. As a matter of fact, it had been found to be both convenient and not costly, and there could be no reason why the Highland regiments should be deprived of it. It was a bonnet which stood a great

amount of wear and tear, and not only that, but it was very popular in the Service. He thought it would be a very unfortunate thing to interfere with the sentiment which was in favour of the bonnet, because many men in the North of Scotland joined regiments in consequence of that sentiment. This feeling was fully recognized by the territorial system. There was a widespread feeling that the Committee of 1880 either had reported or would report in favour of the abolition of the feather bonnet; but the fact was that the Committee had not completed their labours; and he believed that if they had not been hampered by the instruction given to them not to go into the question of the feather bonnet at all, they would have unanimously reported in favour of its retention. In conclusion, he urged the Government to reconsider this question, and not let the tailors have it all their own way.

COLONEL STANLEY said, they were disposed to speak of this question of dress as if it were a mere trifle; but those who knew the Service were well aware that what seemed trifles to outsiders were greatly prized in the regiments. There was, no doubt, a general feeling in favour of the retention of the feather bonnet; and he hoped, though the noble Lord might not be able to renounce the previous decision arrived at, he would, at least, be able to say that the question would be kept open for further consideration.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, he would be the last to say anything against the feeling of Scotchmen in favour of the feather bonnet; but it was all humbug to say that the Scotch regiments were composed entirely of Scotchmen. He believed there were over 20 regiments in the Army with Scotch designations; but the fact was that many so-called Highland regiments were in no sense Highlanders. In the British Army there appeared, by a Return he had obtained, some 44,000 Irishmen and 14,000 Scotchmen; and, if the whole thing were gone into, it would be found that there were about five regiments which were essentially Scotch. He might instance the 42nd, who were now recruiting in Nottingham, and the 75th Gordon Highlanders. It was time to get rid of this humbug about the battles of England being all won by Scotchmen. No doubt the Highlanders would and did fight

as well as any men; but what was the use of hon. Members bringing forward these questions, and endeavouring to make the British public believe that every regiment that distinguished itself was Scotch, when they knew that such was not the case. The fact was that there were few Highlanders in the Highland regiments, except the 42nd, the 78th, the 79th, the 92nd, and the 93rd. When the Irish Members asked for a regiment of Irish Guards they were laughed at; but here they were solemnly talking about feather bonnets and head decorations. Let them have their Highland dress, by all means, for Highlanders, than whom no braver or more gallant soldiers need be wished for; but not for the English and Irish 75th Gordon Highlanders, or other regiments with Scottish names, but few Scottish soldiers.

MR. BRAND said, although he had the deepest and most unfeigned respect for the sentiments of Scotchmen, it was possible that the opinions of Sir Archibald Alison and Colonel Macpherson, who commanded the Black Watch, might be quite as accurate an expression of the feelings and opinions of Scotsmen as even that of the hon. Baronet (Sir Herbert Maxwell). The hon. Baronet opposite quoted from Kinglake descriptions of the Crimean War and the charge of the Highlanders; but they all admitted the gallantry of the Highland regiments, and the country was proud of them; but it was not the bonnet which enabled those regiments to behave with so much heroism. As to the Motion, it resolved itself into three parts. It alleged that it was desirable to maintain the distinctive uniforms of the territorial regiments. No attempt was made to interfere with the distinctive uniforms. Scotch regiments and all other regiments had distinctive badges. The second point was that the discontinuance of the feather bonnet, worn for upwards of a century in many victorious campaigns, was to be deprecated. He disputed this statement of fact. As far as he could gather, the present feather bonnet dated from 1807. As the House would remember, the question of territorial regiments was considered by a Committee, of which Sir Archibald Alison and Colonel Macpherson were Members. That Committee reported in favour of adding four distinctly Scotch regiments to the Army; but they also



recommended that the Highland bonnet should be discontinued as an article of uniform, on the grounds that it was costly, that it was not worn by soldiers on active service, that it had no national origin, and that it would be well to replace it by the low bonnet, which had a distinctly national character. If it was not true that the feather bonnet was costly, then the agitation which had recently sprung up against its discontinuance would have been justifiable; but he thought it was a pity that there should be so much feeling aroused on this matter, when there were so many other things upon which money might be more advantageously spent than on the Highland bonnet. As to its cost, a Return presented to the House showed that, with the exception of the Guards' bearskin, it was the most costly head-dress in the Army. As to its usefulness, it should be noted that of recent years it had been the invariable rule with Scotch regiments ordered abroad to leave their feather bonnets at home. With regard to the question of money, he thought the House would have had reason to complain if the Government had asked this year for a further amount of money in order to issue these Highland bonnets; but, at the same time, the Secretary of State for War, having regard to the public opinion which had been expressed upon this question, would consent to defer the final settlement of this question for another year, although it must be understood that no money would be taken this year for the issue of the feather bonnet. With respect to the suggestion that the regiments should be supplied with clothing regimentally, he might mention that at one time the Household Cavalry were allowed a contingent fund for this purpose, and the result was that they incurred heavy liabilities, which the country had eventually to pay. The contingent fund was consequently withdrawn, and it would be unwise to go back to that system. The hon. Member had made charges against the Manufacturing Department at Pimlico which were entirely unfounded. For instance, he complained of the feather bonnets provided from Pimlico, and alleged that they could be obtained of better material and of less cost if supplied regimentally. Now, the feather bonnets had never been provided by the Clothing Department, no

feathers had ever been purchased by it, so that if the material was bad the fault lay with commanding officers, and not with the Clothing Department. Exactly the same reply held good with regard to the forage caps and the tartan. The amount of the material issued was in accordance with sealed patterns approved by the Adjutant General; and the material itself in both cases was supplied, not by the Clothing Department, but by well-known Scotch firms—the forage caps by Laughland and Sons, of Kilmarnock, and Wyllie and Sons, of Stewarton; the tartan by Wilson, of Bannockburn. He was compelled to say that it would be well, if the hon. Member would take care to make himself acquainted with the real facts of the case before making such serious charges against the Army Clothing Department at Pimlico. In conclusion, he would remind hon. Members that if there was any fault to find with the quality or amount of the material, the regiments had the power in their own hands of rejecting it.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he hoped that next year the War Office would be able to accede to the strong wish which had been expressed in many quarters that the feather bonnet might be restored to the Highland regiments. As far as the question of cost was concerned, he was informed that the bonnets could be supplied at a cost of 7s. 5½d. each, and that they lasted eight years, the cost being in reality less than that of any other head-dress in the Army, with the exception of the brass helmets worn by the Household Cavalry. In his opinion the feather hat was not as expensive as other military head-dresses. He was grateful to the Government for having promised to reconsider their decision upon this matter.

#### ARMY—EXAMINATION OF OFFICERS FOR PROMOTION.—OBSERVATIONS.

EARL PERCY, who had a Notice upon the Paper of his intention to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, the present system of examination of Officers for promotion in the Army is unjust to Officers of long service and is an inadequate test of their efficiency, while in many instances it seriously interferes with the discharge of their professional duties,"

said, he rose to call attention to the system of examination of officers in the

Army for promotion. He was sorry that he could not yield to the appeal of the Government that Members having Motions on the Paper for that evening should postpone them. The fact was that the opportunities for discussing matters of public interest upon going into Committee of Supply had been reduced to so small a number that hon. Members were bound to avail themselves of such as presented themselves to the fullest extent. The question he had to bring under the notice of the House was of some considerable importance as affecting the well-being and efficiency of the Army. The system of examination of officers in the Army was established for the first time when purchase was abolished, and he contended that that system had in no way increased the efficiency of the Army. In the way in which it was carried out it was unjust to officers of long service, and it certainly interfered with the proper discharge of their professional duties. In the course of his remarks he should confine his attention to the examination necessary to attain the rank of major. This examination was especially hard upon men of long service, who had had no reason to anticipate that they would be called upon to pass any other examination than the one they had to undergo at the commencement of their career. When these examinations were first instituted, they were only intended for the sub-lieutenants who desired to attain the rank of lieutenants, and even then there were many exceptions. There were many instances under the present system of officers being absolutely precluded from passing in consequence of their being employed on active service; and, therefore, the very officers who had proved themselves to be the most useful practically were just those who were placed at the greatest disadvantage. It was not until 1880 that these examinations were made compulsory. At that time it was felt that it would be so unjust and so unfair to require all officers to pass that an exception was made in favour of a number of them who had been captains for five years. So manifest had been the injustice of subjecting all officers to an examination at that date that a paragraph was put in the General Order to the effect that it would be clearly understood that the only object of inviting officers to pass these

examinations was to encourage them in their military reading. But how could an officer better improve himself in military knowledge than in the practice of his profession in time of war? Yet he should be able to show the House that the very officers who had been the most active in the practice of their profession were just those who were unable to pass their examinations. In 1881 matters became still worse, because in that year a large number of majors were added to each battalion, and these were required to pass an examination in tactics alone. [The noble Lord then referred to the cases of different captains, who had been on active service between 13 and 14 years, and who had been unable to pass the examination.] In his opinion these officers, who had purchased their commissions, ought to be allowed to be promoted without examination, or else they should have to pass one of a less severe character. A great many of these officers, who were alleged to be utterly unfit for promotion, were, nevertheless, deemed fit to be adjutants of Militia regiments; and the consequence of the present system was that they had to absent themselves for long periods from their regiments in order to prepare themselves for the examinations. He trusted the noble Lord would be able to give the House some assurance that something was about to be done in order to remove the hardship which was now inflicted on a great number of very deserving men.

CAPTAIN MAXWELL-HERON said, that if the country thought that by the present system of examination they would get the best talent for the Army they were greatly mistaken. There were many officers who had done good regimental duty, who had acted gallantly in the field, and who had capacity enough to pass the examinations, but who did not think it necessary to shirk their regimental duties in order to join the Staff College. Very frequently the men who showed the greatest amount of mental and intellectual capacity did not make the best Staff officers, for he had known men of that sort who were even unable to ride a horse. Still, he was of opinion that there must be some test for promotion. Under the existing system there were great inequalities. He would impress upon the noble Lord that, for the good of the Service, an inquiry should be instituted into the question.

He hoped that some of those officers whose promotion had been interfered with might have another chance, and that the country should not lose the services of those among them who had already distinguished themselves in the field.

COLONEL MILNE-HOME said, that there was considerable feeling in the Service on the subject of the noble Lord's Motion. He had before him a syllabus of the subjects of examination for officers who desired to be promoted. He by no means wished that educational tests should be abolished in the Army; but he could not but think that the authorities had gone too far. To those parts of the syllabus which related to regimental duties and drill he had no objection, as the more proficient an officer was in those subjects the better. He thought, too, that some acquaintance with military law, which formed another division, was very desirable. An officer ought, *e.g.*, to know something of the Army Discipline Acts and the law of enlistment. But it was rather too much to expect a knowledge of the history of the Military Code of England, which had varied so greatly from time to time. Then there were subjects which were popularly supposed to be the province of Senior Wranglers only. A young subaltern could hardly be expected to know much about the use of a theodolite or a sextant, or about so abstruse a science as spherical astronomy. What was an instrumental parallax, with which the unfortunate candidate was supposed to be familiar? He knew of one officer who had successfully passed the Staff College who was plucked for his promotion examination. He objected also to the present system on the ground that it encouraged cram rather than real study; and he should be glad if the Secretary of State for War would knock "cram" on the head. The promotion examinations were much the same as the earlier ones, and it was found that officers had really to get up the same subjects as they had learnt before, and in the interval it was found that they had forgotten all they had before acquired. It was a great evil also that officers were so much taken away from their regimental duties by having to undergo the extra labour of preparing for those examinations.

*Captain Maxwell-Heron*

GENERAL FEILDEN said, he thought that with regard to the class of older officers who had not passed into the Army through Sandhurst or the Militia, some modification of the examination might be made. Either it should be almost entirely one in military subjects, or in some other way it should be so designed as not to press too heavily upon the class of officers to whom he referred.

SIR HENRY FLETCHER said, he desired to speak on behalf of officers who were now in the Army. He knew of one officer who was serving in India when he was promoted from the rank of captain to that of major. Having travelled from a distant part of India to Malta, his battalion was ordered to Egypt, so that he had but few opportunities of reading up for the examination which he would have to pass at a future period. After the operations in Egypt he arrived with his regiment at Cairo, and in a short time he was called upon to pass the examination for the rank of major. He failed in one slight particular, and was, in consequence, put back to the rank of captain. That was a hard case. The officer had been in the Service for 18 or 19 years, and it could not be expected that he would be so well up in all the matters connected with the examination as a younger man who had been in the Service but a short time. So disgusted was he at the treatment he had received that when he was put back to the rank of captain he immediately retired from the Service. In another case an officer who stood fifteenth on the list was promoted over the heads of two senior officers shortly before the latter went up for examination. It would, he thought, have been to the benefit of the Service if the authorities had allowed the appointment to stand over until the result of the examination had been made known. As the matter stood, the two officers in question would probably never have an opportunity of commanding the regiment in which they served. The examinations were, no doubt, necessary under the existing Warrants; but he submitted that some limit ought to be fixed in such cases as those to which he had referred. Many good and true officers would be lost to the Service if the present excessive examinations were continued.



# ARMY—STATE OF THE ARMY—RECRUITING.—OBSERVATIONS.

MR. TOTTENHAM, who had given Notice that he would call attention to the present condition of the Army and the system of recruiting; and to move—

"That a Select Committee be appointed to report upon the best mode of carrying into effect the recommendations of the Committee of Military Officers presided over by Lord Airey, embodied in their Report dated March, 1880,"

said, it was a matter of regret that for many years now past the Army and its reorganization, or rather the revolutionizing of its system and constitution, had been made a battle-ground for Party warfare, and the field of ill-judged and ruinous experiments. On the Opposition side of the House there had been no desire to bring the Army within that region.\* In endeavouring to combat the revolutionary theories of experimental theorists, and prevent the extinction of customs and traditions which had so long stood the test of times of peace and times of war, they considered they were best serving that country whose influence they believed those changes were calculated to lower and destroy. He might be told that to expose the weakness of the Army was not the best way of supporting and upholding that influence. To those who, to hide the shortcomings of a system for which they were responsible, used such an argument as that, he would say that it was high time that the country should know into what a state the Army had drifted, and to what shifts it had been necessary to resort to keep up a semblance of efficiency on paper. The noble Marquess now at the head of the War Department was not personally responsible for the changes to which he was about to allude; but, anxious as he might be to defend the acts of his present and former Colleagues, he must be forced to admit that the results had not been what the country was led to expect. Since 1871 the Army had been subjected to the most violent changes, and with what result? Had we got a better, a more contented, or more efficient Army to-day than we had in 1870? Or had the Service grown in popularity with either officers or men? He said emphatically, No. The authorities were daily increasing the number of officers compulsorily turned adrift in the prime of life from no fault of their own, but from the accident and ill-luck of pro-

motion to a higher grade not having fallen to them before they reached an age at which they were as competent for their duties and for active work as at any period of their service. These were men who entered the Service with the intention of devoting their lives to the service of the country, and who little thought that that country would blast all their hopes of promotion, of advancement, and the fulfilment of an honourable career, by cutting them adrift in the prime of life, after they had given the greater part of their best years to its service, with a pittance, which, without a home, a mess, or supplementary means or employment, was insufficient to support them in the position of gentlemen. The country could not expect such men to speak of such treatment as that in other terms than of discontent and disgust, and these sentiments could not but be felt among the non-commissioned officers and men as well, and added to their own list of grievances. By this system they were daily adding to the Pension List, which had grown from £500,000 odd in 1871 to £1,300,000 odd in 1884. Neither commanding officers nor those under them were likely to take the same interest in men who might at any moment be drafted into another battalion. In his judgment, and in the judgment of those who had the best knowledge on the subject, it also made the worst possible school for young officers, who were taught to study the characters and capabilities of their men; but they must feel that there was no object in learning the characters of men who might be, and must be, almost immediately sent away from them. The men, in like manner, instead of being taught to look upon their battalion and their company as their own, did not know at what time they might be sent away at the shortest notice. The system of linking together regiments which had neither custom, traditions, or local connection in common was unpopular in the highest degree in the Service, and was eminently destructive of that *esprit de corps*, which ought to be the very soul of the Army. He had received scores of letters from officers commanding battalions who knew that he took an interest in the subject, and they all agreed that the system of making one battalion feed another was fatal to efficiency. All who had any knowledge of the subject—all, at least, who were without

prejudice—must disapprove of the system. As far as the Army in England was concerned, it was hardly an Army at all. They had heard some after-dinner speeches which were calculated to mislead in the strongest possible degree, and to point to a state of affairs very different from what actually existed, and they had had an example of this lately in a post-prandial speech of a noble Lord. The figures quoted, or rather mis-quoted, by one who ought to have been very careful how he quoted, were figures which he had vouched by his own signature. But if anyone would take the trouble to see for themselves the actual material of these figures, he would find a lamentable and a pitiable exhibition. To call them soldiers was a misnomer. They were boys of 16 and 17, enlisted under false representations made by themselves as to age, boys of not necessarily more than 5 feet 3 inches in height, or 32 inches in chest measurement, by a recent Warrant. The noble Marquess had declined that day to verify some figures which he (Mr. Tottenham) had put before the House in the form of a Question. He regretted that the noble Marquess had considered it expedient to do that, because he thought that he should be wanting in his duty to the House and the country if he did not show that the figures he had put on the Paper were not only absolutely correct, but were simply typical instances of what might be multiplied over and over again in every regiment. The noble Marquess was recently asked for a Return that would have given, in great measure, figures of a similar nature to those mentioned in his Question that day; but the noble Marquess had answered that it would not be for the benefit of the Service that those figures should be given in the case of individual regiments. Now, he felt himself obliged to bring forward certain figures, leaving the country to consider whether it was not for its interest that they should be stated. Two battalions which were in the 1st Brigade of the Division at Aldershot had recently left for the Mediterranean. They formed part of the first line of defence of this country. They sailed at a strength of 1,695 privates, of whom no fewer than 960 were of less than two years' service, and 770 were recruits of less than one year's service, while 519 of those men had never fired a shot, and

had gone through no course of instruction in musketry. Those men were supposed to be all of a suitable age to go upon service anywhere, either in the field or in a tropical climate; but 521 were supposed to be under 20 years of age, though he was informed on good authority that 721 would be nearer the mark. It would be little wonder, then, if such men melted away like flies when they went upon service in the field. In the recent post-prandial speech to which he had alluded, certain figures were given by the Adjutant General of the Army; but they had to be contradicted in "another place" by the Under Secretary of State for War as having been given in mistake. Now, he said that figures of that kind had no business to be given in mistake; and even if they had been critically accurate, they would be misleading in the highest degree. They were told in those figures that 91 per cent of the Army were over 20 years of age, 58 per cent over 5 feet 7 inches in height, that 83 per cent were over 35 inches' chest measurement, while 78 per cent were of more than two years' service. That was not a proper method of conveying the facts to the country. In those figures, which were taken on the 1st of January, 1883, when they had over 11,000 men of the Reserve in the ranks, which naturally increased to an abnormal extent the averages in all those different measurements, there were lumped together Household Cavalry, Guards, Artillery, and all arms of a higher standard than the Line, which necessarily increased the Line averages. He said that, to give the public any just idea of the averages, they must separate the Home and Indian Armies and calculate them separately. But he would now give the actual figures of three Line battalions, not selected, but the first three he could obtain from one English station, and the House would see what a different story was told. In those three battalions the total strength of non-commissioned officers and men was 2,230 on the 1st of January. Of these, 575 were under 5 feet 5 inches, 1,017 under 5 feet 6 inches, 1,485 under 5 feet 7 inches, or 66 per cent of the whole; 773 were under 35 inches' chest measurement, or 34 per cent of the whole; 708 were under 20, or 31 per cent; and 934 were under one year's service, or 41 per cent. Those figures were critically correct, and he would vouch for their



accuracy, and they were the same from which the general Annual Return was compiled by the Adjutant General. Of those battalions, one was on the highest establishment, and among the first for foreign service. One was in the intermediate, and the other in the lowest grade of numbers. In another battalion quartered at another station, on an establishment of 520, the average height of the whole battalion was 5 feet 4½ inches, and the average chest measurement 34½ inches. The Inspector General of Recruiting's Report for 1882 showed that 554 men per 1,000 were under 20 years of age; 495 per 1,000 were under 9st. 4lb. in weight, and 272 under 5 feet 5 inches in height. Those particulars were omitted from this year's Report for the first time, for what reason he knew not. The standard for the Line was now 5 inches lower than it was in 1869 and 1870, when it was 5 feet 8 inches. The standard for the Guards was now 1 inch lower than the Line in those years. He would next examine the monthly Returns by the light of actual facts; and the noble Marquess's objection to particularizing regiments in the Return he was recently asked for, and in his answer to him that evening, would be understood. On the 1st January, 1884, a battalion of the 60th Rifles had an establishment of 520 privates, and, according to the Return, 437 Effectives; but, as a matter of fact, six companies at head-quarters had only 85 men for duty, including the band. The Royal Irish Regiment on the same day had an establishment of 950 men, being one of the first for foreign service; and yet they had only 659 Effectives, being 291 men short of the establishment. The East Surrey had an establishment of 950, and 830 so-called Effectives, being 120 short of the establishment. The Northamptonshire 1st Battalion had an establishment of 520, the Effectives 345, or 175 short of the establishment; while the 2nd Battalion had an establishment of 800, and 615 Effectives, or 185 short of the establishment, making the number short on both battalions 365. According to the Return, the South Staffordshire Regiment had 520 men; but there were only 238 men in the ranks, or 282 men short of its proper strength. Worse cases, however, remained. The Dorsetshire Regiment, the 1st Battalion of which was at home, had an establishment of 850 men;

but of this number only 402 were Effective. The 2nd Battalion, which was in India; and which was supposed to keep up its strength, had only 613 Effective men, or 207 short, the whole regiment being 665 men out of both battalions short of its proper number. The Durham Light Infantry, the 1st Battalion of which was in India, had an establishment of 820 men; but only 459 were Effective, there being 361 short. The 2nd Battalion, which was at Gibraltar, had an establishment of 950 men, only 784 being Effective, and the number short in the battalion being 166. The number short in both battalions was 527. Out of the nine battalions he had mentioned, no less than 2,240 men were short, and in two regiments alone there were 1,182 men short. To go back to the 1st of October last, he wished to point out that there was one battalion stationed at the Curragh, in Ireland—the Rifle Brigade—who had on its establishment 539 men, being 19 men over its establishment. On the same day, however, that battalion had 12 men fit for guard or garrison duty—12 men out of a so-called effective establishment of 539 private soldiers. Now, he thought that a stronger case than that could hardly be made out. He defied the noble Marquess opposite, or those who were responsible for the administration of the War Department, to controvert the figures he had brought forward. [The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Which battalion?] The 2nd Battalion of the Rifle Brigade, stationed at the Curragh. The figures he had submitted to the House were taken from the monthly Return and the Annual Return which were presented to Parliament, and which were supposed to represent the true state of the facts. These were only typical cases, but they were cases which would apply to the great majority of regiments in the Service to a greater or less degree. He held that it was criminal weakness on the part of those who were responsible for this state of things to continue to deceive the country. These were the battalions on which they had to rely for defence, and many of them would compose their first line, in the event of national danger, or in the case of a European war. He had seen some of those battalions on parade himself. The commanding officer of one of them made the observation to him—"The companies which you and I commanded here in



different regiments 25 years ago would have walked through my entire regiment to-day." That he fully believed, for a more miserable exhibition than the battalions he was speaking of he had never seen. He believed that the expression of that commanding officer was literally true; and all he could say was, God help the country in the hour when she had to be defended by such an array as he had seen. The boys were, no doubt, good boys enough, if time was given to them to grow; but it must be remembered that while the grass was growing the horse was starving. It was high time that the country should know that they were paying, not for an effective, but for a non-effective, Army at home. The short service system, as hitherto carried out, was a failure pure and simple. Under it a man had no sooner been made into a soldier than he was sent into the Reserve, to the detriment of his own regiment and of the first line of which it formed a part. Without its old soldiers, and consisting of nothing but young men and recruits, a regiment would not go through the same amount of work, and could not be relied upon in the hour of trial. They had had instances of that in Zululand and elsewhere; and to the mind of the soldier it was an axiom of military experience. This was not a new theory of modern times. It was one insisted upon by the Duke of Wellington, the greatest soldier of modern days. In his letters to the Prince Consort, recently published, the Duke of Wellington said—

"The example, the life and soul of the regiment and squads is, under the officers, in the old soldiers who have served 10, or nearly 10 years, and have attained 27 or 28 years of age."

He also stated that the conduct of the regiment in all situations, and particularly under the fire of the enemy, depended upon the countenance and example of the old soldiers. The Duke of Wellington also referred to the painful impression made upon the minds of the officers by the Act of Parliament limiting the period of enlistment to 10 years. What stronger evidence could the country have than the opinion of this, the first soldier of the century—that was to say, if soldiers' opinions connected with their own profession were to be of any avail at all? What stronger expression of opinion than this could be adduced; and whose were the opinions, he should like to know, which

could be set against those of the conqueror in a hundred fights, and whose practical knowledge, extending over the campaigns of years, dwarfed to insignificance those of recent date, aided by every appliance which science could suggest? The opinion of the great Duke was one which was an article of faith in the minds of 99 out of every 100 soldiers in the Service past and present. The opinion was that on the old soldiers the *morale* of the regiment, the steadiness, the smartness, the discipline, the pride in their regiments and in the Service depended, and, above all, that *esprit de corps* which was an element which recent innovations had done so much to completely and utterly destroy—an element which theoretical civilians, who had no practical knowledge of the influence it had upon the regiments in the Service, pooh-poohed by their acts, while they upheld it by their words. *Esprit de corps* was not necessarily acquired by a recruit with his uniform. It was by what he saw and heard, and the force of example set him by old and experienced soldiers with whom he associated in his daily life, that he acquired by degrees those habits of discipline and unquestioning obedience to his officers. If they eliminated from the ranks all those whose service and long training made them objects of respect and attention on the part of the recruits, they took away from those recruits that feeling of emulation which prompted them to try and become smart and efficient soldiers. A soldier could be made from average material fit to go on sentry or to take his part in a drill or parade in the course of a year; but they must also take into consideration that a soldier was something more than a military machine. The man whom they might make into a soldier in a year was not a soldier in the full and true sense of the word, and he held that they could not make a soldier under a minimum of at least five years' service. That, at the present time, was the very period at which he was shortly to be turned out of the Service into the Reserve, and just at the time when he was able to render some equivalent to the State for what he had cost it. His contention was that they were living in a fool's paradise. He supposed that nothing would rouse those who were holding the reins of government, and those who were responsible for the present state of the Army, until

such another storm burst upon this country as had burst upon their neighbours across the Channel, who, when the storm burst, found themselves totally unprepared. That might be our case any day. We were, with our eyes open, following a system which they had had ample warning was a fatal one, and which had been tried and found wanting. It was a system which had been condemned by every person who was most competent to judge of it. It was probable that he should be told that, in the event of need, these boys he had described would be replaced by Reserve men, and that they would not be sent abroad with their battalions. This had been done in the case of the battalions going to Egypt, and notably in the case of the 87th Regiment, now called the Royal Irish Fusiliers. When that battalion went to Egypt, in 1882, it was obliged to leave 400 recruits behind, who were not of age, or who had not gone through the usual training of recruits qualifying them to go on foreign service. They were filled up by an equivalent number of men from the Reserve. This really amounted to turning their second line of defence into their first line. What was the use of having an effective strength on paper, if they were unable to produce it in the flesh under arms when the pinch came? For years they had now been sacrificing their Army to the creation of a shadowy Reserve, and with the result that neither was efficient in point of numbers, and the first line was inefficient in point of effective qualities. Lord Cardwell, the father of this scheme, calculated, in 1871, that in 12 years a First Reserve would be created of 178,000 men, and Pensioners 13,493, making a total of 191,493. But in July, 1882, there were only 37,795 men of all classes. Each battalion should be a distinct unit, and once a man was attached to a battalion he should continue with that battalion during his Colour service, without being liable to arbitrary transfer. To enable each battalion to be kept up in an efficient state, it would be necessary considerably to increase the number of men at the depôts. Sooner or later they would have to increase the number of their private soldiers. During the last four years the tendency had been all that way. The number on the regimental establishment—he drew a distinction between that and other establishments, such as the Staff—

in 1880-1 was 123,791; and the present Estimates provided for 130,114 men, being an increase, step by step, of 6,323 in four years. That was a step in the right direction, but it was not sufficient. It would be necessary very considerably to increase the strength of the Army, at all events of the rank and file. This, he understood, was the opinion not only of military critics, but of those responsible for the Army. Unless the Army was to cease to exist as an Army, the number of men must be increased. The country must make up its mind to have the Army in a state of efficiency, and supply the necessary men and the necessary funds. Turning to the Auxiliary Forces, he found that for the year 1882 the Militia were 23,638 men short, the Yeomanry 3,275, and the Volunteers 38,781, making a total of 65,694 men short of the fixed establishment. They were endeavouring to do with a standing Army of 191,000 men what was fairly the work of 250,000. Supposing that they were to increase their Army to the extent that he suggested, by increasing the establishment of the depôts to enable them to feed both battalions, what would they be doing in comparison with Continental countries? Russia, with a population of 84,000,000, had a standing Army of 841,000 men; Germany, whose population was 45,000,000, had an Army of 445,000 men; while France, with a population of 37,000,000, had an Army of 496,000 men. England ruled over no less than 234,000,000 people, and yet had only an Army, including her Indian Establishment, of 314,000. These figures showed that, while France had one soldier to every 74 persons, and Russia and Germany one to every 100 persons, England, with nearly treble the population of Russia, and more than six times that of France, had only one in every 745 persons. With such a disproportion of military force as this, the least that the country could expect was to have its Army in a state of thorough efficiency, and that it should get value for the heavy bill it had to pay. In 1880, when Lord Airey's Committee presented their Report, they were informed that at the rate of depletion then in progress 36,000 recruits would be annually required to keep the Army up to its establishment. But the number recruited short of this in 1883 was 3,000, which had to be added to previous deficiencies in 1881 and 1882. And to



this, again, must be added the number of men whose time had expired, and who had come home and been discharged into the Reserve during the relief season. The country must not imagine that because 33,000 recruits were passed into the Service during the year the whole of those 33,000 were still in the Service. Taking the Annual Returns of 1882, it would be seen that out of the whole 23,395 enlisted only 21,247 were serving at a date three months afterwards, being 2,148, or 91 per 1,000, less—nearly 1-10th of the whole. Of these no less than 43·9 per 1,000 had purchased their discharge; and the balance was made up of those who had broken down, deserted, or who were found medically unfit. In the previous year the figures were even larger, showing, out of a total recruited of 25,863, a loss from the same causes of 2,568 men, or 100 men per 1,000. Taking the same rates for the past year, it followed that the number shown as recruited would not in reality be 33,000, but 3,000 less; or 30,000, as against the 36,000 Lord Airey's Committee informed the country was what would be required. During the three years since that Report was presented, the actual numbers of recruits joining and remaining in the Service after three months was no less than 35,460 short of what they were then informed by the most competent and exhaustive inquiry would be required for the service of the country; and, instead of 108,000 men, they had only got 74,542. It must also be remembered that as much as £12 bounty had been given during the past year to upwards of 6,000 men in India to re-engage. Where would the numbers and efficiency of the Army be now without this extra expenditure, which had been rendered absolutely necessary by the absence of men to make up the required drafts from home? He might be told they could not get men enough even at a reduced standard. There were, however, plenty of men if they chose to pay them. If they could not get men for a shilling they must pay more. So long ago as 1872 the desirability of all recruits joining and being drilled at the depôts was recognized by the military authorities; and on the 22nd of February, 1872, His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief issued a Memorandum recommending the plan of regiments consisting of three distinct bodies, and that all recruits should be raised

and drilled at depôts. The Committee which was then sitting, consisting of General M'Dougall, Lord Wolseley, and others, recognized also the desirability of this system; and a General Order was issued in April, 1873, laying this down. At that time it was contemplated that the system of one battalion feeding the other should prevail, and that all men should be interchangeable between the two battalions. That system was again recognized and accepted by the Committee which sat in March, 1876, presided over by the right hon. and gallant Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley), and it remained in vogue till June, 1879, when, in consequence of the constant complaints of defects and difficulty of working, the Secretary of State for War appointed the Committee known as Lord Airey's Committee. That Committee went into the whole subject exhaustively, and reported in March, 1880; and to that Report he desired to draw the special attention of the House, as the expression of opinion of a body of officers of the greatest experience, who, having fully considered the matter from the military point of view, came to a unanimous conclusion as to the defects of the system. Like that Committee, he had limited his observations to the Infantry of the Line, as it was in that branch of the Service that the system had most conspicuously broken down. It had broken down in time of peace, when no strain was upon it—not even that of a small war; and it had been worse when such small wars had occurred. It was to avoid the chance of such a disaster as had been foreshadowed in some of the letters he had read that he had felt it his duty to call the attention of the House and the country to the situation. Speaking of the scheme which had been carried out in 1872, the Report, in paragraph 16, said that the scheme did not provide any distinct and separate preparation for those more frequent wars, for which the services of the British Army were so frequently required, and which were as onerous on the troops engaged as were the greatest wars, and which required that the men employed should be as thoroughly and fully trained as possible. The Report then showed the urgent necessity of making provision for such smaller wars, by giving a list of the 42 last wars in which the country had been engaged between the years 1831 and



1880. In paragraph 22 it was said that the demands for men to keep the service battalions at the established strength had been so great that, as a rule, it had been impossible to obtain recruits at the depots, and constant recourse had been had to battalions at home to supply drafts to affiliated battalions abroad, the battalions at home being therefore necessarily denuded of their men; and, again, that great difficulty was anticipated as the older long-service men disappeared in obtaining such a body of non-commissioned officers as ought at all times to exist in a well-conditioned army. The Report went on to say that from the practice as it at present existed by which recruits were kept for a short time at the dépôt and then passed on to the battalion, where they remained for a few months and were then again passed on to other battalions, the interest of recruits in obtaining the good opinion of their officers was lessened, and discipline suffered in consequence. The evidence of the Adjutant General of that date was then quoted in the Report, in the course of which he described the system of calling for volunteers from other regiments as "radically vicious, and the most pernicious which the wit of man could devise." As to non-commissioned officers, the Report stated that a great deal of evidence had been taken from Staff and regimental officers, all of which pointed to the great difficulty experienced in obtaining non-commissioned officers of the same type as those which were obtainable under the long-service system, and which showed that a general apprehension existed that, unless effectual measures were taken to remedy that evil, the discipline of the Army would be most seriously affected; and in consequence of that the Report later on proceeded to recommend an alteration in the term of service. The Committee laid down four cardinal points—namely, that the term of service should be altered, that the numbers of the Army must be increased, if its efficiency was to be preserved, that the system of one battalion feeding another should be abolished, and that once a man was posted to a battalion he should remain in it during his Colour service. He apologized to the House for having troubled it with so many extracts; but he could not possibly convey a clearer idea of the situation than by quoting the words of those distinguished officers themselves, instead of attempting

to put it into his own words. In the words with which they concluded they showed that the question of expense had not been lost sight of by them. It was a question of expense; but the real question for a rich and powerful country was, whether she would be content with an indifferent article and indifferent service, when, by paying a comparatively small further sum, she could have that which she expected her statesmen to provide her with? He maintained that in the presence of such evidence and recommendations as that Report contained the country would be deliberately flying in the face of Providence if, for the paltry saving of a few hundred thousand pounds, she declined to listen to and be guided by the advice and opinions of such well-chosen and trusty servants. He believed he had shown a case which made it imperative almost on Parliament not to ignore and pigeon-hole such a Report as that for the sake of bolstering up a system which, even to those without practical knowledge, was so transparently faulty. What he asked was a full inquiry into the matter from a financial point of view, and the appointment of a Committee which should supplement the Report of those distinguished officers by further opinion and advice as to the best mode of carrying their recommendations into effect. He earnestly begged the Government to satisfy the legitimate desire of the country and the Army for the fullest information on so important a subject.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, it would be convenient at that point to make a few remarks upon the two topics which had been brought forward by the noble Lord the Member for North Northumberland (Earl Percy) and the hon. Member who had just sat down. The noble Lord called the attention of the House to the system of examination of officers of the Army—a subject upon which he had recently put several Questions to him. He did not deny that there were some cases of hardship, and he could assure the noble Lord that he sympathized very much with the case of those officers who had recently returned from service, and, having failed in their examinations, had been succeeded by junior officers. But those cases were extremely rare, and with care on the part of the officers themselves would never happen. It was open to officers to pass their examinations at any time

within one year of receiving their captain's commission. It would only be common prudence to pass that examination at the earliest possible time. But whenever any reasonable ground of excuse could be given—such as foreign service or other duties—for a man's not having gone through a garrison course in preparation for an examination, he was not compelled to go through the examination before being promoted, but was provisionally promoted, and had an opportunity of passing through a garrison class, and coming up for his examination afterwards. The cases of hardship were those of officers coming up before the time had expired, and failing; so that if a vacancy had occurred after their failure they were superseded by junior officers. In all those cases, if officers had accepted provisional promotion, and not gone in for examinations until they had prepared themselves, that supersession would not have occurred. The noble Earl had entered into discussion of several individual cases; but as he had not mentioned any names, it was impossible for him (the Marquess of Hartington) to follow him into these cases.

EARL PERCY was understood to say that he would be glad to furnish the noble Lord with the particulars of the cases to which he had referred.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The noble Lord had referred to officers who had served in India. He had been told that the papers done in examinations by officers in India were very much better than most of those that were done at home. Then it was not incumbent on an officer who had gone through the Afghan War, or other active service, to go in for his examination until he had had an opportunity of preparing himself. The subjects in which officers were examined were tactics, military law, field fortification, and military topography. All those were subjects with which an officer ought to be well acquainted; and they were the same subjects which qualified a man for promotion from the ranks. No change had been made in the standard of examinations, and there had been no increase in the difficulty of the papers. There was every disposition shown to pass an officer who showed a general knowledge rather than to pluck candidates by catch questions. The noble Lord had said that many more officers had recently failed than was for-

merly the case. That might be in consequence of the increase since 1880 in the number of examinations for majorities. The noble Lord said, with some feeling, that those officers were purchase officers, and had almost a right to their promotion. He believed that no purchase captains had been compelled to undergo this examination, though the rule, no doubt, applied to a purchase lieutenant who had not purchased a captaincy. It was not denied by the hon. and gallant Member for Berwick-on-Tweed (Colonel Milne-Home) that an examination of some sort ought to be maintained. If that were so, he did not see what alteration the hon. and gallant Gentleman thought ought to be made. He had stated what were the subjects of examination, and the House would feel that they were such as officers ought to be tested in. As he had said, he sympathized very much with officers—in some cases with distinguished services—who had suffered supersession; but he did not see how it was possible to have a different standard of examination. All was done that could be done to allow an officer to choose his own time, and when abroad to qualify him to take provisional promotion until he was ready for examination. He had been asked to reconsider the expediency of these examinations; but he did not think it would be in the interest of the Army or the officers to make any material change. All he could undertake was to have a careful inquiry made into the character of the examination, in order to see whether there was any foundation for the allegation or suspicion that it was unduly difficult. That he would undertake should be done. He would now say a few words upon the somewhat lengthy speech of the hon. Member for Leitrim (Mr. Tottenham). He hoped the House would not think him guilty of any disrespect to the hon. Gentleman if he did not follow him through all the topics of that speech. There were some of them which he should think it his duty to deal with when the House got into Committee, which he hoped they would shortly be allowed to do. But even if the subject had been brought forward on another evening, when it would be possible for him to go into greater details, it would hardly be becoming in him to follow a statement so minute and detailed without time for

full consideration. The hon. Member began by referring to the grievance felt by officers in consequence of their compulsory retirement from the regiments of their choice. But we were scarcely prepared to go back to the point to which we should be obliged to go if we were to re-open the position of the officers of the Army. Compulsory retirement was owing to the recommendations of Lord Penzance's Commission, which was appointed to consider what steps were necessary to secure a due flow of promotion; and several changes had been introduced to mitigate the hardships arising from the system, and which had the effect of keeping many officers in the Army who otherwise would have had to retire. The hon. Gentleman attacked the system of double battalions, under which a battalion at home supplied with men the battalion abroad. It was almost too late to go back upon that subject also. In 1881, Lord Airey's Committee reported, and the Report was laid upon the Table, and was fresh in the recollection of everyone who took an interest in the subject. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Childers), in moving the Army Estimates in 1881, made a statement of very great importance, when he pointed out that it was impossible at that time to remain where we were, and that we must either go forward in the direction indicated by the Committee presided over by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley), or go back in the direction advocated by every opponent of short service and recommended by the Committee over which Lord Airey presided. He could point out the passage in the speech in which his right hon. Friend clearly described the alternative, and asked whether the House was prepared to undo a great deal of what had been done in recent years, and to adopt single battalions and enormous depôts. That was the time for the House to adopt the recommendation of Lord Airey's Committee; but, on the contrary, it adhered to the system of double battalions and of a common depôt. It appeared to him impossible now, after the lapse of three years, that the House should be asked to pull to pieces the system which it had deliberately adopted, which was gradually coming into operation, and which certainly had not yet had a full trial.

The hon. Gentleman said, in a great variety of forms, and with much variety of illustration, that the Army was nothing but a sham. He did not accept a great many of the hon. Gentleman's statements; but it was impossible for him to follow those statements in detail. The hon. Gentleman said that he had very good reason for refusing to give the details of particular battalions. The rule on that subject had been laid down by his Predecessor, and he thought there was sufficient reason for it. In many cases it would be invidious to give details of the position of particular regiments or battalions. Exceptional circumstances of all sorts might tend to make their position compare unfavourably with that of other regiments or battalions, and it might be extremely painful to the feelings of the commanding officers and of the men if such a comparison was instituted. In the first place, the comparison could not be limited to the particulars suggested by the hon. Gentleman and his Friends. If once they gave certain particulars, they could not stop there. They would be asked to give particulars of all sorts with regard to crime and conduct. That appeared extremely dangerous. He was quite willing to admit that the two battalions which left the other day for the Mediterranean contained a very large number of young soldiers. But that was because there was a great deficiency of the numbers in India, and those battalions had to supply very large drafts for the battalions serving there. These battalions ought not to have supplied drafts to India at all; and, therefore, the condition of those battalions was not a fair test of what the Army arrangements would be under other circumstances. Although he objected to giving figures of particular regiments, he was quite prepared to give some general figures as to the length of service of the men divided into large divisions; for instance, men at home and men abroad; but it would have been observed by the House that the hon. Member's statement was confined almost entirely to the state of the Army at home. He admitted that at home the Army was young; and how any man, considering the fact that they had to employ a large number of men in India and abroad, could be under any misapprehension as to that, completely



passed his comprehension. What was the charge against the soldiers? The hon. Member quoted some great military authority in favour of old soldiers; but no Continental Army was composed exclusively, or even mainly, of old soldiers. He regretted that the hon. Member had referred to cases in which, in the hon. Member's opinion, our Army had recently failed to distinguish itself, in Zululand and in the Transvaal. Those reverses were of a character to which every Army must be exposed from time to time; but, whatever they might think of the policy of recent military operations in the Soudan, no Member would deny that their soldiers, on the two occasions of recent battles, had shown great courage and steadiness. One would have supposed that General Graham's force was entirely composed of old soldiers. That was not the case. There were three Infantry battalions at El Teb 2,340 strong, of whom 470 were under one year's service, and 1,375 were under three years' service. If these engagements had ended in reverses, no doubt the numbers would have been eagerly quoted as showing the worthlessness of young men; but as they had resulted in obtaining great credit, probably they would hear little of the ages of the troops engaged. Nothing had been said about the Army abroad. That was composed of men who were the first exposed to foreign service, and to whose age and training, therefore, the greatest importance attached. The Army at home would be, and must be, acknowledged to be a training school for the Army abroad, in India and elsewhere; and in case they had to call on their Home Army they must rely on the Reserves. He would presently go into statistics on this question; but it would at once appear that the calling out of the Reserves immediately altered the situation, and they had at once an Army composed mainly of veterans. He regretted that the Forms of the House did not permit the hon. Member to move his Resolution. No doubt the Motion had an innocent look; but he would gladly have seen how many hon. Members would have been prepared to follow the hon. Member in his request for a Committee. He did not conceal from them that the alteration proposed was not only a radical departure from the scheme now adopted by both Parties in

the House, but it contemplated an enormous addition of 70,000 or 80,000 men to the present establishment.

MR. TOTTENHAM: I never suggested anything of the kind.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: said, that, in the hon. Member's opinion, our present Army was doing work which required a much greater Army, and that was the same thing. But if the House desired an Army composed of men of longer service, it was perfectly in their power to have it, without destroying the arrangements now existing; but if they desired to have an Army of longer service there was no alternative but to increase their establishment; and he did not think, considering that the Army had proved sufficient for all foreign service, and that they had at home a large and increasing number of men in the Reserve, thereby making them perfectly secure against any emergency, that the House would be inclined to make any large addition until it had been conclusively proved that the military duties and exigencies of the Empire, both at home and abroad, could not be provided for without further calling upon the taxpayer. It would however, be his duty, when the House was in Committee, to state the reasons for which the Government considered that some increase of the establishment ought to be asked for in the present year. In their opinion, those additions would be sufficient for present needs; but, although he was very far from saying that at some future time the establishment should not be increased, he protested against the idea that it ought to be increased simply because some battalions on a peace establishment were rather below their authorized numbers. With these remarks he trusted he might be allowed to lay before the House the state of things which he had described with regard to the Army; and he appealed to hon. Members to postpone further discussion until after that statement, when it could be carried on with far greater effect and ability.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, he was not present at the time; but he was glad to hear that the noble Marquess was quite prepared to reconsider the character of the examinations which certain officers had undergone.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I did not say that. I did not say I was prepared to make any alteration in the

character of the examinations; but that I would inquire whether there had been any undue stringency in the papers set, and whether there was any foundation in the allegation that marks had been more sparingly given.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, he was sorry he had misunderstood what had fallen from the noble Marquess. He thought there was a very great grievance felt by many, and he trusted that the impression that an attempt had been made to get rid of a certain number of gentlemen would prove unfounded. He regretted that there had hardly been a quorum in the House during this discussion; it was not a compliment to the Army or to the constituencies that the attendance should be so small. During the Recess the noble Marquess drew a commiserating cheer from an audience by saying that he was opposed by a phalanx, of Army officers who were always asking for more. As one of the phalanx, he said that all he asked for was efficiency. The real question was as to the waste of the Army. The question was not how many recruits we could enlist in a year—whether 35,000 or 40,000—but how many men fit for foreign service we could obtain; and he held that we were not able to obtain the seasoned men we ought to have for foreign service. There were only two remedies, and both would cost money. One was the old plan, which had never failed, of giving a bounty. It was had recourse to last year, when £12 was given to every man in India who agreed to continue his service; and the result was the obtaining of a large number of recruits. The objection to giving a bounty in this country was that bad men enlisted over and over again, and that could be prevented only by marking or cupping; but sentiment would not hear of this remedy, and therefore we had to do away with the bounty system. Unfortunately, sentiment was a very expensive thing; and if the Ministerial Party would deal in a sentimental way with the Army, and not in a reasonable and practical manner, the country would have to pay for it. Another alternative was to enlist young soldiers, as boys were enlisted for the Navy, and to train them at camps, dépôts, or schools. But that system was a very expensive one, although the systematic adoption of it might reduce the expense. A certain

amount of work was got out of a boy on board ship, but it could not be got in the same way out of a young soldier. There was nothing new in these debates he was sorry to say. Objections were yearly raised and suggestions made, and the Ministerial Party were responsible for their not being carried out. He could not understand why the noble Marquess should have refused to give the ages of the men in two battalions that were not going to the war. The late Government did not refuse to give the ages of the men who were sent to Zululand. He could not understand this policy of concealment, and why the noble Marquess should not make a clean breast of it. The noble Marquess had given the House some figures as to the age of some of the troops in the Soudan; but unless he gave the statistics on the subject in full, neither the House nor the country would be able to form an opinion as to the actual age of the British troops engaged there. It had been stated in a morning journal of that day that one or two of the battalions now engaged in the Soudan were unfit for prolonged service in that part of the world. It was not any doubt of the gallantry of our troops engaged there, but the fear that they were unable to stand the strain of a prolonged and severe campaign, that led him to press Her Majesty's Government upon this point. If four troops were unfit for such severe service the matter was a very serious one to a great Empire like this. It mattered not what Government was in Office—whether the Head of the Government was in favour of a spirited foreign policy, or was pledged to peace and to avoid blood-guiltiness and the extension of the Empire—the burdens of and the strain upon our Army increased year by year. We had at the present time Egypt upon our hands, and it was possible that we might have to provide for the permanent occupation of the Soudan. In these circumstances the state of the British Army was of the utmost importance; and when they were told by everyone competent to judge—by every officer of the Army from the highest to the lowest—that that Army was not in an efficient state, he did not think that the House was bound to be satisfied with the simple official denial, which was not supported by facts or figures. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, at the Mansion House, had expressed himself



in very decided terms on the subject. His Royal Highness had said that, although many of the regiments serving abroad were in a state of efficiency, the condition of the Army at home was not such as he could wish, it being so reduced in numbers that it was scarcely able to discharge the duties it had to perform, and that it was for the country to say whether that state of things should continue or not. Did the House believe the Duke of Cambridge or the Secretary for War upon this point? He asked the noble Lord why the responsible Chief of the Army, with his public character and his official knowledge, should say one thing and the Secretary for War something very like another. He did not wish to be hard upon the noble Lord. What he wished the noble Lord to do was to make a clean breast of the matter to the House, and if he did so the thanks of the country would be due to him. If the noble Lord only had the courage of his opinions, and would take steps to put the Army into a thorough state of efficiency, neither that House nor the country would begrudge him the money required for the purpose. He had always advocated the greater use of coloured troops in hot climates. In the future we should have a fine opportunity of doing with the gallant race who had opposed us in the Soudan what Lord Chatham did with the Scotch Highlanders. He could not but think that fine recruits would abound in that part of the world in the future. If we could find coloured recruits in India, he did not see why we could not obtain Arab recruits who would make good soldiers, and prove of great use in holding the Red Sea littoral where English troops could hardly live. Everybody knew what it cost us to put into line a comparatively very small Army; and if any War Minister could discover the means of increasing that Army in the matter of age and in the matter of size by a reasonable expenditure, he would solve the problem which they had all been talking about during the last 20 years. He trusted that the noble Lord would, in the statement he was about to make, be able to inform them that he had devised some scheme for giving us a more efficient Army at the least possible cost to the country.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER said, he thought the House was much indebted

to the hon. Member (Mr. Tottenham) for his interesting speech on a highly important subject. The action of the hon. Member was the more meritorious when they considered how difficult it was at the present time to offer the most friendly criticism on the condition of the Army without exposing themselves to the denunciation of what the hon. Gentleman had called the post-prandial orations of distinguished military officials. The Adjutant General showed himself to be very impatient with those who differed from him on the subject of recruiting, and quoted stale statistics to prove himself in the right and his critics in the wrong. Even the great Lord Wolseley, like humbler mortals, might occasionally fall into error; but it seemed strange that he should have imagined in the month of January that he was quoting from a Return which seldom or never appeared before October. Although they were quite willing to acknowledge the error to be unintentional, they were at liberty to set aside the statistics of the Adjutant General as entirely misleading and fallacious, because they applied to a state of things which doubtless existed in 1882, but which did not exist in 1883. There was, however, in the Adjutant General's speech one fact which was perfectly accurate—namely, that in 1883 we enlisted over 33,000 recruits; but were those recruits enlisted upon the same terms and under the same conditions as the much smaller number who passed into the Service in 1882? If not, the comparison between the two years fell to the ground. The Adjutant General was perfectly aware that in April last a General Order was issued relaxing all the conditions as to age, height, and chest measurement that were so emphatically insisted upon by the late Secretary of State for War. If the recruits of 1883 had been enlisted upon the same conditions as prevailed in 1882 the satisfaction of Lord Wolseley would have been perfectly natural; but under the actual circumstances he failed to see any cause for elation. It had been suggested to him that many of the recruits obtained in 1883 would have gone into the Militia if they had not enlisted into the Army. As the Militia was a component part of the Army, it was a matter for regret that it should be below its strength. Lord Wolseley had stated that by the system of short service



what he pleased to term the miserable system of bounty had been got rid of. The noble Lord had, however, succeeded, by offering large bounties, in inducing more than 6,000 men in India to extend their service with the Colours. He failed to see the distinction which Lord Wolseley drew between a bounty offered on enlistment and one offered on re-enlistment. At the festive board of the Artists Lord Wolseley stated that England at no time of her existence had possessed an Army more worthy of the nation than the present one; but before the Channel Tunnel Committee he said—

“If every available man were turned out under arms we should have 500,000 men with muskets—I will not call them soldiers.”

By which of these two statements did Lord Wolseley elect to stand, for they could not be both right? They flatly contradicted each other. The Inspector General of Recruiting, admitting that many commanding officers found fault with the age of the men enlisted, said that lads of 18 were undoubtedly young and required time to develop, but that their youth was a fault on the right side. But there was no time for recruits of 18 to develop, for they passed into the Reserve at the age of 21. *The Times* had said that those who commented on the extreme youth of recruits were detractors of our young soldiers. He wished to say that he had never impugned the courage or steadiness of our young soldiers; but he contended that it was not wise, politic, or humane to tax the lads beyond their strength, for it was impossible for them to do the work of full-grown men.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT said, he would not detain the House long; but this was one of those opportunities which, he thought, everyone who was interested in the welfare and well-being of his country was bound to avail himself of. Before the noble Marquess made his statement to the House, he wished to put two or three pertinent questions to him, upon which he hoped to obtain an explicit declaration. The one thing which they all felt was that, in the event of a great emergency, they would not have sufficient men to fight their battles. They thought the Army was neglected and inefficient; and he should like the noble Marquess to state the number of fighting men who could be put into the field if the occasion

should require. They were paying £16,000,000 and more for their Army at home and in the Colonies. India paid for the Army we sent there; but we paid for what was supposed to be a perfect machine at home. He had made a careful calculation of the number of men they could at that moment put into line, and he believed they could not find more than 31,000 men. They had something like 70 battalions, including Guards, and to raise them to war strength it would be necessary to take absolutely the whole of the Reserve, including the Militia Reserve. He wanted the noble Marquess to say why he thought the Reserve were the proper persons to fill up their first line in the Army—namely, the Army they ought to have at home; because if they had to do that it was virtually returning to the old system of putting absolutely and at once all of the men into the field, with no Reserve whatever to fall back upon. At present they had 30,000 men in Ireland; 10,000 in Egypt; and in the event of any other strain occurring, if they wanted to send out 20,000 or 30,000 men, it would be impossible to find them without calling upon the Reserve. And he ventured to say that that could not be done if they were to carry on the ordinary duties of the country. If they were required, as they had been before, to send out 18,000 men to Egypt, they would have to call out 10,000 or 11,000 Reserve men, 4,000 or 5,000 to make up, with efficient old soldiers, the 18,000 to be sent abroad, and the remainder to do ordinary duties at home. That was the state in which the country was; and, in his opinion, they were living in a fool's paradise unless they took steps to increase the Army very materially. If the noble Marquess could not show that the Army was sufficient for the purposes for which they were paying all this money, he was bound to propound a scheme to render it more fit. In the 4th page of the Report of the Inspector General of Recruiting they were told that it was calculated by the actuaries that the number of recruits required to meet the wants of the year 1883, including the normal deficit, was 39,242; and the actual deficit, taking all things into consideration, was 30,607. Turning to Appendix A, a statement would be found that there were 23,096 men recruited in the territorial districts in

1883; and if the total number actually required was more than 39,000, he wanted to know how it could be made out that the deficit was only 7,600 on the 1st of January last? His own belief was that it was something like 16,000; and when they came to consider the details which had been given by the hon. Member for Leitrim (Mr. Tottenham) there could be no mistake as to the condition of the Service. Indeed, he thought the requirements would be found to be somewhat larger than was given in the Inspector General's Report. If he was right in these two points, what was the value of such a Return? All these Returns could be easily cooked, and in many instances they were not substantially accurate. He should, therefore, be glad if the noble Marquess, when he came to make his statement, would go carefully into these particulars. He had been exceedingly sorry to hear the noble Marquess again say that, in the interests of the country and of the Army, he could not give details in regard to particular regiments. In olden days all the details asked for were supplied. The only reason could be that the inefficiency of some of the regiments was so great that the noble Marquess dared not give the particulars to the public. Indeed, if a Return were given it would appal the outside public, who would then know to what Her Majesty's Government were trusting for the defence of this great Empire. He hoped the Committee would be afforded a full opportunity for discussing all the noble Marquess might say in his statement; but he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) should certainly like to have in that statement the real facts of the condition of the Army of this country at the present moment.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he did not propose to detain the House at any length; but he merely wished to put a question to the noble Marquess at the head of the War Department, or to any other Minister who chose to answer it. He wished to ask the noble Marquess if he was prepared at once to repudiate the Proclamation said to have been issued at Suakin for the capture of Osman Digna? ["Oh!"] Humanitarian Members opposite might, perhaps, dislike any reference to the fact that a reward had been offered, practically, for the assassination of Osman

Digna; but he wanted to have a distinct assurance from Her Majesty's Government on the subject. The Proclamation, which was in the following terms, was said to have been issued by Admiral Hewett:—

"I, the English Governor and General, Civil and Military, of Suakin, make known that whosoever will bring in the rebel Osman, the murderer, who has by his lies caused the blood of the tribes to be spilt at El Teb and Tamanieb, alive or dead, shall receive 5,000 dollars reward."

He wanted to ask, in the first place, what right this Proclamation had to call Osman Digna a "rebel?" To whom was he a rebel? Was he a rebel to the Mahdi, or to the Khedive, or to ourselves? And by what right, unless he was a rebel, could British officers offer a reward for his head, and in such a way that if he could not be captured alive he was to be assassinated? He further wished to know whether the reward of \$5,000 offered, or said to have been offered, was included in the Estimates about to be submitted by the noble Marquess?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I believe I have no right to trouble the House again; but perhaps I may be allowed to answer the question which has been asked by the hon. Gentleman. I have very little to add to what I stated at the time of Questions. The hon. Member now asks me whether the Government are prepared to repudiate the Proclamation which is said to have been issued. Now, before the Government repudiate any act performed by an officer who has, in very trying and difficult circumstances, ably discharged the duties intrusted to him, it is incumbent on the Government to satisfy themselves by the fullest information as to the nature and character of the act they are called on to repudiate. I have already stated, in reply to a Question, that the moment the Government saw the statement in the newspapers they sent off a telegram to Sir William Hewett, asking for information on the subject. Lord Northbrook has received a reply to that telegram, and Lord Northbrook has telegraphed for further information. I do not know where the hon. Member opposite obtained the copy of the Proclamation which he has just read to the House; but, judging from the telegram we have received, I should say it is not the Pro-

clamation which was issued. Until we have the Proclamation before us I think it would be impossible for the Government to take any steps to repudiate it. I cannot conceive that any funds for the purpose referred to by the hon. Member are included in the Estimates about to be presented to the House.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and *agreed to*.

#### SUPPLY—ARMY ESTIMATES, 1884-5.

##### DEPARTMENTAL STATEMENT.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I shall endeavour to occupy as little as possible of the time of the Committee, as I can hardly hope to secure its attention after the protracted discussions we have already had. I shall, therefore, compress, as much as possible, the remarks which it is my duty to make to the Committee. I shall first refer to the financial aspect of these Estimates. The Estimates of the present year, including the Supplementary Estimates lately voted, show a reduction of £44,700; but, as compared with the original Estimates presented to the Committee last year, they show an increase of £326,200. The Estimates of the present year include some war charges, such as the arrears for the Egyptian Expedition of 1882, and some charges for the expedition to Suakin. Omitting these, and including only the ordinary items for which the Votes were insufficient, being principally the items of deferred pay and pensions, it would appear that, instead of a saving of £44,700, the Estimates show an increase of £179,300. Omitting, further, a sum of £130,000 in respect of the Indian non-effective charges, the Estimates show an excess of £49,300 over last year. I will state the principal heads of increase in detail. Partial provision is made for the pay of additional men. That accounts for an additional sum of £45,000; good-conduct pay £5,000; deferred pay—after deducting the portion of the increased charge payable by India—£20,000; increase of Reserve Forces £65,000; for the Militia and Volunteers, £9,700; for pensions, £15,700; and decrease of Ceylon contribution, £20,000. Altogether, the prin-

cipal heads of increase amount to £180,400. The chief decreases are the reductions of charge for the carriage of troops by railway, £35,000; miscellaneous charges, £32,600; and a reduced charge for stores, supplies, and clothing, amounting to £63,500; making a total of £181,100. I shall speak somewhat later of the proposed increase of men. With regard to the other items, the charge for good-conduct pay has been caused partly by the extended service of the men adopted last year; and partly by an increased charge for outfit allowances, which has resulted from the larger number of commissions, principally Quartermasters' commissions, now given to non-commissioned officers on promotion from the ranks. In the amount of deferred pay there is a large increase. It has, during the last two years, exceeded the amount estimated in 1876, when deferred pay was first granted; but the ultimate amount will probably not exceed the maximum of the original Estimate then made, except as to non-commissioned officers during their service after re-engagement, who were not at first included. As, however, a large number of men take their discharge on the completion of their 12th year of service, the maximum charge will be reached more rapidly than had been expected. The pension charge, disregarding the reduced sum taken for Indian repayments, shows an addition required of £15,700 above the original and supplementary Estimate for 1883-4. The supplementary sum of £50,000 recently voted for out-pensions raises the charge for them in 1883-4 to the same amount as is included in the Estimates for the present year, and therefore the full amount for the two years will be practically the same; but there is, nevertheless, an excess of £50,000 over what was thought sufficient a year ago. This has been, as the Committee are aware, a very heavy and an increasing charge; but there is some reason to hope that the maximum of that charge is now very nearly, if not altogether, reached. There is a charge of £20,000, in addition, which will fall upon the Army Estimates in respect of a diminished contribution from the Island of Ceylon. That Colony is almost the only Colony which for some years has paid the full cost of its military expenditure. Of late years the Revenue of the Colony has very materially fallen off; and, owing to a



very strong appeal having been made to the Treasury and the War Office by the Colonial Office, a temporary reduction of £20,000 in the contribution has been assented to, pending the revision of the permanent charge to be made on the Island. It is hoped that, whatever charge may be fixed upon in the future, the Island will be able to pay the full amount. The explanation of the charge for Indian Non-Effective Services is, I am afraid, of a somewhat difficult and technical character. For many years past the payment by the Indian Government has represented the capital value of the Indian proportion of the pensions, and this sum has been appropriated as Revenue. This system might have been maintained, and the whole sum receivable from India have been appropriated in aid of the Votes, as in previous years; but the Government, having had their attention called to the subject, have thought it right to put an end to the system of appropriating capital in aid of Revenue. The measures intended to be taken will be more fully explained to Parliament when the scheme, creating a fund by means of contributions of the past, and the re-vote of money hitherto applied in aid of Revenue in excess of annual charge, comes under our notice. The immediate effect on the Army Estimates will be to increase the sum voted by the sum of £130,000. Coming now to the general statement of the state of the Army, I had to explain last year that there was a very considerable deficiency in numbers, both at home and in India, and I had also to admit that a great difficulty had been found in making up the drafts for establishments abroad, and especially in India. That deficiency was due to two causes. In the first place, an abnormal number of discharges took place in 1883, from the fact that a very large number of long-service men enlisted in 1870, and a very large number of short-service men enlisted in 1876; and both these classes were together taking their discharges last year. The second cause of the deficiency was the check placed on recruiting in July, 1881, by the experiment which was tried of raising the age for enlistment from 18 to 19. Our return to the age of 18 has been much commented upon in the discussion to-night; but I may remind the Committee that the increase of age

was a measure never before attempted with regard to recruiting by any system. At the same time, a more strict medical examination of recruits had been enforced, and various minor alterations in the recruiting system had been adopted, which probably have had for the time the effect of checking recruiting. Early in 1882 there was, unfortunately, a great drain of men, which was not fully anticipated or provided for. The opportunity was thought a favourable one for endeavouring to obtain the necessary number of recruits at a somewhat more advanced age, and for otherwise raising the standard. The result of these combined circumstances was that there was a deficiency in recruiting; and a very large deficiency under the numbers authorized upon the establishment. Measures were taken last year with the object, in the first place, of providing more recruits; and, in the second place, of reducing the outflow from the ranks, especially in India. The standard was not absolutely reduced; but special permission was given to enlist men between the ages of 18 and 19, between 5 feet 3 inches and 5 feet 4 inches in height, and between 33 inches and 34 inches in chest measurement, if, in the opinion of the medical officer and the military recruiting officer, such men were likely to make eligible soldiers. At the same time, the terms of service were made more elastic; although the actual terms of enlistment were not altered, except in the Guards. In the Guards the original engagement now is for three years with the Colours, with the power of extending their service to seven or 12 years, and at 12 years of re-engaging and serving for 21 years. As I have already explained, that was tried without any risk; since, except in case of war, the Guards have no foreign service. In the Line, the same permission has been granted to all men on the expiration of their service with the Colours to extend their service to 12 years; and, if of good character, they have again the option of re-engagement and serving for 21 years. A sum of 120 rupees is offered in India to men so re-engaging, provided they have a sufficient length of service to give. A good deal of observation has been made upon that; but I should like to point out to the Committee that I consider this practice of giving a

bounty to a man for extension of service is a very different thing, indeed, from reverting to the old system of inducing recruits to enlist by offering a bounty. The result of offering a large bounty to the recruits to enlist at home was that you tempted men who had no real or natural inclination to enlist at all, with the effect that a large number of recruits enlisted merely for the sake of the bounty; served but for a very short time; and, having got the bounty, subsequently deserted, and so robbed the country, not only of a certain amount of pay, but also, in some cases, of a large bounty. Now, the measure of offering a bounty to men actually serving in India who are entitled to their discharge, and who would cost the Government of India a considerable sum of money to take home and replace, is a very different operation indeed; and one which appears to me perfectly legitimate, both in regard to the soldier and to the Government themselves. Well, Sir, at home a bounty of £2 has always been offered to men on embarkation for foreign service who were willing to re-engage for a certain period of service abroad. The bounty has been extended to men who are willing to re-engage, so as to give at least five years' service abroad. It is now given to all men of more than three, and less than seven years' service, if they extend their service to 12 years with the Colours. The result of these measures has been that the largest number of recruits ever enlisted was enlisted last year—namely, 33,096. The new system has been in operation only eight months. If it had been in operation for a whole year the number would probably have been about 37,000. In 1882 the number was 23,802; and, as compared with the year 1882, the difference of 9,300 probably represents the number of men between the ages of 18 and 19, and between the heights of 5 feet 3 inches and 5 feet 4 inches, who, as I have stated, were likely, in the opinion of the commanding officers and the medical officers, to make efficient and useful soldiers. I do not think I need trouble the Committee with the number of recruits for each arm of the Service; but I can give it if required. In the Cavalry no difficulty whatever has been experienced in keeping the Force up to the strength required in order to supply the larger number of vacancies caused by

short service in the Army. The system which was introduced last year in the Guards has succeeded very well. The Guards were last year nearly 1,000 below the Establishment; now they are only 100 below the Establishment. The Infantry of the Line reached the lowest point in July, 1883, when they were 8,717 below the Establishment. On the 1st of January of this year they were 5,812 below the Establishment, and now they are about 5,347 below it.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Will the noble Marquess give the figures in reference to the Artillery?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am coming to the Artillery. There is a small increase in the number of recruits. In 1882, 3,982 were enlisted, and in 1883, 4,022. The deficiency in July, 1883, was 1,221; now it is about 1,042. That deficiency, which is certainly to be regretted, is entirely among the gunners. The measures which I have described had the effect of inducing 6,335 men to stay in India and to take the bounty offered to them. Of these, only 1,000 would have come home this year; and, therefore, it is only to the extent of 1,000 that we have gained by this measure. I believe that the number of men who would have taken their discharges, but who have extended their service in the ensuing year, will be nearer 2,000. The total waste of the Army in the last year is given in the Appendix to the Return of the Inspector General of Recruiting.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT: What is the total deficiency in India?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:

There is a total deficiency, in all arms and all ranks, of 2,195. I was proceeding to state what was the waste of the Army in 1883. The gross numbers were 47,433; but from these numbers ought to be deducted 8,500 men, who at the beginning of the year had been demobilized, and about 4,000 who would have gone into the Reserve about the end of 1882, but were retained under the Colours when the Reserve was called out. Exclusive of these, there went into the Reserve 10,946 in the last year. That was, of course, not waste in the true sense of the word. 6,496 men were discharged from long service, after 18 or 21 years' service. The discharges on this account will, in future years, somewhat decrease. 1,707 men died, being



the smallest number during the last 20 years. 3,374 invalids were discharged, also the smallest number during the last 20 years. 3,613 took their discharge by purchase; and 818 were freed from service by indulgence. There is some increase under that head. Men are now able, in a certain time, to obtain their discharge on payment of £10; and I think it is not unsatisfactory that a class of men exists who are able to pay that sum for their discharge, instead of deserting, as formerly was the case, if they did not find service in the Army to their taste. 1,059 men have been discharged for misconduct; and this is the lowest figure since 1871. Before that date the statistics were not so compiled that numbers can be compared. I do not think I need mention the miscellaneous sources of waste; but the net desertions have amounted to 2,550. That is the smallest number since 1870, with the exception of the years 1875 and 1879. The period for which a soldier is struck off the roll as a deserter has been reduced from two months to 21 days. There is, I am happy to say, a steady decrease in the number of desertions, and that decrease in the past year is noticeable when the very large number of recruits enlisted is taken into account, because it has always been found that the largest number of desertions takes place in the first year of the soldier's service. In 1883 the net loss by desertions was only 6·8 per cent of the total number of recruits; in 1882 the loss was 11 per cent, and the average for the last 20 years has been 13 per cent. There is, therefore, I think, a considerable and very satisfactory reduction in the rate of desertions from the Army. Now, Sir, I think I have already pointed out that, although the new Regulations were only in force for eight months of last year, they have more than kept down the normal depletion going on during the same period. The Estimate for 1884-5 is that 30,700 recruits will be required to replace 12,000 men entering into the Reserve, and 18,000 who will leave the Army from other causes. That will require recruiting at the rate of 600 per week. Up till now we have been recruiting at the rate of 800 per week. We cannot expect that that rate will be maintained throughout the whole year; but we may fairly expect that the requirements of the year will

be fully met, and that, in addition, a balance will be maintained which will nearly, if not altogether, replace the deficiency that has taken place. It is further to be noted that we are now discharging into the Reserve men who had given six years' service with the Colours. The men who enlisted in 1881 and subsequent years will serve for seven years with the Colours; and, consequently, the number which we shall lose annually will be smaller than at present. Our recruiting requirements, of course, will diminish in proportion to the number of men who extend for longer service in the Army; but, notwithstanding this, I admit that the number of recruits that will be required in the present and future years is still very large. It is necessary to relax no effort to establish the popularity of the Service throughout the country, and to remove—this is a most important point—any of the causes which can be removed, and which tend to make the service of the Army unpopular. The attention of the Military Authorities is still devoted to this subject; and although much has been done, something still remains to be done to make the condition of the soldier's service—especially on his first enlistment—more popular and less irksome than it has hitherto been found. As to the sources from which the recruits during the year have been drawn, the Militia has supplied 12,450 men. That fact I have seen adverted to as simply a destruction of the Militia for the benefit of the Army. I do not think it can be regarded at all in that light. The Militia has always been looked upon as a legitimate source for recruiting the Army; and it is satisfactory to see so large a number of men passing through the Militia to the Army, because it tends to establish and give effect to a system which we are now attempting to organize in our Army—that is to say, the territorial system—and to establish more closely the union and connection between the Militia and the Line battalions, which will, practically, form one territorial regiment. Fifty-one per cent of those recruits who came from the Militia enlisted for the Line battalions of their own regiments; and there were also 1,392 recruits who enlisted in the past year from a source which, I think, is extremely satisfactory—from the Volunteers. I think it says much for the increasing popularity of the



Service that men should be found in increasing numbers coming forward to enlist from a force like that—namely, the Volunteers. The remainder of the recruits enlisted from the civil population. Fifteen districts supplied over 80 per cent, 43 (including those 15) districts over 50 per cent, and 19 districts less than 50 per cent of the numbers required for their respective territorial regiments. In 50 out of the 62 regimental districts the commanding officers report that the regiments connected with the districts are becoming more and more locally identified with those districts. Now, Sir, I think I have shown that the result of the measures taken to increase the quantity of recruits may fairly be considered satisfactory. Quality, of course, is a still more important consideration than quantity. With reference to the question as to how the medical officers and the recruiting officers are discharging with judgment the discretion they possess of enlisting the men we need, and who come up to the authorized standards, I may say that the rejection of men subjecting themselves to examination was last year 399 per 1,000 men against 424 per 1,000 in 1882. That is not a large decrease, and does not tend to show that the commanding officers have been lax in the discharge of their duty. There are about 10,000 specially enlisted men, of whom about 7,000 are between 18 and 19 years of age. Formerly, 33 inches was the standard of chest measurement required for a recruit. If he came up to that standard, and was not in other respects physically unfit—if he had no physical defect—the recruiting officer would have been bound to take him. Now the standard remains as before; but the medical officer has a discretion to take a man below the standard if he thinks he is likely to make a good soldier. The General Officers commanding have, in some instances, no doubt, complained of the youth of the recruits they have inspected, but their Reports have not been unfavourable upon the whole; and the whole of the recruits, with the exception of 200 or 300 whose cases are being thoroughly investigated, have been inspected. The Reports of the commanding officers at the dépôts show that in 29 districts they considered the recruits good; in 29 fair; in four they were con-

sidered doubtful; and in 15 unfavourable. There can be no doubt, as I have previously said, that we are at present enlisting a younger class of men, and in some respects a class of men of somewhat inferior *physique* to those of some years ago. But it does not at all follow that men of between 18 and 19 are less fit or less qualified to become good soldiers than older men. It is necessary that we should obtain recruits at the ages at which they will come; and, however much we may desire to obtain older men, it is not under a voluntary system of enlistment practically possible to obtain them after these ages. I very much doubt whether we could obtain many more, unless we were prepared to pay a great deal more. The age of 18 or 19 is precisely the age at which the recruit is to be obtained, for he has not yet made up his mind as to his future occupation or profession in life; and if you wait you will very likely find he has adopted some other occupation, and if you want him then you will not be able to get him. Sir, I said I would give the Committee some figures as to the service of the Army at home and abroad. I thoroughly admit, and I have asserted, that no one could have any reasonable doubt that in our short-service system a large proportion of the Army serving at home is, and must be, composed of young troops. The figures which I shall give to the Committee refer only to the Infantry of the Line. There were, on the 1st of January, 43,745 men of the Line serving at home. Of these, 18,404 were of under one year's service; but those figures do not represent all, or even mainly, men who are not fit for active service. The Return does not show the number of trained recruits; but the number of under one year's service is, as I have stated, 18,404. Then there were at home of short-service men 15,373 of over one year's service; and the remainder of the Infantry serving at home was composed of 4,091 long-service men, and 5,877 re-engaged men of short service. But with regard to that portion of the Army which serves abroad, we shall find that it shows a very different state of things; and what I think we have to complain of is, that the critics of the Army in this House, and in the country generally, seem to ignore altogether the condition of the Army abroad, and to turn all their attention to the Army at

home, which I say must always, to a great extent, be composed of recruits. With regard, then, to our Army abroad, there were, on the 1st of January, 53,696 Infantry of the Line in India and abroad, of whom 1,832 were under one year's service, and 36,308 over one year's service—short-service men—the remainder being composed of 10,372 long-service men, and 5,184 re-engaged men. I have given the figures showing the service of the men who were engaged in the recent actions in the Soudan. Everybody admits that those soldiers were as good and as efficient specimens of British Infantry as the Army has produced up to the present time. But they were the very recruits—precisely the same men—who have been complained of and cavilled at and abused in this House, and it is in exactly the same way that the recruits enlisted under the recent system are depreciated. I say that complaints are constantly made of the inefficiency, and what is described as the miserable character, of the recruits who are being enlisted, but who invariably, when active service is required of them, do perfectly well. I have here an Actuarial Report made the other day upon the proportion of men fully and partly trained under a long-service and short-service system respectively. I will not trouble the Committee with all the details; but the result arrived at is, that with equal Establishments, in the 47 weakest battalions at home the proportion during peace of untrained, or only partly trained, men would be 32 per cent in the long-service Army, and 65½ per cent under the short-service system. In time of war, however, the Reserve would, under the short-service system, be called out—say, 46,000 thoroughly trained soldiers; and then the proportion, if these men were divided equally amongst the battalions at home, would fall in the weak battalions from 65½ to 31 per cent of untrained, or only partly trained, soldiers; while under the long-service system it would be either impossible to fill up the Establishment at all, or, if it were filled up, the percentage of untrained or partly-trained men would at once be raised to 68. Therefore, this system of short service, although it gives us an Army at home which is, during ordinary times, largely composed of recruits, yet gives

us an Army abroad whose weakest battalions are composed of men who are not partly trained, but who are all in the very prime of life and fully-trained soldiers. As to the Establishment of the present and next year, the effective strength, on the 1st of July, 1888—at which date about the lowest point of last year was reached—was 154,530 rank and file; and on the 1st of January in the present year it was 158,029, or 7,357 below the increased Establishment of last year. But, as I endeavoured to explain last year, our Establishments are maximum Establishments, and we cannot go beyond them; and, consequently, owing to the drain which takes place in the winter months, when the drafts go out to India, the Army must be at the latter part of that time, and for some time afterwards, considerably below its Establishment; because, although recruiting is tolerably constant throughout the year, the deficiency can only be made good by a very gradual process. We added, last year, 2,600 men to the Establishment, for the purpose of raising the strength of the lowest battalions from 450 to 520; but, as I explained at the time, we did not ask the House to vote any additional money for that increase of Establishment, because, on the facts which I put forward, we considered it impossible that the Army could, on an average, throughout the year, be up to the Establishment nominally voted by Parliament. Well, Sir, in the present year I shall have to ask the Committee to sanction an Establishment somewhat increased on that of last year, owing to the disturbance of normal arrangements consequent upon the occupation of Egypt. The normal distribution is 50 battalions in India, 19 in the Colonies, and 72 at home. I am not referring to those battalions which have been specially sent to undertake operations in the Soudan, and which, perhaps, may return before long; but before those additional battalions were sent, there were six battalions in Egypt, which, under normal circumstances, ought to be at home, and there is also half a battalion which, under the same circumstances, would be at Malta. We have, therefore, to provide, during the continuance of this occupation, for 75 battalions abroad and 66 at home. One of these battalions abroad is a single bat-

talion regiment. Under ordinary arrangements, every battalion abroad ought to be fed by its dépôt and by the corresponding battalion at home; but there are now four regiments which have both their battalions abroad, and which have to be fed entirely from the home dépôt. The demand on the dépôt is thus doubled; while the supply is reduced, through the absence of the home battalion. We propose to meet this difficulty, in the first place, by withdrawing one battalion from the garrison at Halifax. This is a plan which has been long under consideration. The garrison is, I believe, normally fixed at two battalions, one of which will be withdrawn. The next step we propose to take is to increase the dépôts of those regiments which have both battalions abroad. Two of these will be increased to 300, and one to 600; while the dépôt of the single battalion regiment will be raised from 50 to 200 rank and file. The foreign battalion of the remaining regiment will be sent home shortly, and it is therefore unnecessary to make for it any special provision. We also propose to make an addition to the regimental Establishment at home. Last year the occupation of Egypt was considered to be a temporary and provisional one, and the battalions there were considered as still forming part of the First Army Corps, and no special measures were taken to replace them. Now, however, that the necessity for the occupation of Egypt appears likely to be somewhat prolonged, it is proposed to place the battalions in Egypt on the ordinary Colonial Establishment of 800 strong, and to raise a corresponding number of battalions at home to take their place in the First Army Corps. The total increase that will be necessary for these purposes is 2,400 men. There will inevitably be a deficiency, and probably a considerable deficiency, upon this increased Establishment during some period of the year; but if the Committee grant the increased Establishment which we ask, it will enable us to recruit up to a higher maximum, in order to make more satisfactory and certain provision for the drafts that will be required by battalions abroad. The Reserve—including the Reserve men who were serving with the Colours—numbered on the 1st of January, 1883,

29,022, as against 34,589 on the 1st of January in the present year; and it will probably exceed 40,000 in the course of the year, besides the supplementary Reserve of 2,500 men approved by Parliament last year. The Militia Reserve was 31,000 at the last training, which is its full strength. There will, accordingly, in the course of the present year, be an available Reserve of 66,000 men. I have already referred to the deficiency in the Artillery. Some changes in organization have been made for the purpose of increasing the Establishment. Recruits, it is said, are deterred from enlisting into the Artillery by the frequent changes from battery to battery, which make it almost impossible for a man to have any settled home in that branch of the Service. In the first place, he enlists in the local Artillery dépôt; from that he joins a home service battery, and he is sent thence in a draft to supply the requirements of a foreign service battery. It is now proposed to form four Field Artillery dépôts—one in Ireland and three in England—to which recruits will be sent from the local Artillery dépôt, and from which foreign drafts will be supplied. The additional dépôts will require an establishment of 20 officers and 1,400 men; but no additional expenditure will be proposed. Since the reduction of Horse Artillery in India, the proportion of that arm maintained in this country has been in excess of the authorized proportion to other arms. It has been for some time under consideration to make some reduction in that arm; and it has now been decided to reduce two batteries. It is also intended to reduce three four-gun field batteries, which have been used only as training dépôts, a service which can be more efficiently accomplished by the establishment of dépôts, which will be professedly training dépôts, and not service batteries. The service batteries will also, by this measure, be made much more efficient, because, except in rare and exceptional circumstances, they will not have to furnish drafts for the batteries abroad. In the Infantry, as I mentioned last year, a system of musketry instruction by officers of the regiment has been adopted. The Musketry Instructors have been abolished; and the companies are now



not only instructed in drill, but also in musketry, by their own officers. That change, I believe, has been well received both by regimental officers and commanding officers, and the result has been fully approved by the General Officers commanding districts. It is necessary to say a word or two as to the unusual demand for officers in the year 1883. The demand for the Indian Staff Corps, usually satisfied with less than 100 officers, was, in 1883, 166; and there has also been a large number of officers required for service in the Egyptian Army. The abnormal vacancies number about 80, while, at the same time, the supply of officers has lessened, the numbers in the Royal Military College and in the Militia having been reduced in previous years, in order to allow for the absorption of officers rendered supernumerary by the measures of July, 1881. The admissions from Sandhurst and from the Militia were reduced by 60 in each case. The College at Sandhurst is, I believe, now full; but the course of preparation there takes one year, and only a reduced number of cadets are ready for commissions. In order to meet this exceptional demand for officers, we have had recourse to the only means open to us, and have increased the number of commissions to be granted to officers of the Militia from 80 to 131. There does not appear to be any objection to this course; because the Reports of the Examinations for the Militia are very favourable. Twenty commissions have also been granted to cadets of one term only at Sandhurst, on the report of their fitness by the authorities of that Institution. There are still several vacancies in the Cavalry and Infantry; but I believe that the full number of about 300 will be obtained from Sandhurst in the course of the present year. Certain changes have been made with regard to the entrance examinations at Sandhurst, and they have been made with two objects—first, to secure a sufficient number of candidates for the Cavalry; and, secondly, to check cramming—I will not say altogether, but to check what appear to us to be its most objectionable features. Candidates, on entering, will put down their names on separate lists for Infantry, or Cavalry, or both; so that a man may secure a commission by a somewhat

smaller number of marks than would otherwise have been the case with regard to the Infantry examination. It is found, or believed, that there are two subjects most capable of being crammed for—English literature and natural science. An alteration has now been made, and in future more weight will be given to modern languages and mathematics, which are subjects which must be thoroughly taught. I believe my hon. Friend the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) has some suggestion to make, when the proper time arrives, in regard to the change in reference to awarding marks for natural science. The examinations for promotion I have already referred to, and it is not necessary that I should refer to the question again. As to the Militia, in 1883 the number of recruits for Militia was 35,524, being 9,000 in excess of the number recruited in 1882. The enlistment of 5,808 of the men recruited was due to the fact that recruiting has been re-opened in Ireland. The re-engagements in the Militia amount to 9,171. That is satisfactory, as showing the popularity of the Force. The drain on them is very great, 12,450 Militiamen have joined the Regular Army from that Force in the year. The Militia Reserve amounted to 31,246 at the last training. It is now at about its authorized strength. The question of Militia enlistments is complicated, but a uniform system has now been adopted; and though it is objected to by some commanding officers, the former system did not work advantageously, and the present system is, on the whole, I believe, satisfactory. As I have said, the subject is one of a complicated character, and I think I had better postpone any statement in regard to it until we come to the Militia Vote. The Reports which we have received from the Yeomanry are extremely favourable; though it is a little below its establishment—a fact which may be due to the recent agricultural depression. The efficiency of the Force is highly satisfactory, and very much greater than many people may be inclined to believe. The inspecting officer of the Northern District, who has just left his regiment in India, where he had been accustomed to smart Cavalry regiments, has recorded his satisfaction and astonishment at finding the efficiency of the Yeomanry so far

exceeding his anticipations. He says that in a very short time it would be made a most valuable and trustworthy body. I had hoped it might have been possible for me to announce some measures for improving the efficiency of the Yeomanry; but I will not enter into any details until we come to the Yeomanry Vote. The Volunteers have made satisfactory progress, both as regards their number and efficiency. The total enrolled numbers are 209,365, being an increase of 2,029 over the previous year. The efficient are 202,428, showing an increase of 3,054. The officers and non-commissioned officers who are classed as efficient are 17,928, being an increase of 307. 485 have passed a tactical examination. There has recently been another tactical examination which a large number of officers have passed. A good deal of interest has been excited in the Volunteer Force by the delay in the issue of the Martini-Henry rifle. The cause of the delay has been the uncertainty about the weapon with which the Infantry of the Line and Militia is to be armed in future. The Committee will be aware that the Martini-Henry has for some time been under the consideration of a special Committee; and it is hoped that its Report will shortly be received. If, as I anticipate, the Committee to which I have referred is able to make a Report within a comparatively short time, it will be, I believe, in favour of a modification of the present arm. Until that Report is made I do not think it will be in our power, in the present year, to make any considerable issue of Martini-Henry rifles and ammunition to the Volunteer Corps. The Militia is already armed with the Martini-Henry rifle; and if we were to manufacture the present Martini-Henry for issue to the Volunteers, we might probably find that a subsequent change of arms would materially increase our stock of arms beyond what is absolutely necessary. It is hoped that in a very short time a decision will have been arrived at. In saying this, I am bound to say also that, in my view, the process must be gradual, and the Vote for small arms will remain nearly the same as last year. I hope that by the time we arrive at the Volunteer Vote it may be in my power to make a statement more in detail. The next point to which I wish to refer is the Army

Hospital Corps. Last year a Committee, presided over by Lord Morley, reported that the members of the Corps to which I refer were very inefficiently trained as cooks and nurses; and in consequence schools of cookery have been established at Aldershot, Netley, and the Herbert Hospital, in order that the members of the Corps may have training in large hospitals before they are detailed for duty in the small station hospitals. I hope that before long we shall have men in the Army Hospital Corps who will themselves be competent to act as instructors, and be able to give the necessary training, not only in the schools, but in the Army hospitals generally. A further cause of the inadequacy of the present body is that the Establishment is only just sufficient for the wants of the existing hospitals. The consequence has been that recruits, after a short course of training at Aldershot, have had to be sent to act as attendants on the sick without experience in ward duties. The Service requires much more; and it is quite insufficient to send nurses to the small station hospitals without giving them an opportunity of going through the ward training of a large hospital. It is proposed, in the present Estimates, to add 200 men to the Army Hospital Corps. We hope that addition will enable us to give to the men of that Corps a certain period of training in one of the large hospitals before they undertake their duties in smaller station hospitals, where they cannot obtain so much experience. With regard to the Army Medical Department, we propose to make such an alteration in the Regulations as will enable us to call upon officers, as in other branches of the Service, to prove by examination their fitness for promotion to the rank of surgeon-major. It is thought that as now regimental officers are obliged to show their fitness for promotion by undergoing an examination, it is only right and just that the fitness of the medical officers should also be tested by examination in professional subjects with which they ought to be well acquainted, before being promoted to the higher ranks of the Service. It is also intended to take such steps as shall put an end to the present relations, which are somewhat anomalous, between the Army Medical Department and the Army Hospital



Corps. The subject is referred to in the Report of the Committee, and I will not go further into detail upon it. I do not know if it is possible to make any considerable alteration in the organization; but it is desired that the Army Medical Department and the Army Hospital Corps should form one service only, and that the officers of the Army Medical Department should stand to the men of the Army Hospital Corps in exactly the same relation as the Commissariat and Transport Staff stand in relation to the men of the Commissariat and Transport Corps. Some slight alterations in existing arrangements may be necessary in order to bring about the reform to which I am referring; but I hope no real difficulty will be found to exist in the way of bringing the two branches of the Service into unity, which does not exist at present in a perfectly satisfactory form. With regard to the supply of heavy guns for the Navy, fair progress has been made in the present year. During the present and the past two years we have been undergoing a double transition; first, from the muzzle-loader to the breech-loader; and, in the next place, in the material, from wrought iron to steel. Twenty years ago another transition took place, which was of an exactly opposite character. Twenty years ago we reverted from the breech-loader, the more complicated gun, to the muzzle-loader, or more simple gun, retaining the same material of manufacture. At that time the largest guns in the Service were of 7 tons weight, firing 30 lbs. of powder. In the change from the muzzle-loader to the breech-loader the guns are of 40 tons weight, firing 400 lbs. of powder. The Committee may, therefore, imagine what has been the difficulty; and the necessity there has been for hesitation and caution in undergoing such a transition under such circumstances. The main difficulty has been to obtain sufficiently large steel-forgings for these immense weapons. There are in France and Germany several firms which have been able to supply steel-forgings of the size, and also of the quality, required for these guns; but up to the present time the demand has been a new one to the English trade, and there has been great difficulty in obtaining from the English trade steel forgings of the size and quality required. We have supplied, or in a few days shall

have supplied, to the Navy 10 guns of 43 tons and 12-inch bore; 18 of 18 tons and 9-inch bore; 8 of 18 tons and 8-inch bore; 171 of 4 tons and 6-inch bore; besides 190 smaller guns of 2 tons and under, making a total of nearly 400 new breech-loading guns. Those first in hand were of mixed steel and wrought iron, while the later guns are entirely of steel. There has been some advantage in the delay in the adoption of the new pattern of breech-loading ordnance. We have had the advantage of the experience gained by the French and other Powers; and it is believed that we have now obtained a system of breech-loading guns of a simple and efficient character. In addition to the guns I have enumerated, there are in hand, under construction for the Navy, 3 guns of 110 tons, 4 of 63 tons, and 3 of 43 tons, besides a very large number of smaller guns in various stages of progress. At the same time, there are under construction for the Land Service 10 guns of 43 tons, 4 of 26 tons, and other guns of smaller size. [MR. W. H. SMITH: Are the 110-ton guns steel guns?] All such guns now being constructed are of steel, and they are being constructed at Elswick. The power of the individual guns in the British Service is believed to be rather more than equal weight for weight to those in the Service of any other country, either France or Italy. This result has been obtained by the special dimensions of the chamber and the bore, which allow the largest charge of powder to be consumed, and which also enable the fullest effect to be given to the recent improvements in the manufacture of gunpowder for the largest guns. The 110-ton guns will be the most powerful guns in the world; but although this progress is being made we are confronted with a new difficulty. The improvements in the armour-plating which is opposed to these guns have been commensurate with, if not greater than, the improvements in the power of the guns. Armour plates are now constructed either faced with steel or altogether composed of steel, and plates are being now manufactured which cannot be pierced by any guns in existence in the world. It is doubtful, at the present moment, in what direction the attack will have to be developed in order to meet the increased power of defence. It is possible that even still heavier guns



will be required, although it is doubtful whether we have not now nearly reached the limit in the size of the guns. On the other hand, the necessary power may have to be sought for in increased velocity given to the projectile of the same size. I have now only to say a few words about the field guns. The breech-loading 12-pounder gun has been undergoing a long series of experiments. That is believed to be the most powerful weapon of its class in the world. The Ordnance Committee have been conducting trials of these guns, and they are believed to be thoroughly satisfied as to the gun itself; but further experiments are to be made with respect to carriage. Until the guns have had a further practical trial we do not propose to enter on any large manufacture. We propose to arm three batteries with these guns in the course of the present year; and if they answer our expectations we propose to re-arm the Field Artillery with them. The 13-pounder muzzle-loading guns, which the Field Artillery now have, are considered to be superior to the French, German, or Italian guns. As the House decided some time ago to appoint a Committee to inquire into the Commissariat and Transport organization, it will be hardly necessary that I should say anything upon that subject now. I should like, however, to mention that before the appointment of that Committee by the House, a Military Departmental Committee had been appointed by the War Office to investigate some questions of the same kind. I think there is no reason why these two Committees should not pursue their inquiries side by side; but until we come to a later period of the discussion on these Votes it will be as well to defer further observations on the question. I should not like, however, to pass by the subject of stores and supply without referring, in one or two words, to the great credit that is due to the General Officers and Staff in Egypt, and to the Departmental Officers, for the manner in which, in the recent operations in Egypt, their arrangements were carried out. The telegram instructing the General Officers to organize the transport was only received in Cairo on the 12th of February. On the 18th of February the whole Expeditionary Force—consisting of troops, horses, baggage animals, and stores—was despatched from Cairo. The Naval

Transport met them at Suez; and the whole force—a compact and efficient force—was disembarked at the base of operations without difficulty. Some difficulty was experienced at first in the supply of camels, and a still greater difficulty in getting drivers; but a body of 330 men was finally obtained, partly from the drivers of the Egyptian Army, and partly from Natives, of whom there were 150 in the 330. The total strength of the force was about 4,082 men, with 731 horses, 780 camels, and 619 mules; and I think the promptitude with which that force was got together was very creditable to the Departments concerned. That they were able to accomplish it was due to the fact that the reserve of supplies and equipment had been fully maintained; and immediately after the despatch of that force steps were taken to fill up the supplies in Egypt. The only other subject upon which I wish to say a few words is Vote 13, for Fortifications. The defences of the Naval ports are practically complete. There may be some changes in their armament; but they will involve no serious question of construction of works. In connection with this subject, it has been suggested from time to time that Volunteers might be made use of for the protection of our mercantile harbours. That suggestion has been coldly received, on the ground that specially trained men were required; but a remarkable and successful experiment has lately been concluded with the assistance of, and principally at the instigation of, the hon. Member for North Durham (Mr. C. M. Palmer), and it has been shown by the experiment on the Tyne last year that this work could be done by Volunteers, with the assistance of a few engineers. The officer in charge of that experiment reported that after a short training of some 50 Volunteers of Durham the work could be done by the Volunteers themselves, and they could be left to look after the protection of their own waters. It is very much to be hoped that the example which has been set by the hon. Member for North Durham, and the success which attended his efforts, will be imitated in other directions, and that the services of the Volunteer engineers will be utilized in this very important Government service. There is nothing further that requires special

attention in this Vote. Two important works are about to be commenced—one a barracks in Dublin, where the sanitary condition of the barracks is bad; and, secondly, a new general hospital at Malta. We hope to be able to make a commencement in both of those works in the course of the present year. Sir, I have only now to thank the Committee for the patience with which they have listened to me at this extremely inconvenient hour of the evening (1.20 A.M.). I trust it will not be considered necessary to resume the discussion after the Statement which I have now been permitted to make, as there will be opportunities on the other Votes for asking explanations which I fully admit the Committee are entitled to receive, and which I shall be most willing to offer. I trust it may be found possible to agree to this Vote immediately.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 140,314, all ranks, be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at Home and Abroad, excluding Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

COLONEL STANLEY: I only rise for the purpose of saying a single word. I listened with great attention to the interesting statement of the noble Marquess; and, looking at the importance of that statement, I think he can hardly desire that, at this hour of the night, we should proceed further with the discussion. Naturally, on the first night of the Army Estimates many questions of great interest arise. Upon many of these the noble Marquess has touched; but there still remain others of importance to be dealt with; and it must be remembered, when we are told that we shall have opportunities of discussing general questions affecting the Army on other Votes, that the same thing was said on a previous occasion, and that we were not so able to discuss general matters. No one can blame the noble Marquess; but the fact remains the same, that the second opportunity we had of discussing Army matters last year was a Saturday in August.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Colonel Stanley.*)

*The Marquess of Hartington*

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): It is absolutely necessary that we should take this first Vote. ["No, no!"] Hon. Members say "No, no;" but it is absolutely necessary, in order that the Ways and Means Act should be passed in time, that one Vote in the Army Estimates should be taken now. Unless it is taken now, I do not know when it can be taken before the end of the financial year. To-morrow the House meets, by general agreement, at 2 o'clock, to discuss the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill; and, of course, it is impossible to hope to continue the discussion of the Vote at a reasonable hour at the Night Sitting. Wednesday does not belong to us, and on Thursday we have the Navy Estimates. I hope that the understanding which has been arrived at in past years, to the effect that the second debate shall be taken, not in August, but at some reasonable time, may be come to to-night on the same terms as in previous Sessions, which were that on the second Vote the whole question of Army organization, and kindred matters may be discussed. I repeat, that it is absolutely necessary, in order to make proper provision for Army expenditure before the end of the financial year, that one Vote should be taken in the Army Estimates and one in the Navy Estimates this week. As I say, the course I suggest was agreed to last year, the second discussion taking place, not as the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Stanley) says, in August, but early in the Session.

EARL PERCY said, he wished to call the attention of the Committee to the position in which they were placed. The noble Marquess had made an important statement, not only on matters which could be discussed on the second Vote, but on other branches of the Estimates. He had made a most important statement as to the Militia, and had asked the Committee to defer the discussion upon it until they came to the Vote itself; but he (Earl Percy) should like to ask when the Militia and Volunteer Votes were likely to be taken if the Committee agreed to the course proposed? The Chancellor of the Exchequer told them it was absolutely necessary that they should pass one Vote to-night; therefore, it came to this—that the Government, knowing how vital it was that the Estimates should be



taken, had deliberately wasted two nights on the discussion of the Representation of the People Bill. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, they had employed two nights in the discussion of that Bill, which measure might very well have been put off in the interests of the Army Estimates, to allow opportunities for the general discussion of matters other than those which could be dealt with on the second Vote. He trusted the Committee would not pass the Vote before them without a pledge from the Government that not only the second Vote, but that all the important Votes in the Army Estimates would be taken on some specified early day. There was no greater right possessed by the House of Commons, and none that it behoved them more to cherish, than that of thoroughly examining and discussing the Estimates.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, the first Vote for Men, which the noble Marquess wished them to take to-night, was for the sum of £4,500,000. The Government had had some weeks—since the beginning of the Session, in fact—to arrange this work; but now, at half-past 1, on the first occasion they had had the Army Estimates before them, they were told it was absolutely necessary the Committee should pass the first Vote. It seemed to him that the functions of the Committee were becoming little better than a farce. The Committee sat for the purpose of properly considering and examining the Estimates; but what proper criticism could there be at that hour of the morning, seeing that the noble Marquess had only just resumed his seat? The Committee had hardly had time to realize the proposals of the noble Marquess and the changes which were to be introduced into the military system. The Vote with regard to the Medical Department, and some Votes affecting other Departments, were very important; and probably the Government would be able in the future to find time for their discussion; but the whole of the Army organizations came under this first Vote, and there were many things covered by it which could not be properly discussed on the second Vote. The next Vote was for Divine Service, and what a farce it would be to discuss the details of military organization on such a Vote as that for the Chaplaincy Department. He would suggest to the Chancellor of the

Exchequer the desirability of his taking to-night, not £4,500,000 without discussion, but some reasonable sum on account. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shook his head. He (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had expected that he would do so; but he had no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman would find his suggestion a not altogether unreasonable one, if hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House would show something like determination and resolution in insisting on adequate discussion before these enormous Votes were passed.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Perhaps the Committee will allow me to point out that, practically, at all events of recent years, the first Vote in the Army Estimates has been granted to the Government merely as a Vote on Account, the general discussion having been postponed to another occasion. Last year, at all events, the Committee had nothing to complain of in our complying with the demands made for opportunities for full discussion of the Army Estimates. The Estimates were moved on the 12th of March; they were again discussed for a whole night on the 24th of March; and they were a third time discussed on the 4th of June. [Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: No; on the 18th of August.] Yes; on the 18th of August. But the Votes never had an opportunity of being passed at an early date, although there were early discussions. I quite admit what was said by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), that the next Vote in the Estimates does not afford the best opportunity for the discussion of all those important matters which may have to be considered the next time the Estimates are discussed; but it would be quite possible for the next Vote taken to be one upon which we could take a general discussion.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT ventured to hope that the Committee would not take as the first Vote the Vote either for men or for money. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told them that there was no necessity for obtaining the grant for men to-night, and the Mutiny Act could not be brought in before April.

THE CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): What I said was that the Statute at present regu-



lating the Army ceases to operate towards the end of April. The measure will be brought in considerably before that time.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT said, that, as he understood it, the Mutiny Bill could not be brought in until a late period in April, and they were now only at the 17th of March. If they were to grant £4,500,000 to the Government, they knew perfectly well that the Government had power to spread that sum over the whole of the Army Estimates, and to render it the equivalent of a Vote on Account. But the Committee had not received any intimation from the Chancellor of the Exchequer that a Vote on Account was likely to be taken. It seemed to him (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) that if they gave the Government Vote 11—the Clothing Vote—£711,082, that Vote might be discussed to-night; and they would then have, on a future occasion, a fair opportunity for discussing the whole question of the men, and all those matters which the noble Marquess had dealt with in his statement. As he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) understood it, all that the Government actually required was that there should be a sum voted this month, so as to enable them to pay any money that might be wanted in the month commencing with the 1st proximo. The condition of the Institution at Pimlico itself required a careful consideration. He ventured, at any rate, to hope that hon. Friends whom he saw sitting there that night would not allow the Vote before them to pass; because, although they had had some discussion, they knew perfectly well what the exigencies of the Government would be, and that they would have the Representation of the People Bill and other Bills perpetually pushed forward, thus relegating all these Estimates to the end of the Session, when there would be no adequate opportunity for that thorough discussion which the Committee were entitled to insist upon.

EARL PERCY said, he should like to ask the noble Marquess if he could give any pledge that a Vote which interested the House very much, and which was only taken last year, on the 18th of August—namely, the Volunteer Vote—would be taken before that date this Session? Or would the noble Marquess give an assurance that when the Volunteer ques-

tion and other matters were alluded to, hon. Members would not be ruled out of Order?

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that no one wished to embarrass the financial arrangements of the Government; but what objection could there be to continuing this discussion on Thursday, and taking the Naval Vote on Monday? Would that be too late for the passing of the Consolidated Fund Bill?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): Yes; that arrangement would throw us too late. I gave the House, the other night, the different stages at which the Bill would have to be taken day by day. If the Navy Estimates were not taken this day week, it would not be possible for the Royal Assent to be obtained to the Consolidated Fund Bill next week.

MR. W. H. SMITH would suggest that the naval discussion should be taken on the Committee stage of the Bill, which would probably be on Tuesday. The Bill might be read a third time on Wednesday, and it would still be possible to pass the Bill and obtain the Royal Assent next week. A similar course had been adopted before.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): I looked very carefully into that matter, and I found that it would not be possible to carry out the suggestion, even by sitting on Saturday. It is my duty, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, to inform myself on matters of this kind; and I can assure the Committee it is absolutely necessary that one Army Vote should be taken to-night. With regard to what has been suggested as to the second Vote, I think we ought to give the same undertaking which we gave last year, which was that between Easter and Whitsuntide there would be an evening given for the discussion of the Army Estimates. To-night, as the Committee knows, we did not reach the noble Marquess's statement until nearly midnight. It is possible to interpose questions relating to the Army before the Speaker leaves the Chair; and I must say that during the last year or two that practice has been carried to an extreme point, because it has been late before the Estimates could be proposed. For 15 or 20 years of my life in this House, it used to be the practice to have the speech introducing the Army or Navy Estimates no later than half-

past 5 or 6 o'clock; even that, in former days, was considered a very late hour. Now, however, we have got into the habit of taking the Minister's statement late at night. I remember on one occasion, when the House granted me its indulgence, rising to propose the Army Estimates between 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was very fond of laying down the law on these subjects; but, if his memory served him right, it had frequently been the practice to take two stages of a Money Bill on one day in this House, and two stages in the House of Lords.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): Let me, at once, say that we do propose to take two stages in one day in the House of Lords; but I think financial authorities sitting by the side of the right hon. Gentleman will be able to convince him that we have never taken two stages of a Money Bill on the same day in this House.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that he had been anxious to make arrangements for the convenience of the House; but would it not have been as easy for the right hon. Gentleman to have made those arrangements last week as this week? Then, the right hon. Gentleman said that in years gone by it had been the custom to allow the Speaker to leave the Chair at an early hour when the Estimates were proposed, and to allow the first Vote to be taken without difficulty; but the right hon. Gentleman must remember that in those days opportunities for discussing matters on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair were much more numerous than they were at the present moment.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): We have taken the Army Estimates on the very first night after the conclusion of the Supplementary Estimates. We took the Supplementary Estimates at the earliest possible moment, and we have taken the Army Estimates on the first occasion open to us. No one has been more anxious than I and my Colleagues to expedite these matters.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whose fault it was that this was the first

night on which the Army Estimates could be taken?—it certainly was not the fault of hon. Members on that (the Opposition) side of the House. He would submit to the Committee whether it was not the fact that what the Government wanted was a sum of money? It did not matter what the Vote was on the Paper, so long as the Government obtained the money they wanted. It was desirable that it should not be a contentious Vote. As the hon. and gallant Baronet (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had said, the Clothing Vote would probably not cause much discussion. However, there might be some discussion on it; and it would, therefore, be better to take the money on a Vote which would not be debated—some non-effective Vote. There were several Votes of that kind sufficiently large to give the Government, when passed, a sum large enough to enable them to meet all their pecuniary necessities. There was Vote 95, for instance, which amounted to £1,250,000, and the Vote for Out Pensions, which amounted to £2,000,000. Any of these Votes would suit the purpose of the Government as well as Vote 1; and he objected to taking Vote 1 under the pretence that they were to discuss it on another Vote. He was anxious to move the reduction of this Vote; but if the discussion were taken on another item he would not be able to do it. It would be futile to give him an occasion for discussion when it would be impossible to submit a proposal for the reduction of the Vote. He would ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer how he could possibly get out of that difficulty?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I would ask the Committee to consider in what position we stand in reference to Business at this moment. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down asks whose fault it is that we are in the present position? I do not desire to lay the fault on anyone; but, in justification of the Government, I would ask the Committee to remember that the House has sat now for five weeks. As regards Government Business, how has our time been expended? We gave up time to those subjects to which we were obliged to give it up. First of all, we gave up a great deal of time to the Address; and it must be remembered that in the old

days it never took more than two nights to dispose of that. How many nights has it occupied this year? The next Business we had to deal with was the Supplementary Estimates. [An hon. MEMBER: No; the Vote of Censure.] Yes; we had to dispose of the Vote of Censure and the Address, and then we came to the Supplementary Estimates. When I first came into the House it was unusual for the Supplementary Estimates to occupy many nights; and I venture to say that anyone who has sat here for 15 years will confirm that statement. I want to know, out of these five weeks which the House has sat, how many days has the Government been able to give to the Legislative Business of the year? I want to know that, because it is a question which may be asked in the country. The noble Earl the Member for North Northumberland (Earl Percy) says—"Oh; you ought not to have introduced the Representation of the People Bill." But I should like to ask him if he remembers any single Session in which, five weeks from the commencement, the Government have not introduced a single Bill? What have we given up to the Legislative Business of the country? Why, during the first five weeks of the Session we have taken the first reading of the principal measure we have to propose; and that is said to be an inordinate and improper proportion of the time of the Government to devote to Legislative Business, when the necessity for providing time for the discussion of the Estimates is considered. I venture to say it is a most singular—I do not say an unexampled, but a rare instance when the Government are not allowed to introduce a Bill and have it read a first time on the night of its introduction. This Session two nights have been occupied with the introduction of the principal Government Bill, not through any desire of ours, but through the desire of hon. Gentlemen opposite, who wished to have two nights for the discussion. How, then, can it be fairly said that it is our fault that the Estimates have come on so late? As I have said, five weeks of the Session have now elapsed—[An hon. MEMBER: No; six.] Well, six weeks to-day have elapsed since the House met, and hon. Members know how we are

situated as to Business. I want to know—and I think everybody wants to know—how the Business of the country is going to be done? If it is rendered impossible to dispose of the Address under a fortnight; if it is made impossible for us to get the Supplementary Estimates without so much delay; and if it is made impossible for us to get Votes in Supply for the principal Departments of the State, how, I ask, is the Business of the country going to be done? What are we to do if we cannot get further than the first reading of a single measure in the first six weeks of the Session? It cannot be reasonably said that it is our fault that this Vote comes so late. It comes on the first day that the Government, by a reasonable disposal of the time of the House, could propose it. That being so, and my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer having said that it is essential, in order to properly conduct the Business of the Ways and Means Act, and with reference also to the ultimate passing of the Mutiny Act, that this Vote should be passed to-night, we ask the Committee to take the course that it has taken on several occasions—that is to say, to pass the Vote for Men, and to take the full discussion subsequently. That course has been taken on several previous occasions, and I ask why it is to be departed from now? What reason is there that that which has been done in former years should not be done now? There is none; therefore I think the request the Government makes is a reasonable one. Hon. Gentlemen may say that the time occupied by Government Business in the first six weeks of the Session has not been properly so occupied. I will not discuss that now, or quarrel with the proposition; but if there was no means of preventing the Vote coming on as it has come on, I hope the Committee will dispose of it as it has disposed of it on former occasions. Different courses have been suggested, to some of which objection has been stated; but what I ask is, why should we take a different course to that which has been followed on former occasions?

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I do not know that there is much advantage to be gained at the present moment from going into a discussion as to whose



fault it is that the first six weeks of the Session have been spent as they have been. If we did go into a discussion of that question I think we on this side might have something to say upon it. I do not wish to take up the time of the Committee by going into that, which really does not bear upon the question which is immediately before us. That question is, what we are to do with the Vote that has been proposed by the Government? With regard to that question, I suppose the immediate question we have to deal with is that with regard to the number of men. It is important that we should take the Vote for the Men as the foundation of the Army or Munity Bill, or whatever it is called; and I apprehend that there will be no objection to taking it. But the question then arises, whether it is necessary, for that purpose, that we should pass a Vote for £4,250,000? What is the object of our taking that large Vote at the present moment? It is in the nature of a Vote on Account for the whole of the Army Estimates; and if it is taken at this time to give the Government complete command of such money as is necessary to carry on the whole of the Army Services—not the particular Service for which it is voted, but the whole of the Army Services—for a considerable time, say three or four months, the difficulty may arise, which has arisen on former occasions, of getting a fair opportunity for discussing this important Vote. All the other Votes hinge on it, and yet it may be deferred to a very late period of the Session. What I would suggest is this. Of course, it is necessary that a Vote should be given on account for the Army Services, then let that Vote be given as a Vote on Account, and do not let it be £4,250,000, but, say, £2,000,000, which would enable the Government to carry on the service of the Army for a considerable time, though not for such a time as would enable them to postpone indefinitely the consideration of the Army Estimates. If that course were taken, I believe that all inconveniences would be got rid of. It would be a novel step, of course. [*Ministerial cheers.*] Yes; but hon. Members opposite must remember that now, since the New Rules came into force, we have been obliged to carry on our Business under novel conditions.

As a matter of fact, what the Government want is not this £4,250,000 for the particular pay of the men, but they want it for the whole of the Army Services of every kind and sort. It is a Vote on Account, and let us take it as such, and make it one of a reasonable amount.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): The right hon. Gentleman has said, truly enough, that to take a sum on account, in the manner he suggests, would be a novel course; but he did not add that the taking of such a Vote is not proposed now for the first time. It is a proposal which has been often made, and which he himself has resisted as firmly as anyone. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister has also resisted these Votes on Account, and on this plain ground—that if you once take a Vote on Account, except in cases where the Government is about to dissolve, after a Vote of Censure, you set a very dangerous precedent. In other years it might be said—"Oh; if it is inconvenient to take the Army Estimates, postpone them—it is not necessary that the Minister should now make his statement; postpone it, and take a Vote on Account." In this way you might have a Vote on Account in March, another one later on, and the Minister's important statement might be postponed to the end of the Session. That is what has been stated over and over again; and that is my recollection of the objections urged against taking Votes on Account under circumstances like the present. What was the pledge I gave just now? Why, I stated that if the Committee would pass the first Vote we would do as we did last year—namely, set aside a full day for the consideration of the Army Estimates on another Vote. That shows that we are disposed to deal in perfect good faith with the Committee. As to the amount of money that will be wanted, I understand that during the first two months of the year—that is to say, in April and May—£3,000,000 will be required. I have undertaken that the second Vote shall be taken before the Whitsuntide Recess.

COLONEL STANLEY said, the right hon. Gentleman did not quite see the objection hon. Members felt. It was this—that whether there were any

agreement as to the discussion of the subject before the Committee or not, it was not possible, on subsequent Votes, to be in Order in discussing a great many questions that arose on the first Vote. The demand the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary thought they were so unreasonable in making was this—that they should not be called upon, at 3 o'clock in the morning, to vote, without discussion, a sum of money which carried with it the substance of the Army Estimates. He (Colonel Stanley) thought the only course open to them was to place on record their objection to the Vote being taken under the circumstances; and, with that view, he regretted that he must challenge a Division on the Motion to report Progress, leaving it to the Committee to take the course which appeared best.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER said, he was present during the whole of the Sitting of Saturday the 18th of August last year. On that day the House met at noon, and was occupied until 7 o'clock in the evening with the postponed Irish Votes, at which hour they entered upon the discussion of 19 out of 25 Votes on the Army Estimates—that was to say, out of 25 Votes there remained 19 for discussion on Saturday the 18th of August. At about 2 o'clock on Sunday morning the deadlock was so great that in order to get the Committee out of it he took the most unconstitutional course of offering to allow the whole of the remaining Votes to be taken without discussion, on condition that the discussion thereon should be taken on the following Monday on Report. The Prime Minister, much to his surprise, jumped at the proposal. That course was adopted; the whole of the remaining Votes were taken, and a most unsatisfactory discussion took place on Monday the 20th of August on the Report. He regarded that course of procedure with respect to the Army Estimates as most unsatisfactory, and one which ought not to be followed this year.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that hon. Members could not have failed to notice that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had omitted to meet the point which he had raised. His point was, that if an hon. Member desired to move a reduction of Vote 1 he could not

do so on Vote 2, or any other Vote. It would be simply out of Order to move it on those Votes, and the Motion could not be put from the Chair. Now, if an hon. Member wished to move the reduction of the present Vote, what opportunity would he have for so doing? He remembered an occasion on which he himself was successful in forcing the Government to submit to a reduction of a Vote, and perhaps on another occasion he might be able to do the same thing.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he had a Motion to make for the reduction of the number of men, and if the Vote was entered upon at 2 o'clock in the morning, he should take quite as much interest in it as he should at 6 o'clock in the evening.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 70; Noes 120: Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 43.)

Original Question again proposed.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, the Committee had gone through the ordinary course on the Army Estimates that evening. The Committee had listened to a large number of speeches from Gentlemen opposite of a not very practical kind. Those speeches had been confined to suggestions for the increase of expenditure. Some hon. Members wished that the Army should be increased by 60,000 men, and there had been a long discussion as to the colour to be worn in Her Majesty's Service. He was not surprised at these proposals, because he found that 168 Members in that House were more or less connected with the Army or Navy, and those Gentlemen were naturally anxious to carry out their views. He did not blame them; he only blamed the House for leaving the discussion entirely in the hands of those Gentlemen. Approaching the question from a different point of view, he considered that in connection with the English Army there was an enormous amount of waste and extravagance, and that the Army itself had in it too great a number of men. It appeared from statistics laid before the Royal United Service Institute in 1876, that the cost of the English Army per head was almost double that of the German Army, and that the average pay of

all ranks, privates included, was much greater in the English than in the German Army. Notwithstanding that, the soldier was no better off in England than in Germany, the reason being that the Army was at present conducted not so much for the benefit of the soldiers as for the benefit of the officers. A colonel in the Guards, for instance, received £800 per annum, and he (Mr. Labouchere) believed that persons could be found equally efficient who would perform the duties for a much less sum. He wanted to call attention to these absurdities. At the age of 45 a colonel retired on a pension of £300 or £400 a-year, and at the age of 42 a captain retired on a pension of £200 or £300 a-year. In almost every town in the country a number of retired colonels and captains were to be found who were living on the money of the public. It mattered not what Government was in Office—Liberal or Conservative—they were both equally to blame for throwing on the country men in the prime of life who could serve the country perfectly well without a pension. For his own part, he would say nothing of the efficiency of the Army; but he had often heard Gentlemen connected with the Army explaining in that House that it was worth absolutely nothing. If that were the view of hon. Gentlemen opposite, he should be happy to move a much larger reduction of these worthless soldiers than he had intended. But his main object in moving the reduction of the number of men was that he thought Her Majesty's Government had far too many soldiers at their disposal. The country had been involved in wars during the last 300 or 400 years; and he did not believe there was a single war related in history which could be shown to have been of the slightest service to them. Those large wars were generally caused by their meddling and muddling on the Continent; but, besides them, there had been many small wars, the most recent examples being the wars in India and Africa. Notwithstanding the slang phrase of 20 years ago, that England could not afford a small war, we had had a good number of small wars. Since the present Ministry came into power there had been the Zulu War, the Transvaal War, the Egyptian War, and at that moment they were engaged in the Soudan War—the work of these

friends of peace. He had, of course, speaking politically, a very poor opinion of the Tories; but he did not think they ought to be blamed for what had happened in the Soudan. He did not believe they even knew that disturbances in the Soudan existed. However that might be, he considered that the Government had too many soldiers. They had had soldiers in Egypt for the last 18 months; and if the Government had not had so many soldiers their troops would probably not have been sent there. No one could pretend to say why their troops were in Egypt; and although Her Majesty's Government were desirous and anxious to afford the House all the information in their power, they had been unable to say why the troops were there, because they did not know themselves. The only reason was that they had so many men for whom they thought it necessary to find employment; and if the present state of things were to continue they would shortly have to find some other region where barbarians would have to be killed, or something done in the interest of commerce, or of their Manchester friends. This year the increase of the Army was from 137,632 to 140,314 men; in other words, 3,682 men. Deducting from that number the one or two small reductions in the Cavalry and Commissariat branches, there remained an increase of 2,687 men, and by that number he begged to move the reduction of the Vote.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 137,627, all ranks, be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at Home and Abroad, excluding Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."—(Mr. Labouchere.)

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who moved the reduction of the Vote, had described the speeches made by hon. Members in the course of the evening on the subject of the Army as of a highly unpractical character. He did not know whether the hon. Member thought his own speech a practical one; but, as far as he (Mr. Balfour) could understand it, his speech was composed of some casual statistics, mixed up with the echoes of a number of speeches delivered by hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House against the Government



of which the hon. Member was, or was supposed by his constituents to be, a supporter. His object in rising, however, was not to continue the discussion initiated by the hon. Member, but to suggest to the Government that they might, perhaps, with advantage close the debate that evening, on the understanding that no objection should be raised on that side of the House to the Vote for Men and Money, provided that Her Majesty's Government gave a day before Easter for the discussion of questions connected with the Army. That appeared to him to be a reasonable compromise; and in order that the Government might discuss it, he begged to move that Progress be reported.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. A. J. Balfour.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he might state at once that the proposal of the hon. Member (*Mr. A. J. Balfour*) would not be a satisfactory one to the Government. He did not remember a Session of Parliament in which a second discussion on the Army Estimates had taken place before Easter; but, apart from the absence of precedent, the circumstances referred to by his right hon. and learned Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department had not made it easier for the Government to find an additional day for a continued discussion of a subject such as this. It appeared to him that the proposal of the Government was a reasonable one, and the only one which it was possible for them to make. He could not but think that the proposal of the hon. Member was one which would be absolutely fatal to any chance of proceeding before Easter with the main legislative proposal of the Government; and on that ground, if on no other, Her Majesty's Government were not in a position to accede to it.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 63; Noes 115: Majority 52.—(*Div. List, No. 44.*)

Original Question again proposed.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I quite agree with the hon. Member for Hertford (*Mr. J. A. Balfour*) that the speech in which the hon. Member for

Northampton (*Mr. Labouchere*) introduced his Motion was not one of a practical character. The greater part of that speech was a comment upon what the hon. Member considered to be the enormous extravagance that went on in connection with the Army. That is a point, however, which has nothing to do with the Motion before the Committee; it rather has to do with the number of men who would remain, were the reduction proposed by the hon. Member to be sanctioned by Parliament. The only sentence of the hon. Member that appeared to me to be at all in the nature of an argument in support of his Motion was his statement that the Government had at their disposal a great deal too many soldiers, and that their having so many was the cause of the wars in which the country had been engaged. Considering the armaments of foreign nations, one would have thought that it would be the very last accusation brought against our Army, that it was too large. The additional number of men which I have asked the Committee to sanction is entirely the consequence of the prolonged occupation of Egypt, which has cast upon the British Army duties external to its ordinary duties. For these reasons, I trust the Committee will support Her Majesty's Government in their moderate and reasonable proposal.

Question put,

"That a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 137,627, all ranks, be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at Home and Abroad, excluding Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

The Committee divided:—Ayes 11; Noes 152: Majority 141.—(*Div. List, No. 45.*)

Original Question put, and agreed to.

(2.) £4,230,000, Pay and Allowances.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had promised that a day between Easter and Whitsuntide should be devoted to a discussion of these Estimates. He did not wish to weary the Committee except by way of protest against this improper mode of voting money without discussion. He wished to ask that not only a day between Easter and Whitsuntide should be given for this purpose, but that two days should be given, or such fur-

*Mr. A. J. Balfour*

ther time as might be necessary, to the fair discussion of these Estimates. Whitsuntide was later this year than it was last year. Last year these Estimates were not discussed until the 18th of August. That was much too late in the Session; and he hoped Her Majesty's Government would engage that the discussion should not be put off to so late a period again.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not think it is possible to give a further pledge than we have given—namely, that we will undertake that there is a day between Easter and Whitsuntide for the discussion of the Estimates. There is nothing so exceptional in the present Session—no such extraordinary amount of time—as to enable the Government to be more profuse and liberal in regard to its time than any other Government has been. We have had a very practical discussion the whole of this evening; and if hon. Members would endeavour to restrict their observations we might now make considerable further progress. With regard to the right hon. Baronet's remarks as to the discussion last year, no doubt the 18th of August was somewhat later than is desirable; still, the discussion was a very full one, and several questions were discussed at considerable length. Of course, I do not mean to say that is not later than any Government would desire to bring on important Estimates; but we had had several days' previous discussion on the Army Estimates, and the whole Vote was taken just as fully as the first Vote.

MR. SIDNEY HERBERT said, the Estimates last year were not actually discussed until the 18th of August.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, the discussions were in May, June, and July, and the last was on August 18th.

MR. SIDNEY HERBERT said, no doubt there were discussions on some of the Votes in those months, but 19 were actually postponed till the 18th of August; and although, as the noble Marquess had said, there was a full discussion then, it was a discussion by but a few Members. So far as he could see, it appeared to be the intention of the Government to give only one day before Whitsuntide; and he would put it to right hon. Gentlemen opposite whether they thought one day sufficient

for the proper discussion of the Army Estimates? Year after year the proper discussion of these Votes was postponed, and it was likely to be again postponed this year, unless a strong protest was made on this side of the House. The Government had got to-night the Vote for Men. They had been called a Jingo Government; and he thought they would probably say to themselves that, having got the men, they would get the ships and get the money too. Considering the way in which they had got the men, and the money, and the ships in past years without proper discussion, they ought not to be allowed to do it again.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked hon. Members who were interested in the question at this moment to consider the position of one who rose at this time of the night to move a reduction of the Vote. If he could speak a great deal more effectually than he was able to do, he feared he should have little chance of convincing anybody of the unreasonableness of this Vote; but, if time permitted, he could show that there might be a considerable curtailment in expenses without any reduction of efficiency; but it would be absurd, at that hour, to go into that. But, with regard to one point, he had listened to the speech of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War with interest and attention, with the hope of discovering the intentions of the Government with regard to a very important Department of their military administration—namely, the Pay Department. He observed that there were considerable changes in the figures relating to officers of different ranks in that Department, although the noble Marquess and the Financial Secretary had recently stated that several changes in the existing system recommended had not been adopted. The noble Marquess, however, passed over this subject entirely. This Department was a very important one, and was second to none in the importance of the duties and responsibilities thrown upon its officers. Pretty well half the Army Estimates went through their hands; but this was not the only Department of their Army administration which was not represented at the War Office. The Commissariat, Ordnance, Stores, Medical and Clerical Departments were represented at head-quarters; but there was no

representative to protect the interests of this Department. But although he thought that was a subject which deserved considerable attention at the hands of the Army authorities, he felt that this was not an hour at which he could hope to secure any concession, or even secure any consideration, for the deserving officers whose claims he wished to bring forward. In order, however, to show how much might be said upon this Vote if it was closely examined, he would state that he was prepared to move, if the opportunity were more favourable, the reduction of the Vote by one entire item—namely, the amount for the Riding Establishment of the Artillery. That was a perfectly useless institution. It cost a great deal of money; it had done little or no good for 25 years; and it kept 50 gunners and drivers in practical idleness. It was organized, he believed, in 1859, when the Artillery was re-organized. It then became a very ornamental institution. Each brigade of Artillery then re-organized received a riding master, and recruits for the Artillery, instead of going to the regular riding establishment, received their lessons in the brigade to which they belonged; and he supposed that any Artilleryman might be enlisted and serve until he had gained a pension without ever using the riding establishment at Woolwich. But, at the same time, a General Order was issued directing that non-commissioned officers, though not drivers, should be sent by each brigade to Woolwich; but even that limited use of the riding establishment was put a stop to by His Royal Highness, who was at that time, as now, the Commander-in-Chief. That was on the ground that there was a Cavalry dépôt at Maidstone, where all the riding that was required could be taught to Artillerymen as well as to anyone else. Then, again, the officer commanding the riding establishment received an allowance £120 a-year for teaching a regiment of Artillery and a company of gentlemen cadets to ride; and it was proposed in the re-organization of the Artillery to contribute this sum to the various brigades. But there was a Major Henry, a Crimean veteran, who lost his arm at the Alma, who was then in command; and principally out of consideration to him, and to do him a good turn, this allowance was turned

into a command allowance. It was not intended that it should be continued beyond his length of service; but it had been continued up to the present time. The commander, therefore, received £120 a-year, though he had practically nothing to do. A lieutenant colonel in command of an Infantry regiment received only a guinea a-week. It would be difficult to say what were the duties of 90 gunners, 60 drivers, and four combatant officers at Woolwich—it would be difficult to say why all the necessary equitation could not be taught at the dépôt brigade of the Artillery. The Vote of £6,653 for Pay was a useless expenditure of money; but that represented a very small amount of the total cost of these riding establishments. How much the establishments really cost he could not make out; but it must be a great deal more than this £6,653. The Vote might be reduced by many small items; but, as he said before, it was perfectly useless then to move a reduction, or to expect the Committee to entertain any of the considerations he had put before them with regard to the character of the Vote. He would, therefore, abstain from moving anything?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he had never had his attention called to the riding establishment, and the Committee would easily understand the difficulty experienced by a Minister in making himself acquainted with all the *minutiae* of a Department. He was afraid he could not give the hon. Member any details at the present moment; but he would promise him that he would make further inquiries, and give information at a later period.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he was obliged to the noble Marquess for that assurance, and should rest satisfied with it. He had no doubt that when the matter was inquired into it would be found that the expenditure he had called attention to was perfectly unjustifiable. He was convinced that it would be seen that this charge was made for the pay of men who were of no earthly use whatever, except to draw their pay. He should look forward to a reduction of the Vote next year.

*Vote agreed to.*

Resolutions to be reported To-morrow, at Two of the Clock.

Committee to sit again To-morrow.

*Mr. Arthur O'Connor*



## SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [March 14] *reported*.Resolution 1 *agreed to*.

Resolution 2.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £102,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884, for the Expenses of the Post Office Service.”

MR. HEALY said, he saw the Secretary to the Treasury in his place, and he would therefore address a question to him which if the Postmaster General had been present he should have put to that official. The Postmaster General had promised to make a statement with regard to a certain Postmaster named Walsh; and he should like to know whether the Government were able to say how it was that this official, who had been convicted by two magistrates under the Prevention of Crime Act, had been released by the Lord Justices on the motion of the Lord Lieutenant? The Postmaster General had given out that Mr. Walsh was innocent, and therefore he had been retained at his post; but it was a singular thing that other people, through the mere fact of being suspected, had been instantly dismissed. It was remarkable that Walsh, who was an Orangeman, had been retained, notwithstanding the action taken against him by magistrates under the Prevention of Crime Act; whereas a Postmaster named Barrett had been dismissed. Why had not Mr. Barrett been re-instated in a similar manner?

MR. FAWCETT said, he was sorry that he happened to be absent when the hon. Member commenced his observations. As to the matter referred to, he had obtained some information; and he had found that Mr. Walsh, who had been arrested under the Coercion Act, charged with having sent a threatening letter, had been re-instated by the Lord Justices because they found, after reviewing the evidence, that it was by no means clear that he had committed the offence charged against him. As to the other cases, he had been asked the other night as to whether anyone who had been arrested under the Coercion Act had been restored to duty? He had made inquiries, and found that only four

people in any way connected with the Post Office had been arrested under the Coercion Act. One of those would have been dismissed from the Service for some irregularity, whether arrested under the Coercion Act or not; in fact, it had been recommended that he should be prosecuted, although a milder course had been adopted in his case. In another case, a Mr. Murphy, who had been arrested, had endeavoured to appoint his sister as a substitute, but had not been able to do so; but as he had discharged his work in connection with the Post Office satisfactorily, he had been allowed to retain his position of Postmaster at Milford, and was still occupying it. As to the two Barretts, who were arrested under the Coercion Act, no application for re-instatement was received from Nicholas Barrett on his release. The other, Edward Barrett, was not an established officer of the Post Office, but had been merely employed under a private arrangement with the Postmaster of Craughwell, and no application for re-instatement had been received from him.

Resolution *agreed to*.Remaining Resolution *agreed to*.

## SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [March 15] *reported*.Resolutions 1 to 4 *agreed to*.

Resolution 5.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £1,000, be granted to Her Majesty to defray the Charge which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1884, for the Salaries, Allowances, and Expenses of various County Court Officers, and of Magistrates in Ireland, and of the Revising Barristers of the City of Dublin.”

MR. KENNY said, he did not, at this advanced hour (3.50 A.M.), press for a reply to the questions he had found it necessary to put to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant with regard to the action of the magistrates in Ireland. Still, if the right hon. Gentleman was in a position to reply, he might find it convenient to do so now.

MR. HEALY asked whether the two years' leave of absence, even if it were without pay, which had been given to Mr. Clifford Lloyd, had not been without

precedent? Professor Baldwin, notwithstanding the meritorious work in which he had been engaged, had received only one year's leave of absence. Mr. Clifford Lloyd had been transferred from Limerick to Egypt for two years, and it was desirable that some explanation should be given of that long leave—though Heaven knew they did not want him back in Ireland. Mr. Clifford Lloyd was now exercising his tyranny on the Egyptians. He had first practised on the Burmese; then he went to Ireland; and ultimately he was sent to Cairo. Would he come back to Ireland? If so, there would be no standing him. The House should have some statement to the effect that Mr. Clifford Lloyd would become worn out in the service on which he was now engaged, and that he would be one of those meritorious gentlemen deserving of a pension—or anything, so that they did not have him back again in Ireland. As to the Bill they had that morning induced the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to promise them, he (Mr. Healy) would ask on what date the House might expect it to be brought in?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he should have been very glad to have been able to answer all the questions which the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny) had put to him; but the hon. Member himself seemed hardly to expect that he should do so. The only question he could answer was one which he was afraid he should not be able to reply to in a manner satisfactory to the hon. Member—namely, that in regard to the meeting which had been stopped at Ennis, the hon. Member had given an accurate statement of the facts. The meeting had been stopped on the ground that several outrages had occurred within 10 miles of Ennis. On a previous occasion he (Mr. Trevelyan) had read a list of the outrages to the House in the hearing of the hon. Member, and those outrages had been of a nature which were likely to have been very much promoted and encouraged by a speech which had recently been made at Tulla, County Cork, by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar). The hon. Member was advertized to address the meeting that was suppressed, and that was among the motives which had induced the Executive to put a stop to the demonstration. The hon. Member for Monaghan

(Mr. Healy) had asked him two questions, one relating to Mr. Clifford Lloyd, and the other having reference to a subject which he (Mr. Trevelyan) had promised to bring forward. With regard to Mr. Clifford Lloyd, his impression was that he had said that arrangements would be made for giving leave of absence, if necessary, for two years. Precedents might easily be found for gentlemen having received leave of absence of that kind, particularly in cases where public servants had been sent to Public Departments in India and other places. [MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Not for more than a year.] In the case of Sir Rivers Wilson a leave of absence of considerable length had been granted. He himself had been in India when a whole batch of gentlemen from the Treasury were sent to that country. Since then a financier had been sent to Turkey; and a Factory Inspector had just been sent for three years to Bombay. The hon. Member compared the two years' leave of absence of Mr. Clifford Lloyd with the one year's leave of absence to Professor Baldwin. An attack might be made upon the action of the Government from an entirely different point of view. As he had already stated, the case of Professor Baldwin was without precedent; but he was quite willing to make a precedent of it. The British Government had lent Professor Baldwin, not to another Government, but to a Company, for the purpose of carrying on proceedings in the success of which Her Majesty's Government took a friendly interest. The circumstance of lending Professor Baldwin's services was an entirely novel circumstance, but, at the same time, one which he was very glad to be connected with. As to the Bill which the Government proposed to bring in, and which the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) had referred to, he hoped there would be no difficulty in his being able very soon to lay it before the House. He had already put himself in communication by letter, and had received answers by telegraph from Dublin, on the subject. It was a Bill which, if it were not necessary for him to consult with Dublin, he could draw up with the greatest ease in a single morning in his office in London. What he would pledge himself to was that, unless hon. Members opposed its introduction, or

made it difficult to proceed with it, he would bring it in within the present financial year. His impression certainly was that it would be a very short measure.

Resolution *agreed to*.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

*Considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the Service of the years ending on the 31st day of March 1883 and 1884, the sum of £1,384,655 14s. 10d. be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*, at two of the clock.

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

#### MOTIONS.

—o—

##### CHARITABLE TRUSTS ACTS.

Select Committee *appointed*, "to inquire into the operation of the Charitable Trusts Acts 1853 to 1869, and to consider and Report how far it may be expedient to amend the powers exercised under them by the Charity Commissioners."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*.)

##### ISLE OF MAN HARBOURS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JOHN HOLMS, Bill for amending the Isle of Man Harbours Acts 1872 and 1874, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JOHN HOLMS and Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 138.]

##### ROYAL COURTS OF JUSTICE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill to make further provision with respect to moneys advanced for the building of the Royal Courts of Justice, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 139.]

House adjourned at a quarter before  
Four o'clock in the morning.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday, 18th March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—  
Habitual Criminals Act Amendment (28).  
*Second Reading*—Committee *negatived*—National  
Debt (30).  
*Report*—Trustee Churches (Ireland) \* (32).

#### HABITUAL CRIMINALS ACT AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 28.)

(*The Earl of Milltown*.)

##### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the object of the measure was to extend the summary jurisdiction now exercised by magistrates in cases of assault committed upon the police while in the execution of their duty to cases of obstructing the police under similar circumstances. By an anomaly in the present law, charges of the most grievous assault upon the police could be disposed of summarily by the magistrates; whereas the slightest case of obstructing a constable in the execution of his duty must be dealt with as a misdemeanour and sent to the Quarter Session, a proceeding which was attended with considerable expense, and which inflicted great hardships on prisoners. This Bill would correct this anomaly.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."  
—(*The Earl of Milltown*.)

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

#### NATIONAL DEBT BILL.—(No. 30.)

(*The Lord Thurlow*.)

##### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD THURLOW, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the measure related to questions of account and not of principle. Acts of 1863 and 1883 authorized the conversion of Three per Cents held by the National Debt Commissioners on account of the Post Office Savings Banks into Two-and-a-Half per Cents, the difference in value to be paid off by means of a 20 years' annuity. Owing to the present high price of Government securities, the rate at which the annuity was paid was really too high; and although it was simply a matter of account between the Treasury and the National Debt Commissioners, it was thought right to make the amount paid to the latter as nearly correct as possible. Under Clause 2, it would be



calculated according to the market price of the Funds, with a margin to secure the National Debt Commissioners from loss. The 3rd clause would enable the Treasury, from time to time, to redeem the remainder of the £2,000,000 borrowed from the National Debt Commissioners, which was advanced to the Indian Government during the Afghan War, originally as a loan, but later as a gift. The Bill was not one in the details of which that House could properly interfere.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."  
—(*The Lord Thurlow*.)

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly; Committee *negatived*; and Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> on *Thursday* next.

#### ORDNANCE SURVEY (SCOTLAND).

##### MOTION FOR A PAPER.

LORD BALFOUR, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether it was true that it was not intended to complete the survey of those parts of the United Kingdom that were covered with fresh water, and to move—

"For the Correspondence that has taken place between the Treasury and the Royal Society of Edinburgh as to the bathymetrical survey of the lochs of Scotland,"

said, that many of the lochs in Scotland were used for navigation. Two of them, he believed, had been surveyed very completely—namely, Loch Lomond and Loch Awe; but there were other lochs, such as Loch Ness and Loch Lochy, which were at least equally navigable, and a survey of which should be undertaken. It was also very important from a scientific and geological point of view that this survey should be made. It was often of as great importance to know the depth and shape of the basins of fresh water lochs as to know the height of the mountains which might be close at hand. He did not say that every fresh water loch should be surveyed thoroughly, but there were many lochs in Scotland the survey of which would be of great advantage; and it might be arranged between the Government and the Royal Society, or some other scientific institution, which of those lochs it would be most desirable to survey. Great dissatisfaction would be caused if no further attempt was made to survey any of those lochs; and if that was the decision of the Government, he should be glad

to know the reasons on which it was based.

*Moved*, "That there be laid before the House, Copies of the Correspondence that has taken place between the Treasury and the Royal Society of Edinburgh as to the bathymetrical survey of the lochs of Scotland."—(*The Lord Balfour*.)

VISCOUNT BURY said, the Survey in England had been progressing very slowly, and they had at last been promised that that Survey should be completed. If, however, they took away men in order to survey the lochs of Scotland, as suggested by the noble Lord, it would have the effect of delaying the completion of the English Survey, particularly in the Southern counties.

LORD SUDELEY: In reply to the noble Lord, I have to state that the operations of the Ordnance Survey have been hitherto restricted to such portions of the ground in the vicinity of fresh water pools and inland sheets of water generally as are above the lowest water levels. It is quite true, as the noble Lord has stated, that Loch Lomond and Loch Awe were surveyed some years ago; but that was undertaken by naval officers in the interests of navigation. The Government consider that a bathymetrical survey of all the lochs of Scotland would clearly be outside the function of the present Ordnance Survey of Scotland, which is already completed. Even if it were desirable, men would be taken off their work in England and the Southern counties to carry this work out, as the noble Viscount has stated, and the General Survey would be very much delayed. Such investigation would, no doubt, be most interesting from a scientific point of view in certain branches of geological inquiry, to ascertain the forms of the basins occupied by the lakes; but the Government do not see their way at present to carry out such a survey. They will, however, give the suggestions made by the noble Lord full consideration, and there will be no objection to lay the Papers asked for on the Table.

*Motion agreed to.*

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—  
ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM HEWETT'S  
PROCLAMATION—OSMAN DIGNA.

##### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

EARL DE LA WARR rose to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,

Whether the recent Proclamation of Admiral Hewett at Suakin could be laid upon the Table of the House? It had been stated, he said, in the public Press and remained uncontradicted, that Admiral Hewett, who was recently invested with supreme authority—he did not know by whom—as Civil and Military Governor of Suakin, and was acting in the name of the British Government, had issued a Proclamation which ran thus—

“I, the English Governor General, Civil and Military, of Suakin, make known that whosoever will bring in the rebel Osman, the murderer, who has by his lies caused the blood of the tribes to be spilt at El Teh and Tamanieb, alive or dead, shall receive 5,000 dollars reward.”

It was further stated that the Proclamation had been affixed to the walls of Suakin, and circulated throughout the country. It had been also commented upon by the French Press. He trusted Her Majesty's Government would have no objection to laying a Copy of the Proclamation, as issued by Admiral Hewett, upon the Table of the House. It seemed to him that a Proclamation such as that to which he had referred, and which was now assumed to be correct, would be unworthy, to say the least, of any civilized country, and that it would be little short of offering a reward for murder to bring alive or dead, as it said, the leader of brave and gallant men who had been fighting for their country, their families, and their homes against those who did not really know what they were fighting for, but who now, unhappily, would leave behind them thousands of homes with only widows and orphans.

VISCOUNT BURY, who had on the Paper a Notice to inquire Whether a statement which appeared in a morning paper of the 17th of March to the effect that a reward had been offered for Osman Digna, alive or dead, was correct? said, as his Question was similar in substance to that which had been asked, he would content himself with the answer that would be given to his noble Friend.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I have to say that Her Majesty's Government had received no official information of the Proclamation in question yesterday morning; but, on account of the reports in the papers, Her Majesty's

Government, through the First Lord of the Admiralty, sent an inquiring telegram to Admiral Hewett. Information has been received from Admiral Hewett. The noble Earl praised Osman Digna. The Admiral considers him to be a murderer, who had killed two of his messengers. The Proclamation was issued after consultation with the Headmen and the Sheikhs of the friendly tribes. We have received the text of the Proclamation; it contains the offer of the reward alluded to by the noble Viscount. Her Majesty's Government have telegraphed that they cannot approve it, and that the offer must be withdrawn at once in the manner which seems to those on the spot to be most judicious.

#### PARLIAMENT—PRIVATE BILLS.

##### RESOLUTION.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I rise to move that all Private Bills to which the Standing Order No. 38. applies be circulated on their introduction in the same manner as Public Bills. I think the Private Business of your Lordships' House is a matter of considerable public interest. In the recent discussions that have taken place with respect to the housing of the poor in the Metropolis and other populous places, it has been stated that the evils of overcrowding have been greatly caused by the clearances which are the result of large public works, especially railways. These public works are usually authorized by Private Bills that pass through Parliament. According to the Private Bill Standing Orders of this House it is necessary, whenever a Private Bill proposes to destroy and take compulsorily the dwellings of a certain number of people, that there should be stated and circulated the mode in which the undertakers propose to supply the place of those houses that have been destroyed. But it has been indicated to us in evidence, and there are grounds for believing it, that those precautions are imperfectly taken. Undoubtedly, the overcrowding of the poor has been very largely increased and intensified by the operation of Private Bill legislation in this House. I ask your Lordships that Bills which have this character, and the object of which is to clear away a certain number of working men's dwellings, should be submitted to the judgment of

the House, and that they should be circulated as Public Bills are. Every Public Bill, whether important or not, is sent round to noble Lords generally; whereas a Private Bill, on which the welfare of a considerable population may hang, was lodged in the Private Bill Office, and was seen by only a few noble Peers who are employed on the Private Bill Committee. I am told that it may be expensive; but that seems to me to be a reason which is wholly exaggerated, because when a Bill is once in type there will be very little extra cost in printing 200 or 300 more copies. I trust, therefore, no objection will be made on the score of expense.

*Moved*, "That all Private Bills to which Standing Order No. 38. applies be circulated, on their introduction, in the same manner as Public Bills."—*(The Marquess of Salisbury.)*

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES) was understood to oppose the Motion on the ground that the printing and circulating of Private Bills to all Members of their Lordships' House would be a very considerable additional expense to the parties concerned in promoting large undertakings and improvements.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Ordered*, That all Private Bills to which Standing Order No. 38. applies be circulated, on their introduction, in the same manner as Public Bills.

House adjourned at Five o'clock, to  
Thursday next, a quarter-past  
Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday, 18th March, 1884.*

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES—SUPPLY—considered in Committee  
—Resolutions [March 17] reported.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—  
—Resolution [March 17] reported.

PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—Consolidated Fund  
(No. 1).\*

Second Reading—Contagious Diseases (Animals)  
[120], debate adjourned.

*The Marquess of Salisbury*

## QUESTIONS.

### STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT LONDONDERRY—MR. M'CORKELL.

MR. LEWIS asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. M'Corkell was in court, at the trial at Sligo, ready to give evidence and confirm his previous formal denial of the allegations made by M'Daid and M'Cormack; and, whether the omission to call those two persons as witnesses arose from want of confidence in their testimony entertained by the Crown officials?

MR. TREVELYAN: Mr. M'Corkell was in Court, ready to give evidence on behalf of the prisoner. The Crown lawyers did not call the witnesses M'Daid and M'Cormack, because they did not consider their evidence reliable.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the David Brown M'Corkell, who was identified and sworn to at a magisterial investigation in Derry, arising out of the town hall disturbances, by Patrick M'Daid and a man named M'Cormack, as being the person who was standing in the Corporation Hall window along with Thomas Doherty before and after he fired a shot from a revolver, which wounded a boy named Durnion, and for which Doherty has been sentenced to eighteen months hard labour, is the same David Brown M'Corkell who holds the office of Crown Prosecutor for the county Tyrone; why the witnesses, M'Daid and M'Cormack, who were brought to Sligo by the Crown, were not produced at Doherty's trial; did their depositions incriminate the Crown Prosecutor for the county Tyrone; and, since the judge in his charge to the jury stated that "those standing close by were equally as guilty as the man who fired," do the Government intend to continue Mr. M'Corkell as a Crown Prosecutor?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, it was not the fact that the two witnesses swore that Mr. M'Corkell was standing at the side door. Mr. M'Corkell denied the statement positively, and said he was not in the room when the firing took place until some time after it occurred. As he had just said, the two witnesses were not produced at Doherty's trial because the Crown counsel, in the



exercise of their discretion, after consultation, did not consider that they should be produced. They believed that the witnesses in their identification were mistaken as to what they saw on the day of the meeting and their evidence was unreliable.

MR. HEALY: I would ask whether Mr. M'Corkell at the time of the occurrence was not in the central hall, and whether he was not one of the parties who organized the demonstration against the Lord Mayor; and whether in view of the fact that Mr. M'Corkell prosecuted the Orangemen at the last Tyrone Assizes, he regards Mr. M'Corkell as a proper person to take part in the prosecution?

MR. TREVELYAN said, that he would have fuller information with regard to the proceedings at Derry in the course of the week.

MR. HEALY: Shall I put the Question down upon the Paper?

[No reply.]

#### STATE OF IRELAND—NATIONAL LEAGUE MEETINGS—INTRUSION OF THE POLICE.

MR. MAYNE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If there is any necessity, or if any instructions have been given, for the watching by policemen, both in and out of uniform, of the place of meeting of the Usher's Quay Ward Branch of the Irish National League; and, if the same is to be continued?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, no such instructions have been given, and no such watching has taken place. The police have gone there in discharge of their duty under the Protection of Life and Property Act.

#### PETROLEUM (METROPOLIS)—LEGISLATION.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he intends to introduce, in this Session, any measure for the regulation of the storage of petroleum in the Metropolis?

MR. HIBBERT, in reply, said, that since the Petroleum Bill of last Session was withdrawn Colonel Majendie had been in communication with those in the petroleum trade, and the result of those communications was that a Bill would be prepared, and Her Majesty's Government hoped to be able to in-

troduce it some time after Easter, probably in the House of Lords.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN: Is it intended to submit the Bill to a Select Committee?

MR. HIBBERT: That has not been considered yet; but the Bill will not apply to the Metropolis only, but to the whole of the United Kingdom.

#### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—THE POLICE.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether it is proposed in the Representation of the People Bill to give votes to persons serving in the police?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, that the present disqualification of police constable was under the Act of *Will. IV.*, and if the hon. Member referred to the Representation of the People Bill, he would see that it did not touch that disqualification.

#### PORTUGAL—THE CONGO RIVER TREATY.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If an opportunity will be afforded to the House to express its opinion on the Treaty between this Country and Portugal in regard to the Congo, according to the pledge given by the First Lord of the Treasury on April 3rd of last year—

"That the Treaty should be made known to Parliament before ratification in such a way and with the intervention of such an interval that Parliament shall be enabled to exercise an independent judgment upon it?"

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Perhaps the hon. Member will put this Question down for Thursday.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT asked if he were right in assuming that this Treaty would not be ratified until the House had an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon it?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The Treaty will not be ratified with any undue haste; but if the hon. Gentleman will put down his Question for Thursday, I will give him an answer.

#### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—

ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM HEWETT'S PROCLAMATION—OSMAN DIGNA.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether

Her Majesty's Government have yet received the proclamation offering a reward for the capture of Osman Digna; and, whether he can state the text to the House?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Lord Northbrook has received a telegram from Admiral Hewett, stating that Osman Digna killed two of the Admiral's messengers, and that he looked upon him as a murderer. We have also received the full text of the Proclamation which has been issued, and I am sorry to say its terms are such as Her Majesty's Government cannot approve. Lord Northbrook has telegraphed this morning to Sir William Hewett to that effect, and also given directions that the offer is to be withdrawn in the manner that will be considered most judicious on his part.

MR. J. LOWTHER: I understood the noble Lord to say yesterday that a general instruction had been issued to the effect that no Proclamation of a political character should be issued in the Soudan or Lower Egypt without the previous consent of Sir Evelyn Baring. May I ask if that applies to all officers, civil and military?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The instructions I referred to were, no doubt, general; but I believe they specially applied to the report received of the issuing of this Proclamation. I think they were to the effect that no such Proclamation—by which I mean a Proclamation of a political character—should be issued without previous consultation with Sir Evelyn Baring.

MR. J. LOWTHER: By whom?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The instruction was sent to the Admiral, and an instruction of a similar character has been sent to General Graham.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Will General Gordon be included?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No, Sir. I am not aware that instructions of a similar character have been given to General Gordon; but the House is aware of the original instructions given to him. He was directed, I think, to communicate with Her Majesty's Government through Sir Evelyn Baring.

MR. HEALY: Will the public withdrawal of the Proclamation, as well as the original Proclamation, which was an invitation to assassination, be laid on the Table?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not admit that the Proclamation was an invitation to assassination. I cannot see any objection to the publication of the withdrawal of the Proclamation when it is received.

MR. HEALY: I shall ask a Question on the subject to-morrow.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON: I beg to ask whether, after such an exhibition of total ignorance of all the commonest rules of warfare, Her Majesty's Government propose to retain Admiral Hewett in command in the Soudan, as it might lead to disastrous consequences?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Her Majesty's Government have no intention of recalling Sir William Hewett.

#### EGYPT (THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION) —HORSE ARTILLERY.

MR. WILLIAMSON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there is any object in continuing to retain a battery of horse artillery in Egypt, since this very costly arm of the Service, during the recent operations in the Soudan, was detained in Cairo performing the duties of orderlies and Commissariat Transport work, on which their very expensive equipment cannot be regarded as advantageously or economically utilised; and, whether a second battery of garrison artillery might not, if necessary, be substituted?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, it was considered very desirable at present to retain a battery of Horse Artillery at Cairo. Although there were difficulties in employing this arm in the desert of the Soudan, it might be of great service in Lower Egypt, where fodder and water were more easily obtained. A garrison battery, not being mobile, would be no substitute for Horse Artillery, and, as a matter of fact, a second garrison battery was recently despatched to Egypt.

#### ARMY (INDIA)—THE MEDICAL SERVICE.

MR. LEAMY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If it is the fact that when a junior officer of the Indian Medical Service is ordered to take up an "officiating appointment," he is required to pay his travelling expenses, although, in some cases, these expenses equal the amount of increased pay consequent on

the appointment; and, if so, whether this grievance will be remedied?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the officers of the Indian Medical Service are subject to the same transport and travelling regulations as the rest of the Army. Under those regulations, if an officer is ordered to another station to perform the duties of any temporary staff or other appointment, and is pecuniarily benefited by such transfer, he is required to pay his own travelling expenses, but not otherwise. It is not proposed to suggest to the Government of India to alter their travelling regulations.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—  
GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the telegraph between Khartoum and Cairo was considered to be in working order; and, if not, what was the date of the last telegraphic despatch received at the Foreign Office from General Gordon?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have nothing to add to the statement which I made yesterday. What I understand to be the case is that the wire is not working between Shendy and Berber. The date of the last despatch from General Gordon is the 11th of March.

NAVY—H.M.S. "IMPERIEUSE."

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the machinery intended for H.M.S. *Impérieuse*, lost in the steamship *Elephant*, had been taken over by the Admiralty, or was still the property of the contractor?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The engines have not been taken over by the Admiralty.

DR. CAMERON: And the boilers?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No; nothing has been taken over by the Admiralty.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENT OF CHAPLAINS—THE BOARD OF GUARDIANS, DONEGAL.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What steps have been taken by the Donegal Board of Guardians to fill up the vacancy caused by the resignation as chaplain of the Rev. Hugh M'Fadden, P.P. on the 28th of April 1883; is it

the intention of the Local Government Board to take exception to the conduct of the majority at that Board who fail to provide a chaplain to give religious service in the house, and to administer the last rites of the Church to the Catholic inmates; whether the Local Government Board will overrule the action of the majority in refusing the appointment of a catechist for the Catholic children, which appointment the Local Government Board has approved of; and, whether he is aware that Father M'Fadden is paying a salary to a catechist for instructing the pauper children in the church on Sundays?

MR. TREVELYAN: It does not rest with the Guardians, but with the Local Government Board, to appoint a chaplain, and to call on any qualified clergyman to accept the office. In this case the Roman Catholic inmates of the workhouse are able to attend Mass in the town. The parish priest can attend at the workhouse when sent for. The Local Government Board have no power to overrule the action of the Guardians in refusing to appoint a chaplain, and they had no information as to any private disbursement being made. They do not think that any inquiry could be made with propriety into the subject.

MR. HEALY: Can the right hon. Gentleman not see his way to putting an end to this deadlock?

[No reply was given.]

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

### CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)

BILL.—[BILL 120.]

(Mr. Dodson.)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. DODSON said, that, in moving the second reading of this Bill, he should not detain the House with many observations, because whatever discussion there might be upon the details of the Bill it must substantially take place again in Committee. The measure had been introduced in the hope that it would contribute to the extinction of foot-and-mouth disease; that it would contribute to allay apprehension as to the spread of the disease; and, as the Government frankly admitted, as a concession to public opinion and to the wishes of the agricultural

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bodies. One matter that had greatly weighed with the Government, and which had contributed to induce them to introduce this measure, was that as the owners of stock in the United Kingdom had given practical proof of their willingness to accept stringent restrictions upon the movement of stock they were entitled to have some Parliamentary assurance that the law would be exercised vigilantly, firmly, and consistently, with the view to their defence against the introduction of foot-and-mouth disease from abroad. With the view of meeting those objects, the Privy Council were willing to assume greater powers and heavier responsibilities. They were willing to come under statutory obligation to prohibit the landing of foreign animals in the United Kingdom from foreign countries where certain securities were wanting against the exportation of foot-and-mouth disease to this country. He believed that if such provisions were kept within reasonable and proper limits, they need not, while affording comparative security to the stockholder, be attended with injury to the consumer, but rather the reverse; and for this reason—because it was obvious that if the risk of disease was such, or the apprehension of disease was such, as to discourage people from embarking their capital in the breeding and keeping of stock at home, it must tend to the injury of the interests of the consumer. On the other hand, the Government had to take care that they did not carry legislation too far. They had to try and hit upon the happy point which gave the maximum of reasonable security to stock-owners at home without unnecessarily hampering trade and raising the price of meat to the consumer. The House would observe that he had spoken of this measure as affording comparative security against the importation of the disease into the United Kingdom; and he had advisedly used the words “comparative security,” because, do what they might, absolute security against the importation of the disease was impossible to be obtained. If the Government, to satisfy the extreme claim of a certain class, could prohibit the landing of any foreign animals from any foreign country under any circumstances, they could not guarantee the country absolute security against the importation of the disease. The effect of such prohibition would be

to transfer the slaughter markets to the other side of the water, whence infection might be brought over in goods, or by those passing to and fro from those foreign slaughter markets to this country. In such a case the danger would be greater than would result from a slaughter market upon our own shores; because the foreign slaughter markets would be under the control and inspection, not of British officials, whose interest it was, and upon whom lay a heavy responsibility, to prevent the escape of infection, but of foreign officials, to whom the escape of infection would be a matter of comparative indifference. As the House was doubtless aware, Amendments had been made in the Bill in the House of Lords, and more especially in the 1st clause of the Bill. Her Majesty's Government thought that those Amendments were of a very grave and serious character, and if they were suffered to stand would materially impair the measure. Her Majesty's Government thought that those Amendments went far beyond the necessities of the case; that they went so far as to risk over-shooting the mark, to defeat the very object which those who moved them had in view; that they went beyond what was necessary for the reasonable security of the stockholders of the United Kingdom; that they restricted trade and would injure the consumer. He did not desire at that moment to enter into a discussion with regard to the comparative merits of the Amendments introduced in the House of Lords into the Bill, and of the clause as it originally stood when introduced by the Government. He understood that several hon. Gentlemen, who were interested in agriculture, took the view that there was practically very little difference between the Bill as it now stood and as it was introduced by the Government. That, however, was not the view of Her Majesty's Government; but he trusted that those hon. Members who took that view would not offer any serious objections to the removal of what, in their opinion, were the unimportant alterations made by the Lords in the Bill, and the restoration of the Bill to its original form. Without entering at that stage into any premature discussion on that point, he would content himself by saying that it would be his duty in Com-

mittee to propose Amendments, which would practically restore to the clause its original scope and character. Of the terms of those Amendments he would, of course, give due Notice. There were only two other clauses in the Bill on which he wished to say a few words. The 2nd clause was one which, he believed, had startled some hon. Gentlemen, but he thought unnecessarily. Under the second part of the fifth Schedule of the Act of 1878 it was provided that for purposes of exhibition or for other exceptional purposes the Privy Council might admit, subject to quarantine, animals from countries which were generally subject to the rule of slaughter. They proposed to extend that exceptional power of admission for the purposes of exhibition, or for exceptional purposes, to countries from which, as a general rule, the admission of animals was prohibited.

MR. CHAPLIN: From cattle plague countries?

MR. DODSON said, technically it would be so; but the hon. Member could hardly conceive that the Privy Council was reduced to such a state of lunacy as knowingly to permit cattle to be imported under any pretext from such countries if they believed there was the slightest risk of cattle plague being brought into the country.

MR. JAMES HOWARD: They cannot do it.

MR. DODSON said, that the Privy Council had the same discretion in regard to the importation of animals from countries infected with cattle plague as from countries infected with any other disease. He now referred to an extension of an exceptional power. He would give an illustration of the cases which it was intended to apply. For instance, there was a case of this kind. A regiment returning from foreign service had a pet goat. The animal had had a long sea voyage, there could be no question as to its soundness, but it could not be admitted into this country under quarantine or any other regulations. In another case a vessel, having come from a long voyage, had a goat or a cow which was the wet nurse of a child on board, and there was no means of allowing the animal to be landed. A third case was of a circus proprietor who had two performing bulls, and yet he could not be allowed to land them. Such

cases were most unreasonable, and the *reductio ad absurdum* of a hard-and-fast line of prohibition which must be inflexibly acted upon in all circumstances, no matter how exceptional and inapplicable. The reason and object with which this clause had been introduced was to intrust the Privy Council with a dispensing power. The 3rd clause was one the object of which was to effect an amendment of the fourth part of the fifth Schedule. Under the fourth part of the fifth Schedule of the Bill, if the Privy Council were satisfied with regard to any country that its laws were good and its sanitary condition was good, they were bound to admit animals freely from that country. This part of the Schedule applied to an entire country, but not to part of a country. There was a strong desire among many persons that there should be a power to admit store stock, under certain precautions, from some countries; and it did seem somewhat absurd that they should be compelled to admit freely from an entire country if they were satisfied as to its laws and sanitary condition, but that they should not have the discretion, under any precautions whatever, to admit from a part of that country, however large, and however much they might be satisfied that the laws and conditions of that part of the country were such as to afford security against infection. He trusted that the Bill might be read a second time that morning; and he would take care, before the Committee stage, to give Notice of his Amendments in sufficient time for them to be seen and considered, not only by Members of the House, but by those who were interested in them outside. He begged to conclude by moving that the Bill be read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Dodson.*)

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD, who had the following Amendment on the Paper:—

"That the recent prevalence of foot and mouth disease calls for the continued and vigilant exercise on the part of Her Majesty's Government of the powers entrusted to it, not only with reference to the movement of live animals at home, but also in regard to their importation from abroad, but this House does not consider it necessary under present circumstances to make further provision by Legislation on the subject."

said, he should endeavour to imitate the spirit of moderation which had characterized his right hon. Friend's remarks, though he could not congratulate him on the vigour of his criticisms on the Amendments which had been introduced in the House of Lords. If any justification were needed for the Amendment which stood in his (Mr. Arthur Arnold's) name against the second reading of this Bill, it might be found either in the activity of public opinion upon the subject in the large towns during the brief delay which had been the consequence of his Notice, or in the fact that at a time, now some months ago, when the foot-and-mouth disease was five times more prevalent than it was now the House of Commons was substantially agreed upon the policy of this Amendment, which was identical in terms with that which he had submitted to the House as an Amendment to the Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) in July last. At that time it was contended by the Opposition that the Government had powers, under the Act of 1878, to do all that was demanded by the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln, and that, therefore, legislation was not needful; while on the Government side of the House the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster expressed the assent of the Government to his Amendment on the ground that the legislative powers of the Duke of Richmond's Act were sufficient. The Government had stated this year that they did not propose legislation in the Speech from the Throne, because they did not regard legislation as "essential." It had been admitted that the Bill in its original form was brought forward to encourage and to pacify the farmers; and he was bound to admit that if the need for legislation be admitted a more harmless piece of work than that proposed by Lord Carlingford had rarely been printed in the shape of a Bill. But the complications of Her Majesty's Government were their own, and independent Members were not bound to change their minds, or account for changes of opinion between July and March. On July 10, when further legislation was not deemed needful, there were 307 places in Great Britain infected with foot-and-mouth disease, and there were 10,939 animals suffering from the disease. Now, when the House was called

upon to adopt this most serious and drastic legislation, these numbers had fallen to 166 places infected and to 2,742 animals remaining diseased. It could not, therefore, be said that upon the figures the case for legislation had been strengthened in the interval. There had been no lack of wild statements on the side favourable to further restrictions; but he had not heard it alleged by any respectable authority that in the period which had elapsed since the House last considered this subject there had been any infection of the live stock of this country from any animals imported from foreign countries. The case for further legislation was materially diminished by the action of the Government in regard to France. They prohibited for foot-and-mouth disease all import of cattle, sheep, and swine from France on the 6th of April, 1883, under the powers of the Act of 1878. That step had never been attacked, and it was not a step of doubtful authority. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had referred to that proceeding as a straining of the law. At all events, it had not been assailed, and there could be no better proof or stronger argument to show that it was not so regarded. There could be no doubt that when the Bill of 1878 was under discussion it was accepted by the Duke of Richmond and by all the special representatives of the agricultural interest that for foot-and-mouth disease slaughter at the port of landing was a sufficient measure. But that was not put in the Act, which was perfectly general in regard to all forms of disease; and the unquestioned proceeding as to France, and the more limited prohibition of cattle from Germany and Belgium, was to his mind conclusive that the Act of 1878 contained all relating to foot-and-mouth disease which could be found in the present Bill as originally introduced. He might be asked, if he thought the Bill of such a harmless character, why raise an objection? He thought the objection to superfluous legislation was sound and strong. But although the Bill in its original shape was comparatively innocuous, it gave a dangerous invitation to the Privy Council to put its powers in operation. Hon. Members knew—

"How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds  
Makes deeds ill-done."



There was a disposition far more widely spread than foot-and-mouth disease to recover the recent losses of agriculture in bad seasons by some form of policy of restriction, or of prohibition. He did not wish to lessen the responsibility of the Privy Council or the Government in reference to the supply of the food of the people, and he was quite sure they acted on a deep sense of their responsibility in prohibiting the importation from France. But they could not but recognize the fact that any proposal for legislation on this subject was a stem upon which hon. Gentlemen opposite might engraft new growths and new developments of that policy of Protection for which they were always hankering. But though no protest had been made against the prohibition as to France, they might take note of the result. In 1882 we received 16,000 cattle from France. France was our nearest neighbour. If prohibition were to be followed by import of dead meat, we might expect that from the convenient parts of France such supply would be forthcoming. But the import of beef in January this year from France was only 31 cwt., equal to the weight of about five cattle. Hon. Gentlemen opposite were very fond of the date 1880 as that of the introduction of this disease. It was synchronous with a great political event, and they assumed the outbreak of this disease in 1880. But in 1879 there was foot-and-mouth disease in this country. As another argument against further legislation, he would say, in the words used by Lord Carlingford on the 21st of last month, that—

“There is no proof that foot-and-mouth disease was introduced from the wharves in the beginning of 1880, and there is no reason to believe that foreign infection continues to be introduced at the present time, or that the prevalence of foot-and-mouth disease depends in any way upon it.”

At present, however, the House was not dealing with Lord Carlingford's Bill. The Bill, of which the second reading had been proposed, was not the Bill of Her Majesty's Government. The hands were the hands of the Lord President and of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; but the voice was the voice of the Duke of Richmond and of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). It had been said of the Duke of Richmond that his policy on this ques-

tion was a policy of exclusion; and that unquestionably was the spirit of the Bill now before the House. [“No!”] The principle of the measure had been defined as “total prohibition of free admission; an entire reversal of the present law.” Those were the words of a greater Minister than the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. They were the words of the Lord Chancellor, and he thought they were bound to accept and to act upon them. According to this definition, the Bill meant total prohibition of the import of live animals from the United States and Holland, and of sheep and swine from Belgium and Germany. [“No, no!”] Well, for his own part, he respected the opinion of the Lord Chancellor; but hon. Gentlemen opposite did not appear to entertain much regard for it. That definition meant, on the figures of last year, an immediate reduction of 1,061,000 live animals, now imported for the food of the people, with no provision for the consequences. He would ask the House to consider the circumstances of two great centres of about equal population—London and Lancashire. Of the live animals which the proposed prohibition would cut off almost the entire number was consumed in those two centres. About 220,000 were landed and slaughtered for Lancashire, and more than 800,000 at Deptford for the consumption of the Metropolis. This was the general result, although he did not say it was perfectly accurate. He estimated that the immediate loss to Lancashire would be equal to nearly 25 lb. per head of fresh meat for the 3,500,000 of the population; while the loss to the Metropolitan population, according to the estimate of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), would be about 23 lb. per head. That was a very serious matter. Throughout this controversy there had been several estimates of the amount of meat consumed per head by the population of this country. None of them seemed to be based upon very trustworthy authority. But when they talked of cutting off the supply they were on solid ground. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) adopted last year an estimate, which was then in circulation, that the amount cut off would be 100 lb. per head; but whether it would be 100 lb. or 20 lb. was a very important matter,

The trade of the country could not fail to be gravely affected by such a reduction of supply, which must be followed by a serious rise in the price of meat, which was estimated would be no less than 3*d.* in the pound. Such an increased price of meat would greatly lessen the surplus of wages for expenditure in manufactures; and, consequently, there would be a decline of industry and of wages. There was one part of the Bill to which he could take no exception, for it was the adoption of a measure which he himself introduced on the first day of the Session. The Act of 1878 left the Privy Council no discretion in regard to part of any country. The consequences of this hard-and-fast definition of the word country were twofold. Restriction was less likely to be enforced when the extent was of necessity so vast and indiscriminate. Even in the recognized presence of disease the Privy Council might well hesitate when the Order, if issued, must apply from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. If the Privy Council should, even in regard to part of the United States, avail themselves of the provisions of this Bill, the object would be the admission of store stock to be fed and fattened in this country, and the justification would be the freedom of that part of the country from whence that stock came from liability to infection. West of Chicago and between the Great Lakes and Salt Lake City there was a cattle-raising country where pleuro-pneumonia, splenic or Texan fever, and foot-and-mouth disease were unknown; which was, in fact, a vast open common more than four times as large as the United Kingdom. There were probably 10,000,000 beasts in that area. Suppose that from that territory the Privy Council permitted export, the route being by Montreal and Quebec for Liverpool and other ports of this country—he wished to show the advantage to the British and Irish farmers in the first place. At present the import from Canada was protected, as against the import from the United States, by the fact that Canadian cattle, with a free pass into Great Britain, were worth at least £3 a-head more than American cattle reared on the other side of an imaginary line, which must be slaughtered at the port of landing within 10 days. The United States could supply store cattle ready for the last stage of prepa-

ration for market at £4 or £5 a-head cheaper than the British farmer; but the British farmer could add the last 400 lb. or 500 lb. to their weight with far greater advantage than it could be done in the States. Therefore, the benefit to the farmer and to the consumer would be very great. At present the British farmer was suffering from advice compounded of Protection and of panic. There were Gentlemen in the House, as responsible as the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), who informed the farmers that the stock of the country was dying by hundreds and by thousands. It would probably surprise the noble Lord to learn that the actual mortality among the 16,000,000 of sheep in the United Kingdom from foot-and-mouth disease during the past five years had been, on an average, one in 20,000; and that among the 6,000,000 of cattle in the United Kingdom the average mortality from foot-and-mouth disease during the past five years had been 523. He was aware that these deaths did not represent all the loss sustained by farmers by foot-and-mouth disease; but they were an important item in the account. But the real question before the House was whether or not slaughter at the port of landing should be abolished. To say nothing now of the claims for more than £1,000,000 which might be advanced by those who had constructed foreign animals' wharves upon faith in the endurance of the Act of 1878, that was not a proposal which ought to be entertained. All the evidence went to show that if they stopped importation for slaughter it would grievously affect the supply. The Board of Trade Returns for the first two months of this year showed that while the import of live animals from the United States, amounting to 24,000, was nearly six times that of 1882, there was but a trifling increase in the import of fresh beef. Professor Brown had stated that if we had had no foreign import at all since 1868, we should have had very much the same amount of foot-and-mouth disease. He had expressed his conviction that we should never be wholly rid of it, and that that was the experience of the whole of Europe. He would prefer that there should be no further legislation against foot-and-mouth disease; but there was one part of the Bill—Clause 3—which

was of great value. He was glad that the principle of the Bill, as it now stood, had been in the clearest terms repudiated by Lord Carlingford, who had said—"We wish that the Bill, if passed at all, should be passed in its original shape." He accepted those words as meaning that the Government did not intend the Bill to pass in its present shape; and, therefore, while reserving all powers of action against the Bill in all stages, he did not propose to move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, that he rejoiced to find that the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) did not intend to press his Amendment, since, whatever might be the terms of that Amendment, it meant the rejection of the Bill. Why had the hon. Member placed this Notice of rejection on the Paper? Manifestly, because he intended to destroy the Bill, as amended by the House of Lords; but found that this opportunity would not serve his purpose. He (Mr. Newdegate) had for many years inclined rather towards the financial and commercial policy of the United States than to that of the United Kingdom, which he considered exaggerated in the sense of the system of free imports. Nothing would please him as an adversary more than to see the advocates of free imports insist upon the importation of disease, for that would afford him (Mr. Newdegate) legitimate ground of accusing them of bigotry. The hon. Member for Salford had alluded to the action of the United States Legislature with respect to cattle disease. That policy consisted in the most unsparing use of means to cut off and stamp out disease from their herds. Why did the hon. Member for Salford resist the very moderate imitation of the American process, which the Bill contained? He (Mr. Newdegate) held in his hand the records of the Royal Veterinary College, with which he had been connected for many years. That College, founded in 1790, possessed records of introduction of rinderpest so far back as 1745, when it lasted till 1759, long previous to the last appearance of that disease in 1865, with the circumstances of which he (Mr. Newdegate) had been acquainted. Pleuro-pneumonia appeared in 1841, foot-and-mouth disease in 1839; these diseases had on these occasions been im-

ported with hides, offal, or by some accident. The fathers and the grandfathers of the present generation of Englishmen had suffered severely from these diseases; but how did they get rid of them? Simply, as the Bill proposed, by shutting them out. They would not, any more than the Americans, submit to the odious internal restrictions by which our stock-keepers were oppressed longer than they could avoid. The action of the Government in this country was always too late; they never would adopt precautions against the importation of cattle disease, until it had been fairly landed among us. Their precautions had been periodically ineffectual, notwithstanding all the information the Government possessed through telegraphs and otherwise. He (Mr. Newdegate) was old-fashioned and American enough to recommend the policy of absolutely excluding disease.

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: Sir, since 1878, when I took part in the discussion on this subject, the farmers have had sore trials from the ravages of foot-and-mouth disease. At that time it was doubtful whether the disease could be spread in any other way than by immediate contagion from living animals. Experiments since made clearly prove that mediate infection through men or things is a possible mode of communicating the disease, though, fortunately, it acts in a much less degree. However, the mere fact that the virus of the disease may be occasionally carried through men, animals, or things fouled by it makes it much more important now than it was when we passed the Act of 1878, that strong measures should be taken for the extirpation of the disease. Its evil effects do not rest with the producer of food alone, but are extended to the consumer also. Probably it is more prejudicial to the consumer than we yet know, for much diseased milk does get into the market, and physiologists are just beginning to recognize the serious effects of milk in the production of human disease. I put aside, then, at the outset, the allegation that the demand of farmers for increased powers of extirpating foot-and-mouth disease arises from a desire to impose protection on home produce. That requires no protection, except protection from disease. Even as against our Transatlantic brethren, with their boundless prairies,



the home producer has the advantage of 1*l.* per lb. in the cost and risk of transport, or four pounds in the price of an average ox. I believe that the motive of farmers in asking this legislation from us is simply to protect their flocks and herds from a depressing disease which seriously interferes with the production of human food, and renders the struggle of farmers to maintain their calling in face of a changed agriculture an exceedingly difficult undertaking. They have experienced onerous restriction on home produce in their efforts to extirpate a disease which most probably is one of foreign importation, and they are disheartened at seeing diseased cattle not unfrequently landed from tainted foreign countries, knowing that though they are slaughtered on their arrival, the immediate infection may possibly spread beyond the slaughter-house, and reach the meadows on which English cattle graze. The demand is not unreasonable *prima facie*, and should be discussed with perfect fairness in the interests both of the producers and consumers. There seems to be little doubt that foot-and-mouth disease, though common in other countries, did not reach England till 1839. It must have entered the country then by mediate infection, and not by immediate contagion, for no foreign animals had been imported for six years. Still, it did reach England; and, as in all first attacks of an epidemic or an epizootic, the disease was virulent in its character as compared with the nine epizootics which have succeeded it. I wish that I could believe that it was still a foreign disease. Syphilis, scarlet fever, small-pox, and diphtheria were once diseases unknown to England, and the time of their importation from abroad is well known. But who would call them foreign diseases now! Alas! they have become rooted in our soil, and the hopes of their extirpation have vanished. We can restrict their area, we can isolate individual cases, so that they do not spread in common years; but in epidemic years they spread in spite of all our efforts. It is one of the characteristics of an acclimatized epidemic that it is subject to periodic outbursts of greater or less severity. Scarlet fever breaks out in this way every five or six years. In the last century, before vaccination, small-pox occurred as an epidemic every three years. Lessened in intensity by

vaccination, it is now a four-year epidemic, with certain variations; occasionally it misses a period, and may have an interval of eight years, and sometimes, also, when the epidemic influence is strong, it occurs again in two or three years. But with these variations the periodicity is a marked feature of all acclimatized epidemics. The same periodicity is observed with foot-and-mouth disease. Usually, as an epizootic, it occurs in four-yearly periods, counting from the initial outbreaks. Between 1853 and 1861 there was a longer interval; and between 1880 and 1883 the interval was shorter—indeed, it was more or less continuous. Commencing with 1839, there have been 10 distinct epizootics of foot-and-mouth disease in England. Beginning in one year they seem to culminate in the next, and then fade out more or less quickly, according to the efficiency of the repressive measures. In the intervals of the epizootic there are isolated cases, which, however, rarely gather the strength of a disease-wave. To my mind this periodic recurrence is a proof that the disease has acclimatized itself in this country just as much as diphtheria, which, when first imported from France, in 1855, we used to call the Boulogne sore throat. The explanation of periodicity is not easy; but it appears, in part at least, to be due to the accumulation of susceptible animals. As new yearlings and new two-year-olds grow up and get on the lines of traffic, they meet somewhere the lurking virus, and the disease starts again with renewed strength. I fear we must admit that the disease is now settled in this country, and is fitted to thrive in it permanently, unless we can devise means to stamp it out at home, and to prevent its importation from abroad. Both conditions—home extinction and foreign prohibition—are essential for complete success. It is, indeed, hopeless to stamp out acclimatized epidemics like scarlet fever or measles, because you cannot slaughter human beings, or even largely restrict their movements. But with measures as severe, and in some respects more severe, than those employed to stamp out cattle plague, you might succeed in stamping out foot-and-mouth disease. This could only be done by long and persistent effort. It is not the epizootic which produces the disease; but it is the disease that, by accumula-

tion, produces the epizootic. So it is only by continued and patient extinction of every individual case of disease at home that it can be rooted out of this country. If slaughter of cattle be absolutely necessary, as experts declare it to be, for thorough extinction, the subject is great in magnitude, both to farmers and to ratepayers. Still, if farmers are firmly resolved to root it out of this country, they have a right to demand that it should not be imported by foreign animals. The Bill, in its original form, contained no such heroic measures. It is based on the old, but abandoned belief, that the Act of 1878 is sufficient to kill the disease at home as well as to restrict its importation from abroad. It is true that we have only a limited experience since the Act of 1878; but the operations under that Act have been wholly insufficient to stamp out the disease at home. Of the two conditions of the Act—extinction at home and prohibition of foreign importation—the first is left in the present Bill in all its inefficiency; while the second condition, which I shall show is much the least danger, has been greatly strengthened in the other House. As to the first condition—home extinction—the Act of 1878 has been useful in restriction of the disease, but has been powerless to extinguish it. The areas of disease and the number of diseased animals have, undoubtedly, been lessened by the Act. In effecting this result, farmers have experienced grave inconvenience and suffered heavy loss. Still, the disease remains with us as before, culminating and fading away according to the habits of acclimatized epizootics. It is not in the least extinguished, and will blaze out again when its fuel accumulates. In restricting the areas of the diseases, the Veterinary Department do not find that support from farmers which is necessary to produce its full effect. Many farmers chafe at the restrictions, which is natural enough; but they use unwise efforts to get them removed when they are doing most good. [*Cries of "No, no!"*] Well, I will give hon. Members opposite proofs of my assertions. In the Report of the Veterinary Department for 1881, Professor Brown says—

"Judging, however, from the events of the past year, local authorities, with few exceptions, failed to realize their responsibilities."

Instead of submitting to the continuance of restrictions necessary to extinguish the disease in localities, he says—

"Between 50 and 60 memorials were received by the Veterinary Department from local authorities, Chambers of Agriculture, Farmers' Clubs, and owners of stock generally, to relax the restrictions."

Various deputations also came to urge the same object, while there was only a single deputation, and that from the Royal Agricultural Society, to encourage the Department in maintaining the restrictions. No scientific veterinarian would deem the powers of the Act of 1878, even if applied in their full force, sufficient to stamp out foot-and-mouth disease from this country. Professor Brown certainly does not, for he says in his Report—

"It is quite hopeless to expect to stamp out the disease by the measures which are adopted."

We thus see that of the two conditions necessary to remove and to prevent the recurrence of foot-and-mouth disease in this country, the extinction at home is hopeless under the present law; and, in fact, the Bill before us does not touch this factor at all, for it only deals with foreign imports. The Act of 1878, strengthened in this Bill as originally introduced by the Government, restricted the chances of infection from abroad. From infected countries all chances of immediate contagion were prevented by the slaughter of the animals, while only the chances of mediate infection through men and things remained. Absolute prohibition would reduce to a minimum the chance of mediate infection, though it would not prevent it, as we know from the fact that the disease entered this country in 1839, though no cattle had been imported for six years. Though live animals no longer were imported, infected things, such as tallow, horns, hides, and hoofs, must be allowed to supply the exigencies of large manufacturing industries. Still, happily, mediate contagion from men and things is only a possible danger. You see this in the common operation of restrictive measures when the movement of cattle is prevented, although you do not interfere with the free movement of men and things. By these measures, not only have neighbouring counties escaped, but Ireland and Scotland have been free for years in succession. In the Veterinary

Report for 1881 there is a statement to this effect—

“Communication of infection by indirect means is a possible incident, but not a frequent event, in the history of contagious maladies of animals.”

If it be true, as experience seems to have established, that mediate contagion from men and things is a much smaller danger than direct immediate contagion, the ports of debarkation stand in the first category, for the animals from tainted countries are there slaughtered. Let us assume that as many as 150 cargoes containing diseased animals arrive in a year, forming 150 centres of mediate infection. This amount of possible danger is insignificant compared with the centres of contagion within the country itself. Compare the risk with a severe epizootic year like 1871, when there were 52,000 local outbreaks of the disease in England alone. In the year 1881 the disease was bad all over the Continent as well as in England, so 170 cargoes and nearly 5,000 diseased animals were landed and slaughtered. Each of these cargoes was a centre of mediate infection; but the risk was small as compared with the 15,723 localities in which the disease broke out in this country, or with the 183,000 animals which became sources of immediate contagion. So was it last year, 1883. Foreign disease was imported by 136 cargoes, having 1,172 animals suffering from it, and capable of communicating indirect infection through men and things. But Great Britain alone had 19,000 infected centres, with 461,000 diseased animals to convey immediate contagion. How useless, then, is it to attack the very minor evil, when you are taking no efficient steps to extirpate the major evil. Hon. Members opposite, however, assume that there is no possible doubt that the epizootic of 1880 was caused by diseased French animals landed at Deptford; and Professor Brown believes that it was. As mediate infection is possible, these cattle, though slaughtered, might have been the source of the disease; but, to my mind, I see no proof that they were. The year 1880 was the fourth year from 1876 when the last epizootic began, and a new one was due. Fourteen foreign cargoes had arrived with diseased animals before the 15th that is supposed to have introduced the disease, and that

blazed up nearly simultaneously in Middlesex, Kent, and Bedfordshire. It is just as possible, and more probable, that the disease started from inside the country as from outside. The readers of *The Quarterly Journal of Agriculture* will recollect some remarkable experiments made at the Brown Institution with infected matter taken from diseased animals in the Deptford Market. The worst kinds of virus from them were used to inoculate English cattle without effect, for in no instance would they take the disease. But the very same cattle were readily infected by virus taken from other English cattle having the disease. Strong conclusions from negative experiments should not be too hastily drawn; but, so far as they are worth anything, they do not heighten the fears from foreign importation. The sum of my argument is this—Foot-and-mouth disease is an acclimatized epizootic, which only heroic measures will extinguish in England. Had the farmers come forward to support a Bill such as that of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard), which treats this disease in the same energetic way as cattle plague, the logical demand for total prohibition of live foreign cattle would have much to support it, at least for a few years' trial. He has experience on his side, for Scotland has at various times stamped out inroads of disease in this way, and so has Australia. That is not the Bill as amended in the other House. It only touches the least danger to which we are exposed, and leaves by far the greatest danger untouched. It simply amends one portion of the Act of 1878 as to importing foreign animals under more strict arrangements; but it leaves untouched the inefficient provisions for home extinction of the disease. Still, if we are to limit our reliance to the Act of 1878, you may wisely make one section of its powers more efficient, and try experimentally, for a limited term of years, whether in the future the farmers will give more support to the home restrictions than they have done in the past. Do not expect the extinction of the disease from a Bill in this limited form; but there may be further restrictions of its area, if the farmers will submit to the inconveniences attending a more strict enforcement of the provisions at home as well as abroad. But, at the best, it is an experimental



measure, though, in the other House, it has been made permanent. As it now comes down to us in an amended form, it simply imposes the maximum of interference with the food of the people with a minimum promise of utility. It greatly prohibits foreign importation, but still only partially. It does not even include Ireland as one of the countries from which live animals are to be prohibited, though this, of course, must follow if there is to be the slightest chance of success. It is true that England has often given the disease to Ireland; but the latter returns it to Great Britain with compound interest. Partial prohibition is useless to prevent the importation of disease. Cattle may be sent from foreign countries apparently perfectly healthy, and yet they may be diseased when they arrive here. The exporting country may be quite innocent. This occurred when the cattle plague was introduced into Deptford in 1877 by cattle coming from Hamburg, although Germany had no suspicion that the disease was in that country. It might constantly occur with pleuro-pneumonia and swine fever, for their early symptoms continue for some time, and are difficult to detect. Foot-and-mouth disease has a short period of incubation, and has even broken out in apparently healthy cargoes during the voyage. Partial prohibition will never prevent occasional importation of disease among live animals. To be effective, prohibition of importation must be complete. Are you prepared to go this length, which is much further than even the amended Bill goes? Undoubtedly it would be a strong measure to prevent the smaller chances of mediate infection. Still, it would be perfectly legitimate to demand the absolute prohibition of live cattle, if you are prepared to go all lengths to stamp out the disease at home. But farmers do not seem prepared to go so far, because they fear that the regulations for stamping out foot-and-mouth disease will, perhaps, stamp out themselves as producers of cattle. Nothing less than heroic measures for home extinction would, I contend, justify this House in interfering so largely as this amended Bill does with the food of the people. I can conceive the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) shrinking from a total prohibition, even if combined with severe cattle plague re-

strictions at home; but as a sanitarian, believing in the possibility of stamping out the disease, I would not object to such a measure if at first confined to an experimental term of three or four years. But I wholly object to the amended proposals in this Bill, which produce the maximum inconvenience and loss to the consumer, without in any sensible way benefiting the producer, who cannot extinguish home disease by the restrictive powers of the Act of 1878. The hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) denies that there will be any great loss to the consumer. That statement can be examined by the Agricultural Returns which we had since 1876, ranging over 18 years. For the first six years, up to 1872, cattle continued to increase, and at the end of the six years the cattle had augmented about 750,000, though sheep had gone down by more than 2,000,000. If we take the averages of the next two periods of six years, from 1872 to 1877, and from 1878 to 1883, we find that in these two six-yearly periods Great Britain holds its own as regards cattle—or is only 14,000 less in the average of the second period—but Ireland loses largely, so that the loss in the average of the last six years is 105,000 cattle and nearly 3,400,000 sheep. Put into feeding power, home produce lost the power of feeding 500,000 people from 1878 to 1883, as compared with the preceding six years. Now, whatever be the explanation of this—whether it be owing to bad seasons or to the inroads of disease—the fact in itself is one of great gravity. The population of this country is largely increasing; and for the last 12 years the productive agriculture of the United Kingdom, so far as regards meat, has done nothing to feed the increased and increasing population, which has depended wholly on a foreign supply of meat. The manner in which that supply develops is well described in Sir James Caird's presidential address to the Statistical Society in 1881. He compares the supply for the 20 years from 1860 to 1880, taking the average of the initial five years and of the final five years of that period. Without going into details, I will give the percentages of the increase of foreign supply. The number of live cattle and sheep increased 240 per cent; fresh and salted meat 220 per cent; bacon and hams 250 per cent. Altogether, the rise has been nearly the same

for each class of provisions. The interference with live meat would thus be exceedingly serious, unless justified by a great benefit to producers at home, and this the Bill does not in the least assure to us. This interference also shuts out the higher class of meat supply. I take in proof of this the evidence of the hon. Members for South Leicestershire and West Norfolk (Mr. Pell and Mr. Clare Read) before the Agricultural Commission. They tell us that it only pays to export animals of the best kind from foreign countries; while the dead meat is often from inferior animals, and therefore not so good. Home farmers apparently supply 75 per cent of the meat used in this country; while the foreign supply of live, dead, and salted meat is 25 per cent. But still that represents the supply to a fourth of our population. The importance of the farming interest would justify exceptional legislation for a few years to see whether they can stamp out disease at home, and raise the supply of cattle to the requirements of our increasing population. I would vote for a Bill giving even four years' total prohibition of foreign cattle if I saw it accompanied with effective means of stamping out the disease at home, and if I felt convinced that such heroic measures would be supported by the general opinion and co-operation of the farmers. But the Bill before us, even in its amended form, does not give us one additional security for the home extinction of the disease; and I am not prepared to throw impediments in the way of supplying foreign food to our increasing population when I do not think these will diminish in any sensible degree the spread of the acclimatized epizootic at home.

MR. R. H. PAGET said, that the right hon. Gentleman who spoke last had stated that the Bill was weak because it dealt with one part only of the subject. His contention was that the farmers would willingly submit to any regulations imposed upon them if they could only be protected from the importation of disease from abroad. In spite of the theory of periodicity in regard to the visitation of the disease, he believed that with a thorough and ample enforcement of restrictions and regulations they might be entirely free from its attack if its introduction from other countries was effectually prevented. The experiments mentioned in

the course of the debate were purely negative ones; and it must be borne in mind that in order to deduce anything like positive conclusions from them they must be very widely extended; and if the Agricultural Department would provide some methods by which those experiments might be made on a larger scale, then, perhaps, results of positive value might be obtained. The facts and figures showed that our flocks and herds had diminished largely on account of disease; and he would gladly support any measure having for its object the application of an effectual remedy to that state of things. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), who, he was glad to see, had at last abandoned his Notice in despair, had referred to the opinion of the Duke of Richmond. Now, the Duke of Richmond had never advocated the policy of total exclusion; he had expressed himself convinced of the absolute need of further restrictions; but he had certainly not gone the length of proposing absolute exclusion as a remedy. The agricultural interest had felt and had expressed great disappointment at the commencement of the Session, when no mention was made in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne of agricultural legislation. That feeling had produced its natural effect in the Bill now before the House. Reserving to himself the full right to criticize the Bill at another stage, he was prepared now to support the second reading.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, he had listened with much attention to the interesting speech of the right hon. Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair), who had laid down a new doctrine, the periodicity of foot-and-mouth disease, maintaining that it recurred at intervals of four years. He (Mr. J. Howard) regarded that notion as doctrinaire; and, therefore, proposed to turn the light of practical experience upon it. The right hon. Gentleman mentioned the fact that in 1879 there were a considerable number of outbreaks in various parts of the country. That statement was true; but it should be remembered that the Act of 1878 had at that time only just come into force, and that before October, 1880, when the first diseased cargo from France was landed at Deptford, the United Kingdom had become free from the disease. His right hon. Friend, as did others, quoted

Professor Brown as an authority when it answered their purpose; but when the views of the Professor were opposed to their own he was discarded. Now, Professor Brown, in his official Report upon the present outbreak, had, without the slightest reserve, traced the disease from the cargo of French cattle, landed at Deptford, to a London cowshed, and to the Metropolitan Market, from whence the disease was quickly spread over the Kingdom. He was not aware that the slightest evidence existed to support the doctrine of periodicity. If one fact had been more completely demonstrated than another before the Select Committee which had sat upon the subject, it was that the disease followed the line of traffic; if the line of traffic was from West to East the disease would go in that direction—it never travelled backward. [The hon. Member then proceeded to give examples and resumed.] When he had the honour of giving evidence before the Select Committee of 1877 he ventured upon a prediction—he asserted that although Ireland had been for several years the hot-bed of disease, and had sent us more of the disease than all the other parts of the world together, if it were once stamped out in that country no fresh outbreak of the disease would again occur until it was re-imported. After 1878 it was stamped out, and not a single case again occurred until January of last year, when it was re-imported from England. So far as he was aware, there was not a tittle of evidence to support the theory either of periodicity or of spontaneous generation. With respect to the speech of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), his hon. Friend would, perhaps, excuse him when he said that he had never listened to a more one-sided speech, for he had never once alluded to the effect of disease in checking the home production of meat, and seemed to forget that the main object of the Bill before the House was to remove obstacles to the increase of the home supply. The hon. Member had said that he could not congratulate the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) upon the vigour of his speech; he (Mr. J. Howard) must say that he had listened to the speech with great pleasure, especially to the opening remarks. With respect to the strong opinions expressed by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster upon the Amendments to the Bill introduced

by the House of Lords, like the Lord Chancellor, "in another place," he had not given the House a single reason for those strong opinions. At first he (Mr. J. Howard) was under the impression that the Lords' Amendment did effect a considerable change; but, upon closer examination, he had been led to doubt the soundness of that conclusion. As the clause was originally drawn, it ran, briefly, thus—

"Whenever the Privy Council are satisfied, with respect to any country, that reasonable security does not exist against the importation therefrom of diseased animals, they shall prohibit, &c., &c."

In the clause, as amended, briefly expressed, it was as follows:—

"Whenever the Privy Council are not satisfied, with respect to any country, that reasonable security does exist against the importation therefrom of diseased animals, they shall prohibit, &c., &c."

For the life of him he could not see that the transposition of the negative from the end to the beginning of the clause made the serious change which was alleged. For instance, if he were to follow the language in the original Bill and say—"If I am satisfied that my coachman is not sober I shall prohibit him from driving," &c. If I follow the language of the Bill as amended and say—"If I am not satisfied that my coachman is sober I will prohibit," &c. In both cases the discretionary power would be in the hands of the master. So, let the clause stand either way, the decision as to prohibition would rest upon the judgment of the Privy Council as to the danger or safety of importation from any particular country. He hoped that when the Bill was in Committee the difference would be fully pointed out—he had stated his views in order that both sides might have opportunity to consider the point before going into Committee. Turning to the general aspects of the question, he did hope that this was one of the last occasions on which the House would be engaged in discussing the question of cattle disease legislation. It had been a bone of contention for 20 years past between opposing factions—on the one side had been the producers, the farmers; on the other side a phalanx of cattle importers, cattle dealers, and butchers, who, forsooth, paraded themselves as the disinterested champions of cheap meat. That was a rather ludicrous spectacle to



those who knew how large a share of the profits found its way into the pocket of these men before meat was permitted to reach the consumer. His hon. Friend the Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had described the Bill as a needless piece of legislation; but he omitted to recognize that one of the main objects of the Bill was to remove hindrances to the increase of the home production of live animals, and ignored the deterrent effect which successive outbreaks of disease had upon the breeding of cattle and sheep. The total losses sustained by foot-and-mouth disease since the first outbreak in 1839 might be computed, not only by tens of millions, but by hundreds of millions sterling. The hon. Member for Herefordshire (Mr. Duckham), when before the Select Committee in 1873, handed in a Return, based upon careful inquiry, which showed that in the previous year, 1872, the farmers of Herefordshire sustained a direct money loss of £156,000, and that the total loss to the farmers of the Kingdom in the same year amounted to well-nigh £20,000,000. When before the Select Committee in 1877, he (Mr. J. Howard) put in a Return showing the relative home and foreign supply of meat, and a statement as to the losses sustained by disease, which corroborated the previous statement of the hon. Member for Herefordshire. For many years farmers submitted to the losses they sustained without making any great outcry, and this because they were under the impression that it was an inscrutable visitation of Providence for which no one was to blame; that the disease was in the air, or, as some Veterinary Professors put it, "an atmospheric wave of disease of abnormal character." Professor Gamgee stood almost alone in upholding the germ theory. For his own part, ever since he read the published experiments of the late Dr. Budd, of Bristol, he had been a firm believer in the germ theory. When experience revealed the fact that foot-and-mouth disease was an eruptive fever of a highly contagious nature, and which could only be propagated by contagion, mediate or immediate; when it was discovered that the vigorous measures put in force for the extermination of cattle plague had the effect of stamping out foot-and-mouth disease at the same time, the farmers woke up

from their delusion and apathy, and demanded legislative measures for preventing both the introduction and the spread of a disease, which had for 20 years been allowed to spread itself over the country unchecked, and this led to the passing of the Act of 1869. That Act was a compromise, and experience soon showed its inefficiency; it neither prevented importation of disease, nor checked its spread after it had been imported; for some years after the Act was passed the whole country, including Ireland, reeked with disease. After considerable agitation the Act of 1878 was passed; the principle of this Act was slaughter at the port of landing; but, again, experience stepped in, and showed that it was unsafe to land diseased animals upon our shores, even if intended for immediate slaughter—the animals might be killed, but the germs of disease remained alive, and were capable of being conveyed by human beings from the ports to animals at great distances. The present outbreak unquestionably had its origin in this way—the disease was conveyed from the Deptford Foreign Cattle Market and spread all over the Kingdom. The direct money loss to the farmers of the United Kingdom of this outbreak could not be estimated at less than £5,000,000 sterling, to say nothing of the vexatious and costly restrictions to which they had also been subjected. He would ask, ought it to cause surprise? Could the farmers be said to be unreasonable when they demanded better security against similar outbreaks in the future? But he would not argue the matter simply as a farmer's question. Surely to draw our meat supply from pure sources was a matter of national importance; healthy animals were surely more desirable for food than animals suffering from an eruptive fever, which poisoned their blood, if not their flesh. He could not imagine that even his hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur Arnold) would enjoy his frugal beefsteak the more if he knew that it had formed part of an animal afflicted with this loathsome disease. The importation of disease, moreover, struck at the very root of home production of animal food; and, therefore, a state of law which permitted its importation was an economical blunder as far as food production was concerned. Exact statistics are not forthcoming; but there

can be no question that, in the past, for many years the losses sustained at home amounted to far more than the total value of all the live animals imported. But, serious as had been the direct money loss, it was not the most serious, for the loss of the female animals was one that could not be repaired—the loss was cumulative in its effect. In a brief letter to *The Times* last week, Mr. King Fordham forcibly illustrated the effect of the disease. He stated that his own herd of cows had recently been attacked with foot-and-mouth disease, and described how upon their recovery it was discovered that their milk had gone, and the animals were therefore turned into beef. This was a process which had been going on throughout the country for the past 40 years. Who, he would ask, could describe the cumulative effect of thus killing their breeding animals and keeping down home production? The loss was so much greater in a herd of breeding cattle than in neat stock that hundreds, he might say thousands, of farmers, instead of incurring the frightful risks which attended breeding cattle, had preferred to buy store stock and fatten them for the meat market. He was as firm an upholder of Free Trade as any Member of that House; but he failed to discover any connection between sanitary regulations and the principles of Mr. Cobden. When discussing the subject with the hon. Member for Rochdale (Mr. T. B. Potter) he had propounded to him the following question:—Suppose the cotton from a certain country—for instance, the Soudan—was liable to be infected with parasites, which upon their introduction to this country had the faculty of multiplying themselves indefinitely, and finding their way from one cotton store and one cotton mill after another, and inflicting immense damage upon the stores of cotton, what would the cotton spinners and cotton brokers say if they were told that the losses were very lamentable, but the doctrines of Free Trade must be upheld? And what would the woollen manufacturers of Bradford say if wool from any particular country was liable to be infested with a destructive parasite? Would not cotton spinners and woollen manufacturers laugh to scorn any exhortation addressed to them to uphold the principle of free imports? Whilst upholding free imports, he firmly

believed that if the people of this country were to be more cheaply fed than they were at the present moment, as far as animal food was concerned, it was indispensable that our own flocks and our own herds must, as far as legal regulations were competent, be kept free from disease.

MR. CLARE READ said, in the year 1865 he sat on a Royal Commission appointed to inquire into the cattle plague, before which all sorts of evidence was given. A strong opinion was expressed by several of the witnesses that the germs of the disease were conveyed to this country in such a way that the evil could not be combated by any legal restrictions; but, as a matter of fact, the restrictions which the Government of the day placed on the movement of cattle in consequence of the Report of the Commission got rid not only of cattle plague, but also almost entirely of pleuro-pneumonia and foot-and-mouth disease. The epidemic theory which was advanced by the right hon. Gentleman could not be maintained by evidence, inasmuch as there was no foreign cattle disease in Ireland, until it was imported from England. The Bill which the House was now asked to read a second time had been strengthened in the House of Lords, and he thought it was very much more likely to effect its purpose in the present form than as it was originally introduced by the Government. The Bill, as it originally stood, simply extended the permissive powers of the Privy Council; and he must say that he would be against giving them any permissive power at all. It was the permissive character of this legislation which had been administered by the Privy Council that had been the greatest curse the agriculturists had had to contend with. At the time of the last outbreak the Privy Council had power to stop the importation of disease from any country where they knew it existed. But how had they exercised their permissive power? They knew the disease existed in France, but they allowed the importation of animals from that country to continue until all the mischief was done. Then they stopped the importation. They had the power of slaughtering the cows which contracted the disease from Deptford; and if they had put their powers in force they would have saved during the last few years many millions to the agri-



culturists of this country. But they allowed those animals to be sent into the Metropolitan Market, and instead of drawing a cordon round it they allowed the animals to carry the disease into different counties, and then they put a cordon round the market. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair) had stated that the disease sprung up simultaneously in different parts of Norfolk and Middlesex; but it was notorious that the disease was known to have existed in the cow-houses of the Metropolis before it was discovered in the Metropolitan Markets, and that it was from that market that it spread to all parts of the country. It was an extraordinary thing that the right hon. Gentleman could quote the opinions of Professor Brown when they suited his purpose, and took no notice of them when they did not. Professor Brown said that the last outbreak was to be attributed to the importation of cattle from France. Then they had the heroic theories of the right hon. Gentleman to stamp out the disease; but, if those were to be accepted, they must not trust too much to the permissive powers of the Privy Council. In the case of an outbreak in Norfolk they had telegraphed to the Privy Council for instructions to slaughter a diseased animal; but they did not get an answer for a whole week, and meanwhile the animal had recovered, but had spread the disease through the herd. Something more definite and exact and vigorous in its operation was wanted than the Privy Council. He thought they should be fairly satisfied that the various legislative measures had been more or less successful. He did not think it was fair to say that the disease was indigenous, as the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) seemed to say in a letter to a newspaper a few days ago. It might be in the recollection of the House that in the autumn of 1882 the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) paid a visit to the United States; and in the course of a speech there he said that in his view the British farmers were the most ignorant, credulous, and obstinate class in the country, and that they believed in the theory of importing foot-and-mouth disease from abroad. The hon. Member then went on to tell his audience that

the origin of the disease was to be found in the fact that the feet of the cattle got into a dirty state, and that the disease thus generated was communicated to the mouths of the cattle by the fact that they licked them. That was on a par with much that was said by other persons who professed knowledge on the subject. His hon. Friend the Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard) had shown the whole nature of the agitation got up by the cattle salesmen and butchers of the Metropolis. It was wonderful what powers the butchers had—what influence they could bring to bear upon the House; and, still more marvellous, what influence they could bring to bear upon the Privy Council. Farmers might go there in any numbers, but they did not get what they asked for. The moment, however, that the butchers went there, not only were they received with open arms, but their wants were attended to. The late Sir Robert Peel passed an Act, which in 25 years would have abolished every London slaughter-house, for it said that there should not be a slaughter-house within a quarter of a mile of a public thoroughfare. But 10 years ago the butchers came to the Government, and they showed what a pleasant, sweet, and healthful resort a slaughter-house was; and the result was that Parliament passed an Act perpetuating them, and they existed to this day as a standing nuisance in the Metropolis. When the hon. Gentleman the Member for Southwark spoke of the farmers in the manner alluded to, he might have applied some of his language to the butchers. They appeared to be no more advanced than in the days of Abraham, who fetched from his fold a calf tender and good, and killed it in the same manner the butcher in the Metropolis insisted on doing, with his pen full of cattle and sheep in the vicinity of a number of other animals which were slaughtered. He (Mr. Clare Read) had seen in the month of August in New York cool stores in which meat was kept which had come from Chicago, and would not be used for three weeks. It was the butchers here who objected to cool stores. In these days, when ice could be made here almost as cheap as the American people could store it, it was a disgrace to science that we did not try to introduce some means of keeping meat, especially in hot weather. If

*Mr. Clare Read*



these were established in most of our great towns they would develop the dead meat trade more than anything else, and the importer would not be at the mercy of the wholesale butcher when there was an over-supply of meat. In a remarkable speech which the Prime Minister made to his tenants, when they had the pleasure of paying their Christmas rents, he said that the farmers of England should endeavour to grow more fruit. He (Mr. Clare Read) said so, too, as regarded those localities which were adapted for fruit-growing; but he feared that if the experiment was to be extended to cold and bleak regions like Norfolk, it would not be very successful. The right hon. Gentleman had gone on to say that he thought there ought to be a greater production of milk; and he entirely endorsed that; but he asserted that nothing hindered the cheap and plentiful supply of milk in this country more than this foot-and-mouth disease. Milk from animals infected with foot-and-mouth disease was very injurious to human health. He had received yesterday morning a letter from Dr. Eade, Mayor of Norwich, who was a gentleman of high medical and scientific attainments, in which he mentioned that a Norfolk farmer had recently died from the effects of foot-and-mouth disease, complicated with some other ailment; and an official of the Privy Council had stated that one might as well drop prussic acid into the mouth of an infant as feed it on foot-and-mouth diseased milk. This was a subject of which he knew nothing personally; but he did know that the medical officer of the Norwich Union, in the autumn of last year, when foot-and-mouth disease was rampant round Norwich, stated his belief that the prevalence of sore throats was entirely attributable to drinking diseased milk. He would not stand any longer in the way of the right hon. Member for Bradford; but he thought he had adduced some facts and arguments to which the right hon. Gentleman could not reply.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he must congratulate the House on the return to it of his hon. Friend, for not only on this subject, but on all agricultural matters, his hon. Friend spoke with great experience and with great power of expression. Perhaps it would have been an advantage if, in addition to so intelligent and powerful a member of the

farming interest, they had also a butcher in the House. This debate was a very important one, and it had been conducted with good temper on both sides, although it was rather anticipating the debate in Committee. The Government Bill had been much changed in the House of Lords; and although he thought the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) was right, in the circumstances, in saying that he would not oppose the second reading, yet he confessed that the Bill, as altered, went so much further than it ought to go, that if it had not been for the declaration of the Minister in charge of the Bill that he would do his best to restore it to something like its original shape he, and those who agreed with him, would hardly have assented to the second reading. He was glad he had not been obliged to take that course, for he admitted that a Bill was necessary, and if a measure of this kind were introduced it was desirable that it should be passed with as little delay as possible. He hoped they might look forward to the second reading being agreed to without delay; but that did not imply that they would give up the right to a full discussion in Committee. The question before them was what the Bill, as amended, would do, and what it was necessary that it should do. He would briefly state why he thought the Bill, as amended, would have a very considerable effect. First of all, there was the declaration of the Lord Chancellor. The hon. Member for Mid Somerset (Mr. R. H. Paget) asked what the Lord Chancellor knew about foot-and-mouth disease. He did not suppose that his Lordship did know much about it, but he understood how to interpret an Act of Parliament. The Lord Chancellor did not say whether a Foot-and-Mouth Bill was necessary, but merely gave his opinion as to what would be the effect of the Amendment brought forward by the Duke of Richmond. His Lordship said that the Amendment went a thousand miles beyond his noble Friend's Bill, that it meant total prohibition of free admission, and was an entire reversal of the law. Again, the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin), who did know a good deal about foot-and-mouth disease, and who also knew what he wanted, stated, in a speech which he delivered to a Chamber of Agriculture a short time

ago, that the Amendment on the 1st clause was practically the same in its nature as the Resolution which was carried in the House of Commons last Session. [Mr. CHAPLIN: Hear, hear!] Well, it was almost precisely the same. It had precisely the same meaning, and was almost identical in words. Now the hon. Member said the Resolution carried last year would have the effect of excluding the landing of animals from all the present scheduled countries. That meant that the landing of animals would be prohibited from all countries except Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Canada, and he had no doubt that if the Bill were passed the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire would insist upon its being carried out. His (Mr. W. E. Forster's) hon. Friends, who seemed to think that there was no great difference between the Bill as it was brought in and the Bill as it was amended, must take the interpretation given to the Amendment by its advocates. Then there was another authority—namely, Lord Camperdown, who said—

"It will be observed that under the above provisions animals will no longer be slaughtered at the port of landing. Either they will land free or they will not be allowed to land at all."

[An hon. MEMBER: He has withdrawn it.] No doubt the noble Lord had withdrawn the statement in regard to animals affected with pleuro-pneumonia, but the words still applied to animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease. If this Bill were carried, the practical effect of the Amendment would be that no animals would be allowed to be landed alive in this country that came from the present scheduled countries. There would be a marked distinction between slaughter at the port of embarkation and free passage throughout the country. The effect of the prohibition would be that the supply of eatable meat to the United Kingdom would be 250,000,000 lbs. less than it was now. It must not be supposed that hon. Members were led away by the interest of the butchers and cattle importers when they said that that would be a serious interference with the food supply of the country. Some hon. Gentlemen seemed to think it did not much matter what was done with the live animals, because an overpowering quantity of dead meat came in and filled up the gaps. He, however, did not share this opinion.

Dealing with beef alone, he found that in 1883 there were imported 287,000 cwt. of salted and 801,000 cwt. of fresh beef. A good deal of preserved meat was now coming into the country, and, allowing that two-thirds of it was beef, last year there came in less than 75,000 tons of dead beef; while the eatable food from the scheduled live cattle which would have been excluded under this proposal, excluding the offal from them, would amount to more than 86,000 tons. He therefore put it to the House whether they must not consider they were dealing with a very considerable matter when they were asked to interfere to that extent with the food supply of the country? It was a matter of great importance to the Kingdom generally, and of especial importance to large towns. Taking the consumption in London at 140 lbs. a-head, man, woman, and child, poor and rich, sick and well, and estimating the population of London at 4,000,000, it would amount to a loss of 32½ lbs. a-head. If this proposal were carried out it would stop much more than one-third of the cattle imported into the London market, much more than half of the sheep, and nearly all the pigs. He did not think he was using too strong an expression in calling it playing with the food supply of this vast Metropolis unless absolute necessity obliged it to be done. When he was in the Privy Council Office he used to feel the responsibility during the cattle plague of those interferences from day to day as most serious, but at that time they were absolutely necessary. It had been said the dead meat trade would grow. No doubt it would grow, and it was a very encouraging fact for the country. He was perfectly surprised at some of the facts he had heard in connection with that trade. One of the largest cattle owners in Australia, for instance, had told him that it paid to drive cattle 1,000 miles to the port where they were killed, and to take six months about it. That was, no doubt, a very encouraging thing for the future; but the dead meat trade had not been growing so fast as the live cattle trade. He by no means ignored the dead meat trade; but they had now to do with the food supply of the country for the next few years, and to consider the immediate effect of this proposal. The dead meat trade would take care of itself,

and if let alone would be a very great help to the people; and, indeed, he thought that the enormous import which was expected was the greatest danger of the future which touched the farming interest. He came now to the second point—Was the proposed stoppage necessary? And that must be completely proved by the advocates of the proposal. He thought what the Government were doing was really all that was necessary. He could not forget two or three facts. Foot-and-mouth disease was no new thing. The epidemic lately experienced had not been either as bad in extent or virulence as it had been before. They were all very sorry, of course, that farming had been a bad business, and that stock-farming had consequently become of more importance to the farming interest generally than it used to be. But the disease was not the only thing that affected stock-farming. When they came to this matter of disease there always arose the question, how did the disease first spring up, and what was necessary to cope with it? There must have been originally some animal with which it was spontaneous, and he did not suppose the world was created with diseased animals. The real question in the case was, was it necessary to take this strong measure of interference with the food supply? There was a great deal in what had been said in not having all the heroic measures on one side. The hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. J. Howard) asked what he (Mr. W. E. Forster) believed he would not get—that all animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease should be slaughtered in any future outbreak. That would be a very heroic measure; but what was proposed with regard to foreign animals?—that all the animals should be slaughtered at the port of debarkation, not only those affected with foot-and-mouth disease, but all. He did not underrate the importance of this question, and he especially admitted that it interfered with the supply of milk. But did anyone suppose that the farmers would submit, as a general measure, to have all the animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease slaughtered? He was a small owner of cattle himself, and out of his herd of less than 40 only four had escaped the disease last January, but only two calves had died. If anybody had

proposed that in consequence of this all his animals should be slaughtered without his being compensated, he would have been most indignant with them. Some hon. Members held that the ratepayers should pay in such a case; but the ratepayers in his parish would have been still more indignant at having to pay than he would have been. The Bill, as it was brought in, made it clear that the Privy Council had the right to prohibit the importation of live animals from countries where foot-and-mouth disease prevailed. That was satisfactory, and it was undoubtedly well to encourage and stimulate the Privy Council to exercise the power of prohibition. But if the Bill were passed as amended, it might have the effect of stopping importation altogether; and he, therefore, thought that the Bill should be restored to the form in which it was brought in.

MR. CHAPLIN said, the Bill was hailed with great satisfaction by Members on the Opposition, and equally, he was sure, by Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House, not only because they believed it to be in the interest of one particular class of the community and of the great industry of agriculture, but also because they were convinced it would do something to provide for the comfort and the necessities of all classes in the country. He would take that opportunity of expressing his acknowledgments to Her Majesty's Government for the introduction of the measure, although he considered that they had been somewhat tardy in their action. The right hon. Gentleman who moved the second reading of the Bill had informed the House that absolute security against the importation of foot-and-mouth disease, whatever precautions were adopted, was unattainable. So far as that observation was an argument at all it was an argument against the introduction of the Bill. No one supposed that absolute security was attainable. Perfection was very rare in anything in this world. At the same time, however, Members sitting on the Opposition side of the House believed they were justified in asking for the greatest security which could be obtained by legislation against the importation of this insidious disease. Very beneficial effects had followed on the legislation with regard to the importation of cattle plague. It might be that



there was not perfect security against the cattle plague; but the legislation on that subject had kept the country safe from it for a great many years, and he hoped it would keep it free from it for many years to come. If similar security against the foot-and-mouth disease could be obtained they would not be dissatisfied. He desired to remove a misapprehension which prevailed among Members representing Irish constituencies. He referred to their belief that the Bill would place Ireland in the same position in which it would place foreign countries. He assured them that there was nothing in the Bill which could have that effect, and if he thought otherwise he would resist any such provision to the utmost. His desire, and that of the Government, was that Ireland should be placed on precisely the same footing as would be occupied by England. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had informed the House that important Amendments would be moved in Committee. He trusted that the House would have time to consider those Amendments, and also that fair Notice would be given of the days on which they would be taken. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) had argued that the Bill should not be proceeded with, because the epidemic of foot-and-mouth disease had, to a large extent, subsided in this country. Surely, however, that was an argument not against the Bill but in its favour, for if the disease had been almost stamped out every effort should be made not only to stamp it out altogether, but to prevent any renewal of its ravages in the future. It was not correct to say that one effect of the Bill would be invariable slaughter at the port, although in the case of countries in which pleuro-pneumonia existed animals would, of course, be slaughtered as they were at present. He had had considerable difficulty in following the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair) to his conclusions. If the right hon. Gentleman's theory with regard to periodicity was in any degree correct, that was a powerful argument against proceeding with the Bill at all, and yet he intended to vote for the Bill, and he even asked for measures of a much more stringent and heroic character. Surely the reason

why farmers were at present opposed to the restrictions referred to was that they had suffered immense loss and inconvenience from them for years; and yet no sooner was the diseased stamped out than they found it was reintroduced, so that the restrictions proved to be of no good whatever. If the best security possible against the introduction of disease from abroad were given to them, the farmers were willing to submit to the most severe restrictions; but they objected to restrictions which, while they harassed them and interfered with their business, were really ineffective. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had said that the amended Bill practically amounted to the Resolution proposed by him (Mr. Chaplin) and passed by the House last Session. He was, of course, very glad to find that such was the case; and it must be remembered that the Resolution in question had been deliberately adopted by the House after a prolonged debate. It was a matter of additional satisfaction to find that the House of Lords had been engaged in vindicating the rights and privileges of the House of Commons against an inaction on the part of the Ministry which he could only characterize as unconstitutional in the highest degree. He was glad that there was one ground of agreement between the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster) and himself. Not many days ago the right hon. Gentleman made a statement to the effect that when the farmers said that they were ready to submit to the severest restrictions for the purpose of stamping out disease at home they ought to be listened to, and all parties ought to assent to whatever might be necessary for that purpose. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman; and the only difference between them and the right hon. Gentleman was as to what was necessary for stamping out the disease. It followed, from the right hon. Gentleman's argument, that if it could be proved to his satisfaction that the Bill in its amended form was necessary for the purpose, the right hon. Gentleman would support it. He had therefore to show, in the first place, that the Bill was necessary for the purpose; and, secondly, that the great fears which the right hon. Gentleman had expressed of the consequences on the food of the

people were groundless. The right hon. Gentleman would prohibit the importation of foreign live animals if he was satisfied that there was danger of importing disease. Those who supported the Bill in its amended form contended that such importations ought to be prohibited, unless the Government were satisfied that we were safe from the importation of disease. At first sight it might appear that there was no very great difference between the two. But there was a great difference, because there was an alternative course which had to do with those cases in which the Government was uncertain whether there was danger or not. In such cases there was nothing whatever to make the prohibition compulsory if the Bill passed in its original form, and we should be liable to the risks which such an omission implied. That was a most material distinction if we desired to promote the large increase of our own herds, as to the supreme importance of which upon our food supply the most overwhelming testimony had been given before Committees and Commissions. He came now to the second point—namely, the grave consequences which the right hon. Gentleman anticipated, especially with regard to the Metropolis, for he observed that out-of-doors the main opposition to the measure was grounded upon its effect upon the Metropolis alone. The alarm of the right hon. Gentleman on this subject was nothing new. As long as he remembered any discussion on the question it had been always the same. When the Bill of 1879 was passed, they were continually told by the right hon. Gentleman that it was upon his ability to prove that the food supply would be restricted that he based his opposition.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: The hon. Gentleman will remember that the Bill was modified.

MR. CHAPLIN said, that if it had not been modified we should not be dealing with the subject now. The right hon. Gentleman had given his figures for 1883, and he said that instead of a loss of 150,000,000 lbs. of meat, we should incur a loss of 250,000,000 lbs. by the passage of this Bill. Now, he had ascertained that the importation of live cattle was rather larger in 1882 than in 1883; and there was another important matter—the importation into London from clean countries, which would not be interfered with, had increased from

28,000 to 37,000. It was, no doubt, a very serious thing to interfere with such a large supply, unless they came to consider the whole annual consumption. It had been estimated that the whole annual consumption represented 1,750,000 tons of meat at present; but the foreign supply was not more than  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent at the outside of the whole annual consumption. The right hon. Gentleman said that it was an exceedingly serious thing to interfere with one-third of the whole consumption in London. Well, London was the best market in a country which, in itself, was the best market for meat and everything else at present, and it was as certain as anything could be, that if they interfered with the London supply the void would be filled up from other quarters. Whatever other parts of the country might suffer, London was certain to be supplied. It was said that a slight decrease in the foreign live supply would largely increase the price of meat. He denied that this followed as a matter of necessity; experience, on the contrary, contradicted it. He found that in 1867, 121,000 live cattle were imported into London, while in 1868 the imports had fallen to 97,000. According to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster) there ought to have been a great increase in prices as a consequence of this, and a great dearth of meat. As a matter of fact, however, prices fell from 6·33*d.* per lb. in 1867 to 6·14*d.* per lb. in 1868. But there was a still more striking illustration. In 1867 there were imported 420,000 foreign sheep, and in 1868 only 183,000, and yet the price of mutton fell from 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* to 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* per lb., whereas, according to the right hon. Gentleman, it ought to have increased enormously. How was that to be accounted for? By the increase of the home supply, which rose from 166,000 live animals in 1867 to 192,000 in 1868, while the sheep sprang from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000, or an increase much larger than the whole foreign supply in 1867. These were facts which the right hon. Gentleman could verify. But there was another argument. According to the Registrar General's Returns the population of London in the last 20 years had increased by something like 1,000,000. Twenty years ago it had 3,000,000 of inhabitants; it had now more than 4,000,000. The right hon. Gentleman had said that London depended in the main on the supply of live animals. The

Agricultural Returns for 1883, however, showed that while in 1864 there were 374,000 live animals imported alive into London, in 1882, by which date the population of London had increased by 1,000,000 souls, the number imported had decreased to 314,000, and in 1882 to 288,000. The number of sheep in 1864 was 1,500,000, in 1882 it was 1,300,000, and according to the last Returns 1,269,000. According to the right hon. Gentleman, the additional 1,000,000 of people would require an additional supply of one-third or one-fourth. That had been made up without difficulty by the dead meat supply. He admitted that the dead meat trade had not made great strides of late. That was due to the fact that there had never been any guarantee as to its permanence, and also to the fact that it paid better to send meat here alive than to send it dead. But suppose all that live meat was prohibited, the result would be a vast increase in the dead meat supply. Was it to be doubted that there was an ample supply of dead meat for every purpose? From Australia the dead meat trade in the two months ending in February rose from 7,000 cwt. in 1882 to 44,000 cwt. in 1884. In America the dead meat trade was cleverly managed. He knew of one farmer alone, within 16 miles of Chicago, who slaughtered 4,000 animals a-week for the dead meat trade, and another who slaughtered 314 weekly. A third farmer had just commenced work on a gigantic scale in the same country. The fact was that the trade in dead meat was absolutely killing the trade in live animals in America itself. That being so, how was it that the American dead meat trade was not killing the trade in American live animals in England? The answer he received to that question carried conviction to his mind, though he did not know whether it would do so to the minds of those who were championing the agitation in England. It was that the American dead meat, although in perfect order, was slightly discoloured by the voyage, and it was impossible to palm it off as English meat, whereas the live animals were killed, and the beef sold as English beef at English prices. Now, there were great interests opposed to the future progress of this country. There were the butchers and salesmen, who were making large profits not in the interest of, but to the detriment of,

the consumers. The House ought to consider that before it was led away by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) or the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), and ascertain for themselves what was the nature of the agitation that was now going on outside. The agitation was a sham agitation; it was an agitation not in the interests of the consumers of this country. The right hon. Gentleman and others, who had been posing before the country as the consumers' champions, were really occupying a totally different position, as they were merely champions of what they might term the "Butchers' Ring." He did not mean to say they intentionally occupied that position; but they were the tools and the dupes of that confraternity. He (Mr. Chaplin) believed that the foot-and-mouth disease should be eradicated in this country, and that if adequate legislation was passed, but a very short time would elapse before we were entirely free from it. But if that were to be done, it was necessary that the Bill should be carried in its amended form, in which he should vote for it. He believed that the Bill so amended would meet with the approbation of many Members on the other side of the House, and that the conviction was rapidly spreading that the usefulness of the measure depended on its passing in its present form.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he would not discuss the question of what might be the effect of the Bill. The Scottish farmers had taken the lead in showing how the disease ought to be dealt with. In his own constituency, the farmers had come to the conclusion that it would be for the advantage of agriculture generally if store cattle were imported from abroad, provided it could be done with reasonable security. The House must remember that there were two classes of farmers, whose interests were divergent on the question of the importation of cattle from abroad. There were the breeders, whose interest it was not only to prohibit the importation of disease, but the importation of all cattle; but there was a larger class of farmers who desired to have store cattle imported from abroad if it could be done with reasonable safety. Store cattle could be imported cheaper from the Western States of America than they could be brought from Ireland or bred at home;

*Mr. Chaplin*



and the farmers, pressed by their necessities, were very anxious that they should have the opportunity of supplying themselves with store cattle at the cheapest market. If the principle of the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin) was to be carried out, they ought also to prohibit the importation of store cattle from Ireland if foot-and-mouth disease prevailed in that country. In his opinion, it was of very much more practical importance to the farmers that in England the existing law should be administered with greater efficiency than had been the case hitherto. What was the reason that in certain counties in England the spread of the disease had been so alarming, and that in other counties in England, and in the counties in Scotland, the spread had been comparatively small? He did not know any other reason except that the local authorities had not acted with the same promptitude and decision as in Scotland and many counties in England. The local authorities had neglected to take prompt action, the disease had spread, and then the Privy Council had been called upon to put a general stop to the movement of cattle. If the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln had devoted part of his energies to stimulating the local authorities of his county to prompt action in respect of foot-and-mouth disease, he would have done more service towards the extermination of the disease. In Scotland the local authorities were composed one-half of landlords, and one-half of tenant farmers elected by tenant farmers. In England the local authorities consisted of Justices of the Peace. ["No, no!"] He repeated that they were Justices of the Peace, although he knew it was quite open to the Justices of the Peace to select farmers to go upon the local authority; but there was a difference between men who were chosen by Justices of the Peace and farmers elected by their fellow-farmers, to whom they were responsible for the manner in which they carried out the Act. He did not see any reason why the same character of local authority should not be appointed in England as in Scotland; and he begged to give Notice that, when the proper time came, he would move Amendments on the Bill to constitute the local authorities in England upon the same lines as they were constituted in Scotland, and also for the purpose of giving the Privy

Council more authority for seeing the Act carried out efficiently in those countries where the work was neglected by the apathy of the local authorities. He was satisfied that it would have been of far greater importance if the Privy Council had devoted their attention more to the carrying out of the Act efficiently in this country, than to attempt to exercise more control in regard to the importation of cattle from abroad. He knew that many farmers in England felt very strongly upon this subject. He was quite satisfied that although the total importation of cattle was prohibited, there would be no security against the disease over-running the country, unless the internal administration of the Act was made more efficient. The great difficulty in administering the Act was that there was no intermediate proposition for allowing the slaughter of animals at the port of disembarkation. That was one of the practical difficulties. What were they to do with a cargo of animals coming from a country where the disease was not known to exist, but amongst which it had broken out during the passage? Were they to be thrown overboard? If not, then the same difficulty would arise as to the spread of the disease. He thought the importation of cattle ought to be prohibited from countries where the disease was known to exist; but where there was uncertainty the Privy Council ought to have power to say whether importation would or would not be allowed. He should support the Bill as originally introduced by the Government, believing that it would be of advantage to the country generally, as well as to the farmers, who desired to have an opportunity of obtaining store cattle when he could do so with safety.

MR. HASTINGS, while avowing himself to be as stout a Free Trader as either the right hon. Member for Bradford or the hon. Member for Salford, said, he was strongly in favour of placing further restrictions on the importation of cattle into this country from abroad. During the five years that had elapsed since the passing of the Act of 1878, he had been Chairman of the local authority for the county of Worcester, which had acted in unison with the neighbouring county of Hereford. The two counties had enjoyed freedom from disease as compared with Warwickshire, Shropshire, and

Staffordshire, and the reason was that the two counties had carried out the most stringent restrictions with regard to the importation of cattle. Importation was really the cause of the few outbreaks that had occurred in the two counties he had mentioned, and Bristol was the port from which the most serious cases had come. He ventured to assert that if more stringent restrictions had been carried out with regard to importation during the year 1883, the two counties of Worcester and Hereford would have been almost free from disease. He saw the absolute necessity of the measure before the House, and was prepared to support every line of it, and should be very sorry if it were in any way weakened. It was said, "Look at the effects of preventing importation;" but there was another side to the question, and it might be said, "Look at the effects of allowing disease." Had that no effect on the meat market, and did it do no damage to the consumer? The stoppage of fairs and markets raised the price of meat; every beast temporarily diseased, was taken out of the market; nearly every cow that suffered from the disease became barren, and reproduction was thus largely stopped and the milk supply was largely reduced. He quite admitted that it was an evil, as far as it went, to stop meat coming into the country; but it was the lesser evil of the two, the greater being to stop the home production. We did more damage to the meat-consuming classes by allowing foot-and-mouth disease to spread than by stopping importation; and for these reasons, which were strictly compatible with Free Trade, he should support the measure before the House, and thanked Her Majesty's Government for having introduced it.

MR. ACLAND said, that scarcely anyone had spoken from the point of view of the Bill as originally proposed by the Government, and, as representing an agricultural county, he should support the Bill as originally introduced. He was very grateful to the Government for having brought it in; but he did not sympathize with those who wished to go still further in the direction of prohibition. He agreed that a great deal—indeed, almost all—could be done by internal measures of restriction in stamping out the disease. This was shown by the condition of Westmoreland, Cum-

berland, and other counties. He did not share the feelings of those who acted with the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) in imputing negligence and unconstitutionality to Her Majesty's Government, for he would much prefer intrusting the interests of the farmers to the present Government rather than to the late Administration. During six years of Conservative administration nothing was done for the agricultural interest but the passing of the Agricultural Holdings Bill, and some small concession in the matter of local taxation. But what had been the result of the three or four years during which the present Government had been in power? They had repealed the Malt Tax and passed a Ground Game Act and an Agricultural Holdings Act. He did not share the feeling of those who regarded the Bill simply as a matter between the consumer and the producer. The question concerned every class in the country. He hoped the House would leave the Privy Council free to exercise their responsibility as best they could.

MR. BRYCE said, he felt bound to enter a decided protest against the language used by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), which was entirely improper and uncalled for. No hon. Gentleman who had spoken in support of the Bill, except the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, had imputed bad motives to those who were opposed to the measure. But the hon. Member stated that the agitation was promoted solely in the interests of the "Butchers' Ring."

MR. CHAPLIN: I rise to explain. I said nothing of the kind; but I denounced the agitation out-of-doors as having been got up by interested parties, and that the right hon. Gentleman, in advocating this cause, was really championing a "Butchers' Ring."

MR. BRYCE said, those were exactly the words he objected to. What was involved was the interest of a vast body of consumers. He represented a constituency which was more affected by the Bill than any constituency in the United Kingdom, because it was mainly composed of poor people who depended to a large extent for their food supply on the importation of foreign cattle. The food of a very great number of the poorer class consisted of parts of the animal which were never imported dead,

because it would not pay so to import them. He referred to the head, lungs, liver, and other parts, which went by the name of offal. If, therefore, they prohibited the importation of foreign live animals, that source of supply would be cut off, and the poor would suffer by the loss of all this meat, as well as by the enhanced price of other parts. He hoped the House would act cautiously in this matter. [*Cries of "Divide!"*]

MR. HEALY wished to say a few words upon this subject. He had expected that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster would have brought forward an array of facts and figures in support of his Bill, which they certainly did not get. His anxiety was with regard to the effect of the Bill upon Ireland, and he might just state his objections to the House. He was not prepared to vote against the Bill; but he would inform the House of the nature of the uneasiness which prevailed among Irish Members with regard to it. At the present moment cattle coming over from Ireland to England were dealt with in a very stringent way, and slaughtering and everything of that kind went on daily. If a Bill was passed giving power to exclude all cattle from either England or Ireland, by-and-bye when a Tory Government would be in power, for all they knew, an agitation would be got up asking that cattle might be excluded from Ireland, and their country would be ruined by a provision of that kind. They had no guarantee or any statement at all made with regard to Ireland; and although he was, of course, perfectly aware that they would have nothing in regard to Ireland in that Bill, still he thought they should have received some explanation or assurance that nothing of that sort would occur in the future. The question was a most difficult one, and he did not believe that there were any interested motives actuating the farmers, who merely endeavoured to prevent the terrible losses from which they were suffering through foot-and-mouth disease. He thought the farmers were perfectly right to endeavour to check it, as he was aware that the farmers in Ireland had lost over £1,000,000 within the last few months owing to the ravages of this disease. However, he did not ask the Government to run from one extreme to another upon this ques-

tion. Towards the close of last year, an extraordinary pressure was put upon the Lord Lieutenant in order to induce him to exclude cattle from certain districts, and a deputation from Glasgow—a very important deputation—had waited upon him, asking for the entire exclusion of Irish cattle; and he understood there had not been an Irish beast allowed into Newcastle-on-Tyne for the past 15 months. They had no guarantee from the Government as to the future agricultural relations between Great Britain and Ireland, and they would like to have some statement from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster upon the subject. They would like to be assured that they would not treat Ireland on the principle applied to foreign countries. Farmers were always greatly alarmed about this disease; and, therefore a panic-stricken Government might be easily frightened into preventing Ireland totally from exporting cattle by putting Ireland under the Bill. There was another point which he wished to mention, the definition "Privy Council" was not satisfactory; did it include the Irish Privy Council? [Mr. Dobson: The Irish Government.] He (Mr. Healy) imagined that the Irish Privy Council would be guided very largely by the English Privy Council. He was compelled to say that they were greatly dissatisfied with the action of the Irish Privy Council. They had acted very stringently, and he did not think they did very much good. In the Lower Castle Yard Dr. Kaye prevented farmers from selling their cattle at fairs by a stroke of his pen. He had known cattle to be led into trucks on Wednesdays for removal to the cattle market, and when the unfortunate farmers had them on the railway, they were at the last moment obliged to take them out of the trucks and drive them home, after having disposed of all the fodder. They were then obliged to go and borrow fodder, simply to keep the cattle alive. Fairs had been prohibited in the most arbitrary and unfair manner. In conclusion, he suggested that the Bill should be passed for five years, and that steps should be taken to provide a more satisfactory tribunal in Ireland than the Privy Council.

MR. KENNY said he concurred in the observations made by the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). He



thought it was the duty of hon. Members from Ireland, who were vitally interested in this measure, to secure a full and free discussion of the subject. The Bill was too important to be hurried through the House in four or five hours. In his opinion it would fail to accomplish the object sought after. So long as importation from infected countries was permitted, there would be no preventing the spread of the disease. He entirely disagreed with the opinion that the proper method of stamping out the disease was to slaughter the infected cattle. It was simply a monstrous waste of public wealth to slaughter animals that had become infected with foot-and-mouth disease. They all knew that store animals very soon got better of the disease, and became as valuable as ever within a comparatively short space of time. Instead of this barbarous method of slaughter, he would advise the isolation of infected animals, and the use of disinfectants. So far as the meat supply of large constituencies was concerned there was nothing to fear, as he thought a system of importing dead meat from Australia, America, and other places might be so developed as to meet all the requiremen's of the industrial centres.

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolution [March 17] *reported, and agreed to*:  
—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Sir ARTHUR OTWAY, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Mr. COURNEY.

#### SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE.

*Resolved*, That, whenever the House meets at Two of the clock, the Sittings of the House shall be held subject to the Resolutions of the House of the 30th day of April 1869.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at five minutes  
after Nine o'clock.

*Mr. Kenny*

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Wednesday, 19th March, 1884.*

MINUTES.] — PUBLIC BILLS — *Resolution in Committee — Ordered — First Reading — Marine Insurance* \* [141].

*Ordered — First Reading — Merchant Shipping Law Amendment* \* [140].

*First Reading — Consolidated Fund (No. 1)* \*.

*Second Reading — Leaseholders (Facilities of Purchase of Fee Simple)* [5], *put off*; *Contagious Diseases (Animals)* [20], *debate further adjourned*.

*Committee — Real Assets Administration* \* [98] — R.P.

*Report — City of Norwich (Mousehold Heath) Provisional Order* \* [106]; *Local Government Provisional Orders* \* [127]; *Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order* \* [106].

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

LEASEHOLDERS (FACILITIES OF PURCHASE OF FEE SIMPLE) BILL.

(*Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Reid, Mr. Burt, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Puleston.*)

[BILL 5.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. BROADHURST, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he did not profess that this was a perfect measure, but it was a plain and simple Bill; and, so far as they had been able to do so, the Bill was based upon such lines as would do injustice to no one, but confer upon the nation great and widespread advantages. It proposed to enable any person having an unexpired term of 20 years in a lease of any house, cottage, or chapel, to purchase the fee-simple. The process by which this was to be accomplished was simple, reasonable, and ready to hand—namely, through the County Courts. The Bill proposed, further, that improvements made by the leaseholder or tenant, as the case might be, after the passing of this Act, and not made by the express contract and conditions of the lease, should not be taken into consideration in fixing the cost or value of the house. In order to meet many of the objections raised to the Bill, it proposed that after the leaseholder had become possessed of the freehold he should not be allowed to use the house for any other purpose than those stipulated for in the original agreement of purchase for at least the same number of years as

was unexpired in the lease. This had been drawn in order to meet the objections that if this Bill became law a person living in the middle of a terrace might purchase a freehold as a house, and at once commence to turn it into a gin palace, or a butcher's shop, or, as one writer very vigorously put it, it might be turned into a hall for the Salvation Army, or other purposes. Clause 11 would remove the difficulty indicated in this direction; but what he wished to say was this—that under the Common Law possessed by Vestries, by Town Councils, and other Local Governing Bodies, freeholders could not erect whatever property they liked if it could be shown that their proposed erections were likely to be a nuisance to the neighbourhood, and were unnecessary for the wants of the inhabitants. One illustration of this kind had come within his notice. Within a short distance of his own residence a freeholder had become possessed of a small estate, and, making use of it for building purposes, wished to erect a row of shops fronting the main road. The neighbourhood felt that this was unnecessary; that it would be an annoyance to those in the district, and a disfigurement of the locality; and therefore the Vestry—which said a good deal for a London Vestry—had actually the patriotism and the good sense to oppose the application. A complaint had reached him from various quarters that the Bill did not contain a clause to give compensation to the freeholder for the forced sale of his property, while under the system hitherto pursued an allowance of something like 10 per cent was made to the freeholder for the forced sale of his land. It was argued that this had been done both in the case of Railway Companies, and under a more recent law for the erection of Board schools. But he would point out that in the case of Railway Companies and School Boards, at the time of their application to freeholders for the purchase of land they had no claim upon the land, and no interest in it, other than that of public necessity. But the case of the leaseholders, whom he was proposing to enfranchise, was totally different. The leaseholder had already three-fourths the value of the land; in other words, the leaseholder, possessing a house and other erections on the land, had three times more interest in the land than the

landowner himself. There was, therefore, no parallel between the case of Railway Companies and that of the leaseholders. The machinery chosen for putting the measure into operation was the readiest that came to hand—namely, the County Courts. The County Court was everywhere, within the reach of everyone; it was cheap and rapid in its process, and it gave general satisfaction. The County Court Judges were trusted to administer nearly all the Civil Law bearing upon the interests of the working classes in this country; and, therefore, they might be trusted to administer the law under this measure, which would, in the majority of cases, affect only the 10th, the 20th, or the 40th part of an acre of land. On this point he might further observe that it was the tendency of the day to appoint to the office of County Court Judges men of greater eminence in the Legal Profession than had usually been selected for that office in former days. The leasehold system was as bad as it could be. It was briefly this—land worth little for other purposes was let to speculative builders to be covered with houses. Where a man purchased the lease of one of these houses he found that, after paying for the house, paying for the legal transfer, being compelled to insure in a particular Fire Insurance Office, and other conditions often objectionable, the house was really not finished. That which was described as a garden was not a garden. The roads were not roads, and the leaseholders were obliged to pay the parish authorities from 12s. to 15s. a-foot for re-making them. Those in favour of the existing system argued that leaseholders had no just cause of complaint, as they were free to decline entering into the contract. That was an absolutely misleading view. If a man and his family were to set up a house on the highways and byeways, he would soon have the Home Secretary down upon him as a rogue and vagabond. Landlords possessed the monopoly of a commodity, which could not be enlarged, and the use of which was essential to the existence of the human race. Therefore he dictated his own terms to the house occupier, who was bound to accept them or to go homeless. It was a mere fiction to call that state of things freedom of contract. The only freedom that existed was for

the landlord to impose such terms as he thought proper; and generally those terms were limited only by the highest price and the most irksome conditions for the use of the land which he could find a desperate people willing to submit to. He contended, therefore, that the theory that the leaseholder was a free agent would not hold water. The land ought to be liberated from those trammels before the purchaser could have anything like freedom in the choice of his home. The existing system degraded, and lowered, and almost ruined the art of housebuilding throughout the country. Wherever one saw leasehold estates covered with houses, these houses, in the majority of instances, ought not to be called houses, for they were unfit to be lived in. If any Member disputed that statement he would undertake to show him many thousand houses within five or six miles of the Houses of Parliament which were an absolute disgrace to the nation, and which, if they were not already fever dens, were rapidly becoming so. Talk of nuisances! He could not imagine a more vicious and intolerable nuisance than that under which hundreds of thousands of the people of London were compelled to live daily in consequence of these shadowy erections. They were nothing more than cob-web houses. They could be crumbled to dust almost by a strong hand; and it was well known in the building trade that in the process of erection a stiff wind coming up before they were covered in would carry the walls to the ground. Let any Member of that House go at the unearthly hour at which he was able to leave the House, and pass the night in one of the structures to which he was referring. He would find that, though he might go to bed, his sleeping was wholly dependent on his neighbours, whose very conversation he might hear through the walls, and whose music, if they were musically inclined, would make repose for him absolutely out of the question. Such an experience would make any man an enemy of the present system. An eminent retired conveyancer, who had had long professional experience in the matter, said that the system of letting land for periods of 99 or 80 years powerfully discouraged the erection of substantial buildings; and that although on the larger estates the covenants were stringent enough to secure

good building, it was not so in the majority of cases, where the offer of a pound or two higher ground rent induced the freeholder to be perfectly indifferent to the class of houses which were put up. There was another feature of the leasehold system. During the last 12 months the country had been shocked by vivid descriptions in the Press and elsewhere as to the wretched houses in which the great mass of the poor people of London were compelled to live. He charged upon the leasehold system the main cause of this wretched class of poverty. He contended that it was impossible to expect any other result under the leasehold system than that which had been clearly demonstrated in the course of their investigations as to the poor of that vast Metropolis. The lessee of that class of property who had only a few years of the term unexpired was not likely to spend much money in putting his houses into a decent state of repair. In many cases it would cost him more to do so than to surrender his whole interest in the property without compensation. He had in his hand a Report of the state of things which existed largely in Clerkenwell. The Report stated that property was largely in the hands of middlemen, who were impelled by greed to make the most they could out of the property, and who had no interest in keeping it in good condition, and that it was not the greed of the original landlord which was to blame. He was not, however, so sure that the original landlords were not to blame; inasmuch as their first object was to secure as large a ground rent as possible, instead of providing for the erection of buildings honestly and substantially erected. Thus a sort of game of battledore and shuttlecock was the result, in which the unfortunate occupants of the wretched tenements were invariably the shuttlecock. But there was another class of leaseholds of which the evils were still more flagrant. He meant the system of leases for lives in which the uncertainty of the term rendered the evils even more intolerable. That system prevailed largely in the West of England; and he was glad to find that the right hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), in a published letter on the subject, had expressed what he could not but think, although its language was somewhat



guarded, was a strong condemnation of the system. The usual practice was to select three lives, and when the last life had dropped the property reverted to the original owner. The result had been the utter stagnation of the towns and districts where the practice prevailed. He had received a letter from Great Malvern, where that class of interest had been created in many instances. He was informed that in order to obtain lives which were not likely to escape observation, it was the custom in that neighbourhood to choose members of the Royal Family. When the Prince of Wales was so ill that his life was despaired of it was calculated that in respect of one property his death would have cost the leaseholder some £1,500; and in another case, where the Duke of Connaught's name had been inserted in the lease, the Insurance Company demanded, when His Royal Highness went to the Egyptian War, 25 per cent extra payment; but now he was in India the demand was less, though something in addition to the original sum. In the same district it was said that the worst houses and the worst hotels were always to be found on leasehold ground. The Mercantile Association of Devonport had issued a Report on the system of leasing for lives which largely prevailed there. That Report stated that life-leasing tended greatly to hamper trade and diminish prosperity, and that it tended to paralyze the energies of the lessees, upon whom, by the uncertainty of a single life perhaps, an intolerable burden of anxiety was imposed. It was not right or just that the industry of large portions of the population should be checked by the uncertainty of the tenure upon which the traders and other inhabitants occupied their houses and places of business. But the injustice was not confined to houses. Nonconformists, generally speaking, had no freeholds in land; and in some cases when they wanted to renew the leases of the sites of their chapels the applications had been refused. What did opponents of the Bill think of a Nonconformist chapel being turned into a ginshop, a barn, or anything else that the ground landlord expected to get the most profit from; and this after two or three generations of working and middle-class people had worshipped in it? Certainly the House ought to give to Nonconform-

ists the right to retain the one place where all classes met with one common object. He would give one instance of the operation of the system in that regard. The Wesleyan Chapel at Newport was erected on land of which there were 23 years of the term unexpired. The ground rent was £8 4s., and the conditions imposed for a lease were the surrender of the current term and the payment of a rent of £100 in place of the rent of £8 4s. In Bangor, seven chapels were built on leasehold tenure. In Blaina Festiniog, out of 19 chapels, only four were freehold, or on leases of 999 years. In Conway the leases were for 99 years. Three years ago the trustees of a chapel, on a lease of which 48 years were unexpired, wanted to repair it, and to build a school-room at a cost of £2,000. The freeholder refused to meet them, and they were obliged to spend their money without any conditions. He wanted to know whether this was a freedom of contract, and whether, in view of such facts, the opponents of the Bill would venture to apply to it the term "confiscation?" Blaina Festiniog was chiefly inhabited by quarrymen, and of £400,000 worth of buildings, £350,000 was represented by 2,117 houses, built on 60 years' leases. Here the community were anxious to live in their own houses; but could not be expected to build them as substantially as they would do on freehold land. The system was being introduced into Scotland, the land of perpetual leases. On an estate in Aberdeenshire the Lords in Council, in 1876, granted to the guardian of the property power to grant leases of 99 years. By the terms of the lease the ground rent was doubled every 25th year from the period of entry, and the erections were to be made under the strictest supervision. At the end of the term the buildings were to be handed over in good and tenantable repair, without any price or allowance for the improvements made. The leasehold system, he believed, was as bad in Ireland as it was in England, Wales, and Scotland. A correspondent wrote to him from Waterford that the town was suffering from a plague of idiotic landlords; some would not let land on fair terms, and some would not let on any terms; building was at a standstill, although there was great competition for houses; and the town was being strangled by absentee land-

lords, who did not care what happened. He was inundated with letters from all parts of the country where he did not expect that the system prevailed — from Cornwall, Worcestershire, the South Coast, the Thames Valley, and from Sheffield, where the grievance was described as insufferable; and the peculiarity of the letters was that each correspondent thought his own locality was being treated with exceptional hardness, and that his local case must be one of the worst. He gladly recognized the fact that the Duke of Devonshire, on his estate at Eastbourne, was offering every opportunity to his leasehold tenants to purchase the fee-simple of their property; and he wished other landlords would do the same, and render the Bill unnecessary. The hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), who was to oppose him, or to offer an alternative scheme, was perfectly willing that his leaseholders should purchase the fee-simple on certain conditions; and he would, therefore, claim the hon. Member as a supporter. They need not be alarmed by the statement that if the Bill became law landlords would refuse to part with land for building purposes. If the land was worth more for building purposes than for cultivation, self-interest would determine the use to which they would put it. He had received letters from various parts of the country urging that the Bill would be of no value whatever unless it applied to rural districts, where the evil which it proposed to remedy existed with the same intensity as it did in the large towns. Villagers were being crowded together in small cottages simply because the terms upon which land could be obtained were such that no man would venture to speculate a shilling in building. The public bodies in the country were not entirely free from blame in this matter. A statement had been sent him as to the harsh policy of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. An Act of 1851 laid it down that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners should let their property under renewable leases; but he understood that in many cases the Commissioners were refusing to renew their leases, and were acting with all the harshness and injustice, the greed and the determination to hold the land which were shown by private owners. The Bill could not be called a serious attempt to interfere

with the rights of the Commissioners, because the property which they held was held in trust for the nation, and they were not at liberty to dispose of it as they thought fit. This Bill would enable 2,000,000 of people to become freeholders; and he said that a measure proposing to do that should not be subjected to miserable criticism as to whether it would be possible in one case out of 10,000 for a cottage to be turned into a public-house. He rather asked that the Bill might be viewed from a larger standpoint by recognizing the benefits which it would confer upon the country at large. He saw the hon. and learned Attorney General, from his seat on the Treasury Bench, paying considerable attention to the statement which he had the honour to make; and he asked the hon. and learned Gentleman, if he replied on behalf of the Government, not to take his Bill clause by clause and show how inconsistent it was. The Bill might be improved in Committee, and he would look for that assistance from the Treasury Bench which it was impossible for him as a private Member to obtain. He asked the great landlords to remember they lived in times when questions ripened at immense rates, when the whole mass of the people was being permeated by inquiries into ancient interests and monopolies. Within the last six months there had come amongst them a stranger (Mr. Henry George), whose proposals on the Land Question he was unable to endorse, but which were drawing immense audiences in every part of the country. Let the House remember that measures of justice like this Bill would render Mr. George's doctrines unpopular. The Bill before the House was not a confiscating Bill; and he asked hon. Members to remember that he proposed to pay to every man his just due for that which they wished to take into their own private possession. He asked them to remember, in connection with this question, the history of Irish land legislation. There were years when moderate proposals were, so to speak, literally pitchforked out of the House and repudiated; but within a few years' time great and comprehensive measures were readily voted by those who had opposed the smaller and more reasonable measures that had previously been under their consideration. He did not use

these remarks as a threat, but in the friendly spirit of warning. They should remember those things before they opposed this measure as an outrageous attack upon the rights of private property in this country. Above all, he asked whether they were not discharging a very high and desirable function of Parliament when they debated a proposal that had for its object the creation in their midst of large numbers of their working people who were interested in their household property freeholders for life? In other words, they proposed to make the theory of a man's house being his castle a reality, instead of, as it was at present, a sham and delusion. In reserving to a man's family the fruits of his labours and self-denial he felt that they should be acting wisely, and not only for the best interests of those whom they proposed to enfranchise, but of every man who had a stake in the welfare and progress of the people of this great country. The hon. Member concluded by thanking the House for the patient hearing that had been accorded him.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Broadhurst.*)

MR. GREGORY said, he regretted very much that it had fallen to his lot to move the rejection of the Bill. But the Bill involved principles so very objectionable, and carried them out to so great a length, that he could not refuse to undertake the duty of offering to it the most strenuous opposition. He was sorry the Bill was supported by several hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Opposition side of the House; indeed, it proceeded upon the lines of a Bill which would subsequently be introduced by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). He hoped, however, to satisfy the House that neither Bill ought to be adopted. In the first place, the measure was retrospective, as well as prospective; for it proposed that if a man held a lease it should be within his power before the expiration of his lease to turn round and say to the landlord—"I require you to sell me the freehold of the property of which I hold the lease." The consequences of that was that it imported into an existing contract a term which never was con-

templated originally—a term which was beneficial to one of the contracting parties, but prejudicial to the other, who had no voice in it, and for which he was never paid any consideration. Such was the retrospective action of the Bill. With respect to the prospective action, it said to any man granting a lease—"You are not granting a lease of this property, but you are subjecting the interest you reserve in this property to a liability of the most damaging character during the whole of the existence of the lease." In the case of a lease for 90 years, they gave to the party to whom that lease was granted the right of saying at any time during that period—"I require to buy your reversion in that property." The party having that right could choose his own time and take his own opportunity for making the purchase. There were constant ups and downs in the value of building property, and this Bill would give all the chances in favour of the lessee, and allow him to take advantage of any hard times, or even to purchase the reversion at a time when it had no actuarial value. Then came the question of how this right was to be exercised. It was to be exercised through the County Court, in his opinion the worst possible tribunal for such a purpose. County Court Judges frequently were somewhat antiquated practitioners, whose experience in house property would be of the most limited character. There seemed to be an opinion among many Members in that House that County Court Judges were possessed of universal knowledge. They had been given jurisdiction in Equity, in Bankruptcy, and in Admiralty cases. Under the Agricultural Holdings Act they were supposed to have special knowledge of that subject; and now they were to be given the duty of valuing house property. If they were not up in the subject they must bring in some valuer, not selected by the parties—a person in whom they might have no confidence—and the County Court Judge might assess the value against the owner on the opinion of that party. In addition to that, the landlord was required to produce a marketable title—an indefeasible title. Now, an indefeasible title was a thing of comparatively rare occurrence; there were numbers of titles which were absolutely safe, but an in-



defeasible one was very rare; there might usually arise some question of the legal estate, of an unstamped document, of one lost, mislaid, or imperfectly executed, or some similar objection. This Bill would oblige the landlord to supply all these defects; or it would allow a man to turn round and say—"I will not take your property; you have not shown a proper title." And this might be cast up against the landlord on any subsequent occasion. Again, the purchaser of the reversion would be exonerated from all the covenants of the lease, and at liberty to apply the property to any purposes, however prejudicial to the adjoining owners or occupiers. The hon. Member relied upon the preservation of covenants by his Bill; but the covenants could only be enforced by the reversioner, who would in this case be the purchaser. The Bill, in his opinion, rendered contracts liable in the future to conditions most onerous, and which the contracting parties had not originally contemplated, and these conditions were to be enforced by a tribunal which for the purpose was most objectionable, and at the instance of one party entirely against the will of the other. They had been told of the great demand for building property; but he had himself had considerable experience in this direction, and it was a mistake to suppose that there was such a great demand for building property as that to which the hon. Member for Stoke had adverted. It was not so easy to find a market for such property. Considerable expense had to be incurred. First of all a competent surveyor had to be employed, and then roads and drains had to be made; and these had to be well and substantially done, or the houses could not be erected. Contracts were then entered into defining the terms and conditions on which the houses should be built, and the leases were not granted until the houses were nearly built, when it was known that such conditions had been complied with. It was greatly to be doubted whether, under this Bill, houses would be better built than under the present system, as it made little difference, in this respect, whether a man was building upon land held for 99 years, or upon a freehold; and, therefore, he could not agree with the hon. Member as to the effect this Bill would have in improving the con-

struction of houses. It was said that he (Mr. Gregory) spoke from an interested point of view, because he was connected with a foundling estate. It was true he was connected with the Foundling Hospital; but what were they doing with their property? They were having it carefully surveyed, giving notice to repair according to the Surveyor's Report, and offering a renewal of the lease to the tenants if they would carry out the repairs. They offered them a renewed lease of 40 years, and so they got a respectable tenancy, and secured the general repair and improvement of their property. With regard to what the hon. Member had said as to leases tending to multiply public-houses, there was an estate in London of which he had some knowledge where 26 public-houses had been suppressed by the owners of the property; and he knew that on the estate belonging to the Foundling Hospital it was a practice not to renew leases for public-houses. If the present Bill were in operation the reversion of public-houses, which were generally held by brewers or other wealthy persons, would be bought up, and it would be impossible to get rid of them. The hon. Member had also argued that leases encouraged nuisances; but his own experience was quite to the contrary. Well-drawn leases tended to prevent nuisances, not only as regarded the inmates of particular houses, but as regarded the neighbouring occupiers. People who had a grievance against a neighbouring tenant could go to the ground landlord and get him to put the covenants of the lease in force; and the ground landlord, having the remedy in his own hands, would do so for the sake of his own property. Again, great advantage resulted from the combined action of the Vestries and the ground landlords. The Vestries, under what was known as *Torrens's Act*, had considerable power to require structural alterations to be made in houses. Where the lease had only 20 years to run the owner was liable, and the Vestries served him with notice, and he, of course, had his remedy against the tenant who had left the house out of repair. In that way an arrangement was generally come to which satisfied the Vestry that the necessary repairs would be duly executed. There might be cases of hardship such as the hon. Member had referred to;

but that matter ought to be dealt with on broad and general grounds, and not upon particular instances, especially when they were only read from letters or given to the House from reports made to this or that Member of the House. The leasehold system, he maintained, was not unsatisfactory, and it could not be put an end to without a gross violation of principle and a breach of contract between man and man. The hon. Member had referred to the rural districts; but his own experience was that the worst cottages there were those upon small plots of freehold land which had been bought up for the purpose of running up a few cottages; and he did not think the hon. Member had improved his argument by that illustration drawn from the rural districts. In conclusion, he expressed some surprise and regret at seeing a measure of a cognate nature to the present one either emanating from or being supported by that (the Opposition) side of the House; and he hoped that the House would take that opportunity of pronouncing a decisive judgment on proposals of that character. He did not say that the system of leases could not be improved, or that it was not desirable to enable labourers and others to acquire the fee-simple for their cottages; but that should not be done at the expense of all the rights of property. That, however, he understood to be the scope and principle of this Bill; and, therefore, he begged to move that it be read a second time that day six months.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON, in seconding the Amendment, said, he was not merely influenced by the fact that certain of the details of the Bill were opposed to good policy, and might lead to certain inconveniences. He took a much broader ground. No one could deny that the principle involved was one of a serious and violent character, and opposed to every principle, commercial or otherwise, which had hitherto governed the legislation of that House. It might or might not be desirable that Parliament should interfere, and interfere arbitrarily, on behalf of leaseholders, to give them advantages which they never possessed before, which were never contemplated when they took the lease, and which would be very prejudicial to the property of ground landlords. But he did not oppose this Bill entirely because

it would inflict injury and a grave injustice on the ground landlords. Let the effect of the Bill be examined as regarded the working classes. The hon. Member for Stoke had given the House a graphic description of the degraded character of the dwellings of the poor in certain parts of London. The accuracy of that description he did not deny. But they should not be guided by mere sentiment, but by a consideration as to whether the Bill was calculated to stop the state of things which they all regretted. Before passing the second reading the House ought to demand that public necessity was clearly proved; that the system of leasehold was, as matter of fact, and not as matter of opinion, injurious, and that it struck vitally at the health and well-being of the people. If the balance of evidence, on the whole, tended to show that the system of leases, and the evils associated with it, were really peculiarly and inseparably connected with it, and that these evils could practically be removed by legislation of this character, he would agree to the second reading of the Bill, with the power to move certain Amendments to remove certain objections in Committee. But he maintained that his hon. Friend had not proved the necessity for the measure. The Bill was one of a very sweeping character, and would affect not merely large towns, but rural districts as well. The hon. Member had certainly not made out a case for the application of the Bill to rural districts. Suppose that the trustees of a minor had granted a lease for 21 years of a cottage or house, contiguous to a demesne. If this Bill were to become law, the tenant of that cottage would be converted into a potential freeholder, and the owner of the demesne might be confronted with the threat that such cottage would be so used as to become an excessive nuisance if he did not purchase the reversion at an extravagant price. But the Bill, he admitted, was intended to deal chiefly with the case of leaseholders in great centres of population. Let it be judged in reference to that. It was not desirable that they should raise a debate on the question of the housing of the poor, and the miserable and wretched condition of much property let on lease in London. The question they had to consider was, would this Bill introduce practically a better state of things? Was the system of leases responsible

for the degrading character of the dwellings of a large portion of the population in large towns? There were slums, and frightful slums, in New York, San Francisco, and other large towns of America, where the system of freeholds existed; and this was a strong argument against the contention of the hon. Member for Stoke. The evidence as to Continental cities was conflicting; but the condition of large towns in America proved that they could have terrible slums side by side with the freehold system. But another strong objection he had to the Bill was that there was nothing in it which would prevent a large portion of London becoming subject to the control, not of freeholders—on political grounds of high policy much value would attach to that—but of small landowners, instead of, as now, being subject to large landowners. The hon. Member for Stoke had stated that freedom of contract could not exist in the Metropolis, and that the landlord could always dictate his own terms; but that was an argument not merely against leases, but against landlordism. The Bill would not lessen the power of the landlord; it would merely replace the large landlord by a number of small landlords. The curse of the poor was the middleman. This Bill would unnaturally tend to develop the sphere of the middleman. The leaseholder in the crowded parts of London would be tempted to sell his reversion to the speculator. The speculator would buy up several reversions; and what was there to prevent his sub-letting his interest in the property which sentimental legislation had ingenuously placed at his disposal? In the interest of the individual and the public at large, he (Viscount Lymington) contended that smaller landlords were less to be desired than large ones. Large landlords, such as the Dukes of Westminster, Bedford, and the Marquess of Northampton, and others in London belonging to that class, were scrutinized and jealously watched by public opinion; and men in their positions were more sensitive to, and more easily reached by, public opinion than the smaller class of proprietors which the hon. Member would set up. In the interests of the public, he, therefore, thought it would be a grave misfortune if the control of properties in London—

especially the worst parts of London—were placed in the hands of small proprietors. There was yet another objection to the Bill. The hon. Member for Stoke laughed at the idea of a neighbourhood and the public not being able to take care of itself. He did not see how covenants could bind a freeholder. Upon a property in London, with which he was well acquainted, the covenants were very strong as regarded public-houses and other objectionable and offensive trades. Would the freeholder tolerate such conditions being placed on him? There was at present no system of local control which would prevent the carrying on of objectionable trades in a certain neighbourhood. The question, for instance, of resisting licences for public-houses was not a matter which could be easily undertaken. It was a matter of some expense, requiring the careful and constant attention of a body of men outside the influence or reach of a publican's canvass, and of a permanent and business-like character. The publicans were a rich and powerful body, and could only be regulated and kept within bounds by the action of some distinct authority. To raise a neighbourhood was difficult; but it was easy enough to degrade a well-conducted district. The middleman and not the artizan would be the practical gainer by the Bill. How could the artizan be expected to resist the offer of the middleman to give him a large sum of money down for his reversionary interest? Those very trades which the House was not peculiarly anxious to benefit—like that of the publican—would offer the artizan an enormous price for the reversionary interest of his house, and the artizan would not unnaturally accept it. It appeared to him that the Bill of the hon. Member would have the effect of shielding a class who at the present moment were getting rather nervous of their own position. He referred to the ground landlords of London; and he would not be surprised if the large owners of degraded and bad properties in London would be exceedingly glad to accept a proposal similar to that embodied in the Bill of the hon. Member. For they would at once, and in the easiest and pleasantest manner, shake off their responsibilities, which they had so entirely shirked during the whole century. The question of leases, as it had been placed in conjunction with



the condition of the poor of London, was one inseparably connected with the evidence which must come before the Royal Commission. So far as public opinion was concerned, however, he thought that had decided that some more stringent and decided power should be demanded from Parliament to place the ground landlords in a position of more responsibility; and he thought that the suggestion which had received the most universal approval was that the sanitary authorities should have greater power and scope given to them. But this Bill would introduce a class of small freeholders; and he contended that a class of small freeholders in the worst parts of London would be far greater obstructionists to the sanitary authority than the class of large landowners. The problem of getting persons to use good homes was nearly as great as that of providing them. At present, they had ample sanitary regulations; but in the Vestrymen they had instruments of authority, whose interest it was not to enforce those regulations. The class of freeholders whom the Bill would create would not be the working man, whose name had been so much used during the debate, but the speculator, the Vestryman, and the persons who were at present the worst owners of the worst property. It was to be hoped that public opinion was bringing pressure to bear, and that sanitary regulations would, in the future, be more stringently enforced; but he confessed he should consider the difficulty enhanced, and the whole question of improving the domiciliary and sanitary condition of the poor thrown back, if such legislation as this were agreed to. He thought that, before the House accepted so far-reaching a measure as this was, they ought to consider, first of all, whether the case had been clearly made out that the evils that were supposed to exist in the system of leasehold property were evils inherent in and connected with leases. He thought the hon. Member had to show—and he maintained that he had not shown it—that this Bill was going to benefit the leaseholders of the working classes, not merely in name and in sentiment, but also that it would really multiply the class of owners whom the House wished to multiply, and would not merely be for the benefit of a class of speculators. It was because he be-

lieved that the result of such a Bill as this would really be not beneficial, but injurious to the artisans and the working classes; that it would benefit those whom the House wished least of all to benefit; and, lastly, that in both principle and in practice it was absolutely unworkable, that he felt himself bound to oppose the second reading.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word “now,” and at the end of the Question to add the words “upon this day six months.”—(*Mr. Gregory.*)

Question proposed, “That the word ‘now’ stand part of the Question.”

MR. PULESTON said, he approved of the main objects of the Bill. In Devonport and several towns in the West of England there was a strong feeling that something should be done to remedy a state of affairs which, in many respects, had become nearly intolerable. So far as the system of granting leases on lives was concerned, that, he thought, had been now pretty well denounced all round by Members of the House. Referring to the remarks of the noble Lord, he (*Mr. Puleston*) feared that under any system that could be proposed there would be large numbers of people congregated in small areas, and slums would always exist. The Bill, it was said, would violate existing agreements. But the existing system must be improved, and freedom of contract must mean freedom of contract. In places like Devonport a poor man was compelled *volens volens* to agree to all the stipulations inserted in his lease, and was never given an opportunity of buying an inch of land. He trusted that the Bill would be read a second time. There were, no doubt, several clauses in it which required to be amended; but those could be discussed in Committee.

MR. HENEAGE said, he did not wish to speak altogether against the Bill; but the hon. Member for Stoke (*Mr. Broadhurst*) had attacked in rather a wholesale manner all the landlords who had leasehold property, whereas his case had only been made out against bad landlords and bad builders. As to the Nonconformists, no one would say that their chapels should be treated differently from churches and other religious buildings. Every facility should be given them to acquire freehold sites; but if this Bill were passed it would not

only not rectify the condition of things in regard to bad landholders, but would abolish the leasehold system altogether. That was the question they must face. It was a very large question, and ought not to be dealt with in a private Member's Bill, but could only be dealt with by the Government, after looking carefully at the whole system connected with it. The leasehold system had not, in his opinion, been altogether an injury to the working classes. In many cases, and principally in large towns, it had been a decided benefit. It was small landlords, as a rule, who had been rather hard on their tenants; but in cases where landlords had laid out estates for building houses for the labouring classes it had been a great advantage to them. There was no greater benefit for working men than to be able, with the aid of Societies, to build houses for themselves on leasehold sites. It was a common practice for working men to form Societies, and pay 1s. 6d. or more a-week in order to build houses on leasehold property of which they might become possessed on easy terms. If the Bill were passed it would be difficult to exclude public-houses from an estate, for needy leaseholders would be incited to buy their tenements and to re-sell them to brewers, who, at the end of the remaining 21 years' lease, would turn them into public-houses, and double their value to let. Then, if the Bill were passed, it would be easy to establish other descriptions of houses on an estate which were injurious to the neighbourhood. He did not think it fair that the good landlords should be made to suffer for the bad ones, who wished for this Bill in order that they might dispose of their tenements. By his proposals the hon. Member for Stoke would do more for bad landlords than for the working classes. Though his own tenants could enfranchise if they chose, he had received very few applications for leave to do so. The hon. Member said that in consequence of the system of leasehold houses were built less well than in former times. But, if that were so, surely the builders were the right persons to blame; not the landlords. The Bill proposed to give extensive powers to County Court Judges. Of that proposal he strongly disapproved. Now and then a County Court Judge was a very superior official; but that was by no means the

rule; and, consequently, he objected to these Judges being given new and difficult questions to decide. Another and very serious matter was that the County Court Judge was to be able to call for the titles of landlords, for persons, evidence, books, documents; in short, for everything, in order that it might be proved, if possible, that the landlord had no right over the estate. That might be a very serious thing in some cases. There might be some defect in a previous title; and was a lawyer on that account to be able to get hold of all the books of the landlord, and to investigate them with a view to other proceedings? If a title was good enough for a lease of 99 years it ought to be good enough to purchase upon. The conditions in leases were laid down for the benefit of the neighbourhood generally, and not of the landlords; and why, then, should the landlord be fined because he had done the best for the neighbourhood? A landlord might have given sites for churches and chapels; he might have laid out wide and capacious roads; and yet there was nothing in the measure about recouping him for such an expenditure; but the purchase-money was to be reduced if there were any restrictive covenants for the good of the neighbourhood. He objected to the Bill because it was a one-sided Bill. He objected to it because it included all landlords, even those who endeavoured to do their best for the advantage of those who lived upon their property, and would create for the future a class of landlords who would look only to the pounds, shillings, and pence, and would be an injury rather than an advantage to the public. He hoped that some good might arise from the discussion; but what was wanted was a very different Bill, brought in under different auspices, in which everything should be set forth fairly as regarded the rights of one side as well as the other.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS said, he did not think they should be too hard upon the hon. Member for Stoke for having brought forward a Bill which had a great many impracticable clauses in it, because he had not the advantages of legal advice possessed by Members of the Treasury Bench. He (Mr. Collins) meant to support the Bill, not because he liked the mode in which it was proposed to carry out the enfranchisement

of leaseholds, but because the principle was right of getting rid of dual interests which were opposed to each other, to public policy, and to the public rights. He was against taking away the rights of property without compensation, or leaving the matter to the County Court Judge. He held that the creation of a separate estate in houses and lands for 99 years was detrimental to the public interest, for this reason—that one could not have the least idea of how property was to be realized in the best way for 30 or 40 years. In 1880 they might have a genteel suburban neighbourhood where it was desirable that a row of houses should be planted a little way from the thoroughfare. That neighbourhood might, in a few years, become part of a prosperous town, where the houses ought to be turned into shops and pushed into the street. But under the conditions of the leases that could not be done; and, therefore, they had “lean-tos” annexed to the dwellings, in order that the property might be utilized in the best possible way. The leaseholder who had only 40 or 50 years to run could not rebuild merely for the advantage of the reversioner, and the reversioner would not be in a position to rebuild for 40 or 50 years. It was, no doubt, a dangerous thing to interfere with contracts; and it was a question whether the hon. Gentleman would not have done more wisely if he had started by limiting his Bill to the future. It was a wise thing to get in the thin end of the wedge by inducing Parliament to lay down the principle that it was not advisable to give legal sanction to these long leases. In the North of England they knew little of building leases, but he believed that in the town of Grimsby these leases did exist. He must protest against the aristocratic views of the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), who said that if the Bill were to pass they could not keep public-houses off a large estate. That might appear to Liberal Members the right thing to do; but he did not think that any landlord should have the power to keep the people of the neighbourhood from access to proper refreshment. He merely contended for the principle that they should get rid of building leases. The Bill itself he believed to be utterly unworkable—or, at all events, that it would work great injustice, which the hon. Member for

Stoke would be the last man to wish should be done. The only broad issue the House had to decide was where the balance of convenience lay. The owning of a small cottage by the occupier only meant that the cottage was in a state of perpetual dilapidation. Those houses were in the worst state of repair which were in the hands of the petty owners who occupied them. It was much better that a man should have the choice of a score of houses and be able to follow his trade, than that he should be saddled with the ownership of a house where if he moved away he would have all the difficulty of collecting his rent from a distance. Therefore, he could not follow the hon. Member for Stoke when he talked of this being a poor man's question. The landlords should be treated with fairness and liberality in any scheme which might be brought before the House. If the hon. Member for Stoke would consent to his Bill, together with that of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) on the same subject, being referred to a Select Committee, where the question would be licked into something like proper shape, he would not object to the second reading.

Mr. R. T. REID informed the hon. Member for Knaresborough (Mr. T. Collins) that he drafted the Bill himself after consultation with several of his friends. He (Mr. Reid) wished to point out to the noble Viscount (Viscount Lymington), in reference to the observations he made on restrictive costs, that there existed in the Bill a clause providing that the question whether these covenants remained in force or not should be left to the consideration of the landlord. He ventured to think that the proper tribunal for deciding the amount of compensation to be paid was the County Court. The tribunal appointed under the Lands Clauses Act was the Under Sheriff, assisted by a jury. It was admitted that one of the greatest difficulties presented by the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act was the clumsiness of the Compensation Clauses, though it was, at the same time, allowed that their method was superior to that of the Land Clauses Act. But the proposal was to restore to the tribunal admittedly worse than that created by the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Act the question



of compensation. The hon. Member was mistaken in his view of what was provided in the Bill on the question of title. If the purchaser was satisfied with the vendor's title no question would arise; it was only in case of disagreement that the Court was called upon to intervene. The leasing system—whether for life, or lives, or for years—was very common in this country, and no one had denied that great evils attached to it, or asserted that there were any compensating advantages. Take the common case of a house built to last for about 40 years and let on lease for 80 or 90. At the end of the first 40 years it was in utter disrepair; the tenant did not like to repair or rebuild it, and so make it a present to his landlord, and the landlord could not. Thus the property went to utter ruin. and was ultimately sold for a song to the penniless nominee of some speculator, who collected the rents while discharging none of the responsibilities of the property. The case of the tenant for life or lives was even worse. How could any man in his senses be expected to improve property when his enjoyment of the improvement depended upon that most uncertain of all contingencies, human life? It was in accordance with Parliamentary precedent as well as with true Conservatism, as he understood it, to refuse to maintain a tenure admitted to be bad. For that reason the House had permitted the enfranchisement of copyholds, though there were many incidents connected with that tenure which appealed to the lover of historical associations. Of course, he was aware that some suggestion had been made about interference with freedom of contract. He had strong opinions on the subject of freedom of contract; and he thought he could easily show the House, if necessary, that there was no Session during the last 300 years in which that principle had not been pretty well beaten about the head. But freedom of contract had never been permitted in either of two cases—first, when the parties contracting were not really free; and, secondly, when the contract entered into was against public policy. In some towns it was impossible to get land except upon lease for life or lives; and was it not contrary to public policy to permit this? The hon. Member for Knaresborough (Mr. Collins) advised his hon. Friend to exclude existing leases

from his Bill. That would have permitted the enormous number of leases created during the last 70 or 80 years to remain under a system which they condemned. If any advantage was to be obtained on behalf of the general community by abolishing long leases, it ought to be done at once, and not when these leases had expired. He had come to the conclusion that when it was proposed to deal with leases for a fixed term of years the best way was to deal with them at once. With regard to life leases, it was proposed not to touch those which would expire within the next ten years, but to enable those which would be probably of longer duration to be dealt with. One hon. Member spoke of the Bill as taking away other people's property. He believed the hon. Member for Stoke was about the last man in this House intentionally to confiscate any man's property. There was no desire on his hon. Friend's part—certainly there was no desire on his own part—to do anything of the kind; and he thought it would be a disgraceful thing to attempt to do it. But he did think, when it was the case of a tenure productive of such grave inconvenience and so much public loss, that people ought not to be too squeamish, nor stand too extremely on their rights, nor be too critical, when they considered a Bill honestly intended to provide a remedy.

MR. A. F. EGERTON thought the House should hesitate before adopting so very great a change as the Bill proposed in the laws affecting land in this country. It had been said that the object of the Bill was to put an end to the system of building leases. The hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) had said that the Bill had been introduced in the interests of the working classes, whose minds were being permeated to a considerable extent by the doctrines of Mr. Henry George. Having had considerable experience of the working men, he was convinced that they were far wiser in reference to this question than the hon. Member for Stoke gave them credit for being, as, during recent years, they had acquired a considerable knowledge of political economy, and were quite capable of sounding the depths of any arguments with reference to it that were placed before them. It was perfectly true that this was not a confiscation measure; but he must hold

to the old objection, discounted by the hon. and learned Member who had just spoken, that the Bill interfered very materially with freedom of contract, both prospectively and retrospectively. He should not have objected to the measure so strongly if it had only proposed to interfere with future leases. The Bill would operate very harshly in South-East Lancashire, where an enormous proportion of land was let on building leases for 999 years. When a freeholder let his land on so long a term he could not expect to be paid out at any time that the tenant might elect to buy out. The measure would interfere largely with the freeholder's right to the prospective value of the land. It must be recollected that leases always contained provisions for forfeiture; and it would be hard upon the freeholder if, when the terms of the lease were broken, he should find himself debarred from exercising his right of re-entry by the provisions of this Bill. On this point, therefore, he regarded the Bill as being unfair to the freeholders. In his opinion the question of the improvement of the dwellings of the poor ought not to be mixed up with the provisions of this measure. In South-East Lancashire the Local Boards laid down the most stringent regulations with regard to houses being kept in tenantable repair, and he did not see why those regulations should not be adopted in other parts of the country. Interfering with freedom of contract, with settlements and mortgages of property, the Bill would produce nothing but disturbance, annoyance, and confusion. He should like to see the whole system of leases for lives abolished; but it would not be abolished by this Bill, which he felt bound to oppose.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he thought that the debate had been a very profitable and a very interesting one, and he was glad that the hon. Member for Stoke had introduced this measure. Every hon. Member who had listened to the hon. Member must have sympathized with his object in introducing this measure; but he was afraid that there was a considerable difference of opinion as to the means by which that object was to be attained. He would make this concession to the hon. Member who had moved

the second reading of the measure—that the estate of a freeholder was a much more efficacious estate than a leaseholder's estate, because it enabled much more money to be made out of the land. For his own part, he objected to the dual tenure as much as the hon. Member did; and if it could be abolished on fair terms, and without doing injustice to anyone, he should not regret if it were swept away. He quite agreed with the observation that had been made in the course of the debate, that they could not carry the principle of the non-interference with property to its fullest extent, because all property must be held subject more or less to the convenience of those who did not hold it. It might be perfectly just to take property from the holders of it under certain conditions. In the first place, however, it must be taken for the benefit of the general community. Secondly, they must see that the person from whom it was taken received full compensation. Thirdly, care must be taken that the community, and not a private individual, obtained the advantage. When his hon. Friend showed that much property was occupied in a manner so injurious to the working classes, he did much to prove his case that the enfranchisement of the property would be beneficial to the community. But by what means did his hon. Friend propose to accomplish the ends he had in view? It was scarcely a fair argument in support of the Bill for his hon. Friend to say—"I ask the Attorney General not to criticize my Bill at all. I ask him to sympathize with the object I have in view." This might be all very well for his hon. Friend; but those whose duty it was to see that the legislation which was carried into effect was wise and beneficial must necessarily look at the means proposed by any Bill which was introduced into that House. When his hon. Friend the Member for Knaresborough (Mr. T. Collins) said—"I am a supporter of this Bill, which I admit is wholly unworkable," that was a kind of support with which those who bore a larger share of responsibility could hardly sympathize. He agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for Knaresborough that the Bill was entirely unworkable; and he wished to point out how far its unworkable character extended. He would call the attention of the author of the Bill to the



manner in which he had drawn the Bill, because he had not shown the courage of his own opinions in this matter. What was the chief evil that was sought to be removed? It was generally admitted that a system of leases for lives was a very objectionable state of things. The uncertainty of such a system aggravated the evils of long leases. They ought to get rid of the system of leases for life. If it was right to go as far as they did, ought they not to go still further, and to say that leases for life should no longer exist? It was gravely suggested to the House that the last holder, who might have bought the fag-end of a lease, and who might have held it for only a week, should be entitled to say to the freeholder—"Because I hold the fag-end of the lease I insist upon your selling me the freehold, whether you like it or not." Then, as soon as he got the freehold he would be enabled to grant a lease for lives—the very evil which his hon. Friend wished to remedy.

MR. R. T. REID: What I have done in this Bill has been legally to attach to all leases for lives the incident that they may be renewed at their termination.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR HENRY JAMES) said, he hoped he was not unduly confident of his own opinion; but now he was certain that he was right. His hon. Friend seemed to think that the renewal of a lease for lives would be prevented, because the lessor would know that at the termination of the lease there would be a confiscation of his property. But why should his hon. Friend do indirectly that which he had not the courage to do directly? He now turned to the proposition in the Bill in relation to leases for long terms. Of course, he heartily sympathized with the object of his hon. Friend to get better dwellings for the working classes; but they must deal with each subject as it arose, and not confuse separate and distinct ideas. This Bill affected not only small houses, but houses of every class and description; and they had no right to do injustice to one class in order to benefit another. He was anxious to support the proposition that, in the first place, full compensation must be given; but full compensation would not be granted under this Bill to any landlord. Practically, when dealing with urban property they had an estate of five or ten

acres, with a number of houses built thereon. Now, what was his hon. Friend's proposal? Not that a person might come in and take the reversion of the whole of that property; but that any one person holding a portion of it might take that portion and leave the rest; so that, while the landlord received compensation for the reversion of one house, he had his property cut in two, and its value thereby deteriorated to a considerable extent. Let them apply this principle to a property like Belgrave Square.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I thought it would come to that.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR HENRY JAMES) said, he was looking at the first bud of Democratic Toryism. He was speaking, however, of the measure, and not of the individual who proposed it; and if measures of that character received the support of the noble Lord, hon. Gentlemen opposite would have to consider carefully what their new Leaders would do. But he was appealing now rather to the old than to the new Conservatism. Let them take the case of Belgrave Square, with leases which had 20 years to run. Under this Bill a leaseholder might come in and say—"I am going to enfranchise," and the property would pass away from the landlord at the end of 20 years. Then the leaseholder would probably sell it at the Auction Mart, totally unrestrained by any covenant; and therefore, not only the landlord, but also every person living on the estate, might be annoyed at finding that house in the middle of property converted into an hotel or perhaps a tallow-chandler's factory. In this way the whole of the surrounding property would be deteriorated. This Bill dealt with the compensation which was to be given to the reversioner in estates of 50 or 60 years; but experienced valuers stated that the compensation for a reversion beyond 40 years was practically *nil*, and that would be the amount which the County Court Judge would be bound to give under the provisions of this measure. But was that the real value of the property of the landlord? ["Hear, hear!"] Well, but would the community get the advantage of this reversion? In his opinion it would be the land-jobber who would get the advantage of it. He would pay a very small sum for the reversion, and, having got it into his hands, he might do a great



many things. He might go to the owner of the freehold and say—"I am in the middle of your estate, and you must buy me out on my own terms," or he might, by carrying on an objectionable trade, reduce the property to a very small value, and then he could do what he thought proper. The result would be that, in the great majority of cases, they would be putting into the hands of the speculator and clever man the power compulsorily to introduce himself into an estate without the slightest practical good being done in relation to the object which his hon. Friend had in view. The Bill again perpetuated the existence of leasehold where there were 20 years to run. If the promoters of the Bill wanted to abolish the building of paper houses they would have to try some other plan, as the houses would be built under this Bill for 19 years and 364 days. [Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: You could not get a builder to do that.] If the hon. Member for Stoke had asked the House to prevent in the future the existence of these long leases he would have had more support. All that was now sought to be done was to deal, not with future, but with existing leases, on terms grossly unjust to the persons who had to suffer, and only of benefit to the land-jobbers. His chief objection was not to the principle of the Bill, but to the fact that it did not deal sufficiently with the root of the evil. While everyone who had heard his hon. Friend must sympathize with the object which he had in view, he could scarcely expect that an unworkable Bill should receive the sanction of Her Majesty's Government.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, when he observed that the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite the Attorney General, in the course of his speech, mentioned Belgrave Square, he (Lord Randolph Churchill) said he thought it would come to that. The House would perceive very clearly that they had been treated to the views of the owner of Belgrave Square. ["Oh, oh!"] That was the view which the Attorney General had taken up that day. The hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken as being the Representative of the great Whig Dukes who covered London with their bloated estates. He felt sure that hon. Members on that side of the House must have been gratified with the eloquent defence of property which

they had just heard from the hon. and learned Gentleman. Those who remembered the part which the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Government took in the Session of 1881, on the question of Irish land, and how, during those discussions, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General and the Solicitor General were constantly at his elbow, suggesting to him new forms of depredation on property, must have been astonished at the squeamishness of the hon. and learned Gentleman with respect to the present little trifling matter of the enfranchisement of leaseholders. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) would not go into a defence of the Bill now before the House, because it was unnecessary, seeing that it had been done with immense ability by the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) and the hon. and learned Member for Hereford (Mr. R. T. Reid). But he quite agreed with what had fallen from the hon. and learned Attorney General in his criticism of the structure of the Bill of the hon. Member for Stoke; but that was only a proof of what they, on that side of the House, often had occasion to complain of—namely, that Radical Members were extremely clever in theory, but very stupid in practice. If he might venture on a word of advice to the hon. Member for Stoke and his Radical Friends, he would advise them, when they had any great, or even any small, land reform on hand, which they wished to present in a favourable light to the House of Commons, to come to him, or to some other Member of the Tory Party, in order that their views might, if possible, be put into a practical and a workable form. If the House had, by any chance, looked at the Bill he (Lord Randolph Churchill) had put down on that day's Paper, they would perceive that all the criticisms which the hon. and learned Attorney General had bestowed on the Bill of the hon. Member for Stoke would have fallen off completely blunted from the measure which he had proposed to submit to the consideration of the House. There was not a single objection which had been advanced by the hon. and learned Gentleman that could, in any way, refer to it. With respect to the point of leases for lives, no doubt the hon. and learned Attorney General hit a serious blot in the Bill of the hon. Member for Stoke; but that difficult question was untouched

by the Bill which he (Lord Randolph Churchill) had drawn up. His own idea as to leases for lives was this—supposing that there was a lease for three lives, the value and length of it could be calculated by any actuary; and then, if it turned out to be a period of over 21 years, it could be dealt with under the provisions which provided for the enfranchisement of leases of over 21 years. He thought that the method proposed by the hon. Member for Stoke was an unfortunate one. The House would see that there was an immense difference between rural and urban landlords. Urban landlords had acquired, more by chance than by anything else, property with a value attaching to it, and a power attaching to it, which never could have been contemplated by the State in framing former laws in regard to property. Let them consider the power which a great landlord could exercise in London, or Manchester, or Birmingham. He could, in those large towns, act as a complete obstructionist of all public improvements or progress. He could exercise the most despotic power over every individual who resided on his property. Nobody residing on his property could alter his house, or improve, or add to, his house without the consent of the owner of the property; and when the alterations and additions were made, with the consent of the owner, they reverted to the owner at the expiration of the lease. Would anybody tell him why an urban landlord should have privileges conferred upon him, and a power which they utterly declined to confer on a rural landlord? There was no real freedom of contract at all in those parts of towns where there were great accumulations of land. For instance, take Belgrave Square. It might, perhaps, be a great advantage to an individual to reside in Belgrave Square, or the neighbourhood. But the whole of that property was owned by one man, and where was freedom of contract? No matter how unjust that man's desires might be, people must abide by anything that he laid down, and no one could live there except on the owner's conditions. Then, with reference to the town of Devonport, which had been alluded to in the course of the debate, as things were at present that town might be owned by any one landlord, who, regardless of public opinion,

could absolutely turn out the population if they refused to accede to his terms. Was it ever contemplated by the State, he asked, that such powers should ever be vested in any one man? Was it at all unreasonable that Parliament should be asked to limit the rights of owners of urban property? The object of the Bill of the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), and of the Bill which he (Lord Randolph Churchill) had introduced, was one which he was sure ought to commend itself to hon. Members on the Conservative Benches, for the simple reason that it aimed at the multiplication of freeholds. There was nothing, he believed, which acted as such a powerful stimulus to Socialism and popular discontent, or favoured conditions that were likely to bring about revolution, more than enormous accumulations of land in single hands, either in the country, or in towns, but more especially in towns. Something had been done by Parliament to stop this accumulation in the country; and Lord Cairns's Settled Estates Act would, in the course of a few years, break up many estates in rural districts, for that Act was the effort Parliament made to break up the accumulations of land in the country. Why, then, should not Parliament make laws for the purpose of breaking up accumulations of land in towns, where such accumulations were 50 times more objectionable? It had been calculated that if the principle of the Bill became law, upwards of 2,000,000 of freeholders would be created and enfranchised in a short time. The Prime Minister was even now asking Parliament to add 2,000,000 of voters to the electoral roll; and he (Lord Randolph Churchill) would ask hon. Gentlemen on the Conservative side of the House, would it not be better that that number of electors should be freeholders, than that they should be men liable to be turned out of their houses and subjected to every kind of injustice and extortion? Who was the more likely to be a contented and patriotic citizen—the man who was a freeholder, and who was safe in his property, or the man who was at the mercy of a colossal landowner? It was utterly against all public interest not to take some decided action with respect to these large landed properties in towns. The breaking up of large accumulations of land in towns must be undertaken by

one side of the House or the other before long. Without doubt, the State had the right to set its face against particular tenures of land if it held that they were mischievous, and disadvantageous to the public at large; it had done so before, and it would do so again. No doubt, leases for lives had been most mischievous in their operation; and the sooner some Member of the Party opposite brought in a Bill to abolish them the better. Leases for 99 years caused half the misery of the present day, and had a good deal to do with the overcrowding that was being inquired into by the Royal Commission. Building leases for 99 years must be put an end to; and if the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General would show a better way than that proposed by the Bill, or by the one he had himself introduced, he, for one, would be glad to support the hon. and learned Gentleman. He (Lord Randolph Churchill), himself, was not, and he thought the hon. Member for Stoke need not, be in the least discouraged by the reception the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had given to his Bill. They knew the process of conversion that occupants of Front Ministerial Benches underwent at, or near, a General Election. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General and his Colleagues would find that throughout the country, and in the large towns especially, there was a great and growing feeling in favour of the Bill. The hon. and learned Gentleman, in consequence, would very likely be asked, by the constituency whom he might honour with his candidature, to pledge himself in favour of the Bill; and in that case he (Lord Randolph Churchill) was perfectly convinced that, when the hon. and learned Gentleman went down to the constituency he intended to favour by representing, he would, if asked on the point, take a different view from that he had just expressed. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) was perfectly certain that the Bill would become law in a very few years. He was not at all alarmed at having crashed against the Pliocene and Miocene form of antediluvian Toryism, the traces of which were, no doubt, occasionally still to be found by the antiquarian or the archaeologist, but which did not, and need not, in the least alarm any practical politician. The hon. and

learned Gentleman the Attorney General made his usual sneer at what he called Democratic Toryism, though he (Lord Randolph Churchill) did not know what it had to do with the question; but if Bills like these were what Democratic Toryism produced, hon. Members on this side need not be alarmed. The Bill which was recently produced by the Corporation of London dealt not only with landed, but with funded property; and he was perfectly certain that, unless the Tory Party showed a proper desire, a willingness, and a capability of dealing with great social questions like the one under notice on grounds and in a manner which were acceptable to the popular mind, then it would be a long time before they took their rightful place on the opposite side of the House.

MR. CARBUTT, in supporting the Bill, said, that, if there had been leases for 999 years, nothing would have been heard of it. He, therefore, regretted the opposition shown towards it by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, because he felt that, before long, the enfranchisement of leaseholds was inevitable. Much more solid and comfortable houses were built on freehold than on leasehold land. That the ownership of freehold houses promoted the stability of the State was shown by the reception of Mr. George in Leeds, where he did not make a single convert. But where houses had been built on short leases—as at Newport, in Monmouthshire—the ideas of Mr. George were much more likely to find favour. The high rents that builders exacted for houses on short leases were ruinous to local trade. The high rents were submitted to by people who must live in Newport; but they protected themselves as well as they could by obtaining the necessaries of life from a distance.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he wished to remind the House that his name was on the back of another Bill, the principle of which was the same as the one under notice. He therefore supported the second reading, and he could not help thinking that if the Bill were to come into operation some means would be found for assessing that value, especially if the purchase of the house was settled under the provisions of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General had stated that one of the



reasons why he opposed the Bill was because it would prevent a landlord, by the enforced sale of one house, sweeping away an entire block of houses. That was perfectly true; but he would remind the hon. and learned Gentleman that landlords caused much inconvenience to tenants by wishing to sweep away entire blocks of houses. If, for instance, a man and his family had created a large business at the old Chelsea Bun House, which business could not exist in any other part of London, and the landlord wished to improve his property by pulling that house down, the tradesman who had been there for years would practically be deprived of earning his living. England was, perhaps, the only country in Europe where leases for 99 years existed; they were unknown in two of the handsomest capital cities of Europe, Paris and Berlin; and he could not see with what object landlords, at the present moment, desired to continue the system. As the case now stood, the 99 years' lease was productive of the very worst class of building that could exist in any country. In France, Italy, and other countries, they might see streets of stone-built houses which were intended to endure, if possible, for ever; but in this country land was let to "scamping" builders, who put up houses merely to sell, and the consequence was the tenants had to suffer. He could not see any hardship on the ground landlords which would ensue on the passage, if not of the Bill now before the House, of that of his noble Friend (Lord Randolph Churchill). The inconvenience of the present system was great. Let them look at Covent Garden—he did not say anything against the present owner, who he believed was a good landlord—which had become a nuisance and a disgrace to the neighbourhood in which it was situate. The Duke of Bedford had offered that property to the Corporation of the City of London and the Metropolitan Board of Works; but those Bodies had declined to purchase it. Who were the persons to make the improvements but those who lived in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden? The tenants, however, taking their present tenure into consideration, could not be expected to spend money on permanent improvements, as there was a difference of interest which prevented them being properly assessed. If the people were

freeholders, the difficulty in the way of carrying out a great local improvement would be removed. These were some of the reasons which had induced him to support, if not the Bill now before the House, at any rate the principle on which it was founded.

MR. WADDY said, it had been suggested by the opponents of the measure that if the Bill came into operation it would involve the confiscation of property. He did not view the matter in that light, and thought that the word "confiscation" had been used on the wrong side of the question. One of the reasons which induced him to support the Bill was, because the present state of things involved confiscation of the most flagrant character. Take, for example, the Corporation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. What happened with regard to them? They had the command of a considerable amount of money, and they went into the market, and purchased a large plot of land in the neighbourhood where he (Mr. Waddy) resided. Directly they had done that they became possessed of a great space of land upon which men must live. To say that the land might be taken or left by persons who wished to build was nonsense. People must live there because they must be near to London. The fact was, there was no freedom of contract in the matter. Estates such as the one he had mentioned were split up. A certain portion was allotted to a man who chose to take it on a lease of, say, 99 years. When that was done, did the leaseholder obtain that land upon which he was going to build his house at any reduced rate in consideration of the house that was to be erected? Not a bit of it. The full and extreme value of that land—the rack-rental of it—was the rate that was fixed, and upon which the leaseholder was permitted to have the land; and upon these terms he was forced to build his house, the value of which was altogether out of proportion to the value of the land. If he took a piece of land, the freehold of which was valued at £200, with all its roads made, and if he was called upon to build upon that land a house worth £5,000, was there any reason in the world, and was it possible to maintain, that at the end of a certain limited period that house and all its surroundings was to go to the landlord with-

out the slightest consideration for it, notwithstanding the fact that the full rent had been paid all the time? That, he thought, was confiscation of the grossest character. One instance of such confiscation had come within his own knowledge. A piece of land was let for a considerable number of years to people who had collected the money for the purpose of building a Dissenting place of worship. On the death of the landowner he was succeeded by his son, who had strong views on the subject of religion, and who was opposed to Dissent. On the expiration of the lease he refused to renew it, although the full rent was offered for the premises just as it would be if the building had been then newly erected, the consequence being that the law was thus made an engine of religious opinion, and the place was taken for a chapel of ease of another denomination. That was a grievance of a very serious character. It was because this sort of confiscation could and did take place that he ventured to think that the observation made by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), that there was no distinction between urban and agricultural improvements, was perfectly well-founded. They had granted the principle in regard to agricultural improvements, and they must go on with it in regard to other improvements as well. It was not likely that the Bill would be passed in the present Session, and they might succeed, in a Division, in overwhelming any arguments that might be brought forward by its supporters in its favour; but before very long, as sure as they were born, they would see an alteration in this respect, and it would be an impossibility for those great estates to be piled together that they had seen in London. He was not particular as to the absolute requirements of the Bill; but the principle at its bottom was one they must fight for and maintain. They must establish some principle, either from the Government Bench or from private Benches—he did not mind which—by means of which there should be no confiscation of that which was the substantial value of the land where the property had been built. He did not say that the Bill was the best means of carrying out the principle; but he should vote for it as supporting the principle with which it dealt.

MR. TYSSSEN AMHERST said, that during that discussion a good deal had been mentioned about large estates; but they had not heard so much of small estates. This Bill would affect hundreds, or rather thousands, of owners of freehold property let on leases, and would only affect a few whose property was very large. With regard to the object of the Bill, there could be no doubt that it had been brought forward with good intentions for the benefit of the working classes; but it was far too sweeping a measure. He was glad to see that there was to be a Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes, and that the name of the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) was upon it. It was possible that they might find out that there had been many defects in the management of large estates, and perhaps where they were least expected. He thought that neither the hon. Member for Stoke, nor any of those who had supported the Bill, had shown by their arguments that there was a necessity for such a measure as this. No doubt, before the Royal Commission, landowners would be made to see themselves as others saw them, though he considered it was very desirable that house property should be held largely in one hand in order that improvements might be effected. Speaking of his own experience of houses of a small class at the expiration of a long lease erected by the lessee, there being no restrictive covenants in the North-East of London, he said he divided the houses into three classes—those that fell down themselves, those that the police ordered to be pulled down, and those that he pulled down himself; and he thought it right to make a sacrifice, by rebuilding those houses more substantially than they had been previously built for the same class of occupants. In introducing the Bill, the hon. Member for Stoke had said that the freeholder had no right to the increased value of his land at the expiration of a long lease. He would not find many Members of that House prepared to go with him in that. One great difficulty which the Royal Commission would probably find out was the increase of large towns, which had grown more rapidly of late. Houses of the character sometimes described as “cobweb” might have been built when the land was only let for farm or dairy

purposes, and when there were no restrictions as to their character. It would be better, perhaps, if the landlord could buy up the remainder of the lease, so as to reconstruct them. He considered the Bill was far too sweeping in its character, and that it went far beyond the present state of the dwellings in the large towns; and he felt sure that the measure would not meet with any large response in the House. If there were evils in the present system, by all means let them be exposed and remedied; but that should not be done by the passing of a measure which would effectually destroy all stability in property. He, therefore, hoped that the House would refuse it a second reading.

Mr. BROADHURST said, he was greatly relieved to find that so little could be said against the proposals contained in the Bill as had been urged by such a high authority on the subject as the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General. They had heard the worst that could be said against it, and there was no objection to it that could not be easily and justly overcome. He would appeal to the House to come to a decision on the question, and give an expression of their opinions in the Division Lobby.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD said, that the hon. Member who brought forward the Bill (Mr. Broadhurst) appeared to be really placing additional restrictions on the free exercise and development of property and capital, which was the best security for national prosperity. Much of the speech of the hon. Member for Stoke contained only what might be, with equal reason, stated of many other matters, for it was to the effect that there were many social evils which ought to be removed. The point upon which he (Sir Hardinge Giffard) could not agree with the hon. Gentleman was, that the Bill showed any tendency to remove the evils complained of. He could not see that its provisions would at all tend in the direction of improving the dwellings of the poor in towns. The Bill placed restrictions on the free development of property and capital; and if the hon. Member opposite succeeded in getting his Bill read a second time, he would do the very thing he desired to avoid. He would interfere with that which, in due course, might find

its own remedy; but certainly not by restrictions of the kind proposed, for the Bill would interfere with that freedom of action which would be the best means of remedying the state of affairs to which he referred. The hon. Member seemed to hold that it would be for the advantage of the State that, under certain circumstances, certain owners of property in land should not be allowed to use their property in their own way, but should be compelled to sell it for the accommodation of particular persons, although only for private purposes; and that, also, was the argument of the hon. and learned Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Waddy). It was argued that there were persons who must live near their work; and, therefore, they ought to have the freehold. That might be the case, but that was not in the present Bill. It might be the fact that persons desiring to continue to worship where they had been in the habit of doing so would be turned out by a particular lease; but it did not follow that on that account the whole power of leasing property should be altered. Those persons might be permitted—in order that a sacred edifice might not afterwards be robbed of its character—to purchase in perpetuity for such a purpose. That might be quite right; but what he wished to point out was that that was not the meaning of the Bill. He must confess that he felt some little alarm at the remarks of his noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), who seemed disposed to argue in this spirit—“Well, you, the owners of capital and of money, have thought proper to advance legislation in the direction of punishing agricultural landlords; we will take care that the same thing is applied to you, and that the owners of property in large towns shall be served in the same way.” He (Sir Hardinge Giffard) failed to see that there was any such necessity, and thought it was hardly a good ground for legislation. The true objection to the Bill was that it affected to put into the hands of the State a matter in which everybody ought to be open to do as he pleased, and which ought to be the subject of private enterprise and control. The hon. Member for Stoke had talked of people being enabled to purchase their own houses; but there were two difficulties in the way of that. The first of them had reference to leases;



but the other, and much more formidable difficulty, was that of money. Where was the money to come from? The persons who could purchase their own houses were a very limited class. He (Sir Hardinge Giffard) supposed that the next proposal would be that if persons could not find the money the State should supply it. ["No, no!"] He knew that the hon. Member did not say that, because he had repudiated Mr. George and all his works; but that was exactly one of those Bills which advanced the small end of the wedge of dealing with other people's property. As the hon. Member for Knaresborough (Mr. T. Collins) had suggested, if they got in the small end of the wedge, and Parliament adopted the principle, the rest would follow. Now, that was why he (Sir Hardinge Giffard) opposed that Bill. Its principle he would not call Communistic; but it dealt with other people's property in a very loose way, and when the thin end of the wedge had been inserted, the State would by-and-bye be asked to go further, and in the direction of setting up a pauper proprietary in the neighbourhood of large towns. That seemed to him to be a somewhat dangerous principle; and thinking that it was only the commencement of the system of legislation which Mr. George advocated, although its supporters repudiated that gentleman's doctrines, he must vote against the second reading of the Bill.

MR. WALTER said, he wished to say a few words founded on his own personal experience in that matter. Having a lease of a house under a large landholder in London, he had as much interest as anybody could have in wishing to become the freeholder of that house; but he thought that the Bill which the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) had introduced would only enable him to commit an act of great injustice and wrong towards his landlord. Thirty-six years ago he purchased the fag-end of a lease of a house in a street in the West End of London; and when the expiration of the term was approaching, it became his business to consider whether he should remain, or should go elsewhere. The ground-rent was very moderate, and the taxes were also very moderate. He, however, preferred the locality, and rebuilt the house. His ground-rent was increased, and his taxes also, unfor-

tunately, were increased; but as for his not being a free agent in the matter, and as to there not being perfect freedom of contract between himself and his ground landlord, such an idea was perfect nonsense and a mere delusion. And as to the system of leases leading only to the building of rubbishy houses which would only last 50 years, he repudiated the notion. His house would be as good 200 years hence as it was now. But there was one point in that Bill which it was of great importance to mention, and which had not yet been noticed by any hon. Member. The Bill was so comprehensive that it applied not only to the case of a ground landlord, but to all landlords who had a residuary future interest which would accrue to them after the term of the lease had expired. Therefore, supposing any person in London had built on any freehold property, and let it on a lease for more than 21 years, the tenant, according to the provisions of that Bill, would be entitled to say to the landlord—"I prefer to stay where I am; we will have your interest assessed; I will remain; you take your money and go about your business." The Bill would enable the tenant to do that. If they once admitted that principle where were they to stop? Why was 21 years to be the time? Why not 10 years? He might build a house on his freehold property and let it for seven, 14, or 21 years; and according to the principle of the Bill—the object of which was to enable a greater number of persons to live in their own houses—that tenant would have a perfect right to say to him—"I am your tenant; I have got a lease of your house; it is desirable in the interest of the State that the tenant should be the freeholder, and not the leaseholder; I demand to change places with you; the value of your interest is so much; take your money and be off." He thought that the House should hesitate long before it gave a second reading to such a Bill; and he, for one, could not consent to its principle, which he looked upon as being very objectionable.

COLONEL DAWNAY said, he had listened to the speeches that had been delivered from both sides of the House; and, as far as he had been able to judge, the only Conservative speech that had been delivered was that of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney Gene-

ral. As a humble Member of that Party, he rose principally for the purpose of protesting against and repudiating the monstrous doctrines which had been set forth by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), and the attacks he had made upon the owners of large estates in towns. He was confident if they once began to confiscate the estates of landowners, they would go on and confiscate the best part of the country; and he did not see what was to prevent an impoverished squire, who had built a couple of cottages for his labourers, having them taken away from him and made freeholds, if the policy of the noble Lord became law. If that was to be the policy of the Tory Democratic Party, he should say that the policy of the Tory Democratic Party was rank Socialism—a policy of plunder and confiscation. He declined to follow a policy which was simply that of Henry George and rank plunder.

MR. WARTON, who rose amid cries of "Divide!" said, he earnestly protested against the idea that certain hon. Members had the power of saying when the House should divide upon a Bill. The only portion of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock's (Lord Randolph Churchill's) speech with which he agreed was his comment upon the conduct of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General in reference to the Irish Land Bill. He (Mr. Warton) was glad, however, to see that the hon. and learned Gentleman was now penitent. He thought his speech was a convincing answer to the proposition contained in the Bill before the House; and he was glad to find that the opinion he had long formed as regarded the hon. and learned Gentleman was quite right, that at heart he was a true Conservative, and that he only took up the principles of confiscation when the Prime Minister wished him to do so. He felt bound to oppose the Bill, which he looked upon as being, if possible, a stronger measure of confiscation than even the Irish Land Act.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 104; Noes 168: Majority 64.

#### AYES.

|                |                        |
|----------------|------------------------|
| Anderson, G.   | Arnold, A.             |
| Armitage, B.   | Barclay, J. W.         |
| Armitstead, G. | Baxter, rt. hon. W. E. |

Colonel Dawney

|                        |                          |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Beaumont, W. B.        | Mayne, T.                |
| Biggar, J. G.          | Monk, C. J.              |
| Bolton, J. C.          | Moore, A.                |
| Borlase, W. C.         | Morley, A.               |
| Brogden, A.            | O'Brien, W.              |
| Buchanan, T. R.        | O'Connor, T. P.          |
| Buxton, F. W.          | O'Gorman Mahon, Col.     |
| Buxton, S. C.          | The                      |
| Caine, W. S.           | Otway, rt. hn. Sir A. J. |
| Cameron, C.            | Palmer, C. M.            |
| Campbell, Sir G.       | Palmer, G.               |
| Carbutt, E. H.         | Palmer, J. H.            |
| Chambers, Sir T.       | Parker, C. S.            |
| Churchill, Lord R.     | Parnell, C. S.           |
| Clarke, J. C.          | Potter, T. B.            |
| Collings, J.           | Price, Captain G. E.     |
| Collins, T.            | Puleston, J. H.          |
| Corbet, W. J.          | Pulley, J.               |
| Cowen, J.              | Rathbone, W.             |
| Dodds, J.              | Rendel, S.               |
| Edwards, P.            | Richard, H.              |
| Ewing, A. O.           | Roberts, J.              |
| Fairbairn, Sir A.      | Robertson, H.            |
| Farquharson, Dr. R.    | Roe, T.                  |
| Ferguson, R.           | Rogers, J. E. T.         |
| Forster, Sir C.        | Ross, C. C.              |
| Fry, T.                | Rylands, P.              |
| Gorst, J. E.           | Sexton, T.               |
| Gray, E. D.            | Shaw, T.                 |
| Hastings, G. W.        | Sheridan, H. B.          |
| Healy, T. M.           | Simon, Serjeant J.       |
| Henderson, F.          | Smith, S.                |
| Hill, A. S.            | Stevenson, J. C.         |
| Holden, I.             | Summers, W.              |
| James, C.              | Thompson, T. C.          |
| Jenkins, Sir J. J.     | Tillett, J. H.           |
| Kenny, M. J.           | Vivian, Sir H. H.        |
| Kinnear, J.            | Vivian, A. P.            |
| Labouchere, H.         | Waddy, S. D.             |
| Laing, S.              | Waugh, E.                |
| Leake, R.              | Webster, J.              |
| Lechmere, Sir E. A. H. | Williams, S. C. E.       |
| Lloyd, M.              | Williamson, S.           |
| M'Arthur, Sir W.       | Willyams, E. W. B.       |
| M'Arthur, A.           | Wilson, Sir M.           |
| M'Carthy, J.           | Wolff, Sir H. D.         |
| Mac Iver, D.           | Wortley, C. B. S.        |
| Mackintosh, C. F.      |                          |
| Mappin, F. T.          |                          |
| Mason, H.              |                          |
| Matheson, Sir A.       |                          |
| Maxwell-Heron, J.      |                          |

#### TELLERS.

Broadhurst, H.  
Reid, R. T.

#### NOES.

|                                                    |                             |
|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Ainsworth, D.                                      | Birkbeck, E.                |
| Alexander, Major-Gen.                              | Blackburne, Col. J. I.      |
| Amherst, W. A. T.                                  | Boord, T. W.                |
| Archdale, W. H.                                    | Brinton, J.                 |
| Asher, A.                                          | Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F. |
| Balfour, Sir G.                                    | Bruce, hon. R. P.           |
| Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.                            | Bulwer, J. R.               |
| Balfour, A. J.                                     | Buxton, Sir R. J.           |
| Baring, Viscount                                   | Cameron, D.                 |
| Barnes, A.                                         | Cartwright, W. C.           |
| Barran, J.                                         | Cavendish, Lord E.          |
| Barttelot, Sir W. B.                               | Christie, W. L.             |
| Bateson, Sir T.                                    | Clarke, E.                  |
| Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-Bective, Earl of | Clive, Col. hon. G. W.      |
| Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.                            | Colebrooke, Sir T. E.       |
| Biddulph, M.                                       | Compton, F.                 |
|                                                    | Coope, O. E.                |

Cotes, C. C.  
 Cowper, hon. H. F.  
 Craig, W. Y.  
 Creyke, R.  
 Crichton, Viscount  
 Cropper, J.  
 Cubitt, right hon. G.  
 Curzon, Major hon. M.  
 Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.  
 De Worms, Baron H.  
 Digby, Colonel hon. E.  
 Dixon-Hartland, F. D.  
 Douglas, A. Akers-  
 Duff, R. W.  
 Dundas, hon. J. C.  
 Eeroyd, W. F.  
 Egerton, hon. A. de T.  
 Egerton, hon. A. F.  
 Egerton, Admiral hon.  
 F.  
 Elliot, hon. A. R. D.  
 Elliot, G. W.  
 Elton, C. I.  
 Feilden, Lieut.-General  
 R. J.  
 Fitzwilliam, hn. C. W.  
 Folkestone, Viscount  
 Forester, C. T. W.  
 Foster, W. H.  
 Fowler, rt. hon. R. N.  
 Fremantle, hon. T. F.  
 Gardner, R. Richardson-  
 Garnier, J. C.  
 Gibson, right hon. E.  
 Giffard, Sir H. S.  
 Gladstone, W. H.  
 Glyn, hon. S. C.  
 Goldney, Sir G.  
 Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.  
 Gower, hon. E. F. L.  
 Grant, Sir G. M.  
 Grant, A.  
 Grantham, W.  
 Grosvenor, right hon.  
 Lord R.  
 Gurdon, R. T.  
 Hamilton, I. T.  
 Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W.  
 G. V. V.  
 Hayter, Sir A. D.  
 Heueage, E.  
 Herbert, hon. S.  
 Herschell, Sir F.  
 Hicks, E.  
 Hill, T. R.  
 Holland, Sir H. T.  
 Holland, S.  
 Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.  
 Hope, right hon. A. J.  
 B. B.  
 Hopwood, C. H.  
 Jackson, W. L.  
 James, Sir H.  
 Kennaway, Sir J. H.  
 Kensington, rt. hn. Lord  
 Kingscote, Col. R. N. F.  
 Knightley, Sir R.  
 Lawrance, J. C.  
 Legh, W. J.  
 Leighton, Sir B.  
 Leighton, S.  
 Levett, T. J.  
 Lewis, C. E.

Lewisham, Viscount  
 Lopes, Sir M.  
 Lowther, rt. hon. J.  
 Lowther, J. W.  
 McGarel-Hogg, Sir J.  
 M'Lagan, P.  
 Makins, Colonel W. T.  
 Manners, rt. hon. Lord  
 J. J. R.  
 Master, T. W. C.  
 Mills, Sir C. H.  
 Monckton, F.  
 Moreton, Lord  
 Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.  
 Morgan, hon. F.  
 Moss, R.  
 Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir  
 J. R.  
 Muntz, P. H.  
 Newdegate, C. N.  
 Nicholson, W. N.  
 Noel, E.  
 Northcote, rt. hon. Sir  
 S. H.  
 Northcote, H. S.  
 Paget, R. H.  
 Paget, T. T.  
 Pease, A.  
 Percy, rt. hon. Earl  
 Percy, Lord A.  
 Phipps, C. N. P.  
 Ramsay, J.  
 Ramsden, Sir J.  
 Rankin, J.  
 Read, C. S.  
 Rendlesham, Lord  
 Ritchie, C. T.  
 Rolls, J. A.  
 Ross, A. H.  
 Round, J.  
 Russell, Lord A.  
 Salt, T.  
 Scott, Lord H.  
 Scott, M. D.  
 Seely, C. (Lincoln)  
 Seely, C. (Nottingham)  
 Severne, J. E.  
 Smith, rt. hon. W. H.  
 Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F.  
 Stanley, E. J.  
 Sykes, C.  
 Talbot, C. R. M.  
 Talbot, J. G.  
 Tavistock, Marquess of  
 Thornhill, T.  
 Thynne, Lord H. F.  
 Tollemache, H. J.  
 Tomlinson, W. E. M.  
 Walrond, Col. W. H.  
 Walter, J.  
 Warton, C. N.  
 West, H. W.  
 Whitley, E.  
 Wiggin, H.  
 Wilson, C. H.  
 Wilson, I.  
 Winn, R.  
 Wodehouse, E. R.  
 Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.  
 Gregory, G. B.  
 Lynton, Viscount

Words added.

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to.

Second Reading put off for six months.

# CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)

BILL [Lords].—[BILL 120.]

(Mr. Dodson.)

SECOND READING. ADJOURNED DEBATE  
FURTHER ADJOURNED.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [18th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

MR. PARNELL said, he objected to the second reading being proceeded with at that hour (5.50).

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Can the Government say when they will proceed with it?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I cannot say. The Government were in the hope, after what passed yesterday, of having the Bill read a second time now.

Debate further adjourned till To-morrow.

## MOTIONS.

—o—

### COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT [STAMP DUTY].

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That it is expedient to authorise the payment of a Stamp Duty on any Copy of Memorandum of Enfranchisement, of the same amount as if it were a deed of conveyance, which may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session, for amending the Copyhold Acts, and promoting the Enfranchisement of Lands of Copyhold and Customary Tenure, and of Lands subject to Customary and other incidents and rights.

Resolution to be reported To-morrow.

### MERCHANT SHIPPING LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DAVID MAC IVER, Bill to amend the Law relating to Merchant Shipping, to Passengers, and to Seamen; to repeal certain Statutes; and to re-enact portions thereof, ordered to be brought in by Mr. DAVID MAC IVER and Sir EARDLEY WILMOT.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 140.]

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## MARINE INSURANCE BILL.

*Considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to Marine Insurance.

*Resolution reported*:—Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr. NORWOOD and Mr. EDWARD CLARKE.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 141.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 20th March, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—

Local Government Provisional Orders\* (33).

*Committee*—Medical Act Amendment (23-34).

*Committee*—*Report*—Habitual Criminals Act Amendment\* (28).

*Third Reading*—National Debt\* (30); Trustee Churches (Ireland)\* (32); Brokers (City of London)\* (24), and passed.

## MEDICAL ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

(The Lord President.)

(No. 23.) COMMITTEE.

Order of the Day for the House to be put into Committee read.

*Moved*, "That the House do now resolve itself into a Committee upon the said Bill."—(The Lord President.)

LORD BALFOUR said, the Scottish Universities entertained objections to the Bill; but, as their contentions had been so fully discussed last year, he did not propose to move the Amendment he had submitted then. At the same time, he thought it necessary to inform the Government that these Universities did not look with any more favour on the Bill this year than they had done last year. The provisions which were chiefly objected to were those which they believed would lower the general standard of medical education in Scotland—at least, in so far as they were affected. What he principally referred to was the provision which, if passed into law as it stood, would require all candidates for their degree to undergo a double examination. There was no doubt that double examination was a very long and expen-

sive affair; and if the possession of a Degree of Medicine from one of the Universities was not to qualify for admission to the register, and if they would have to undergo a qualifying examination, it was quite absurd to suppose that the minimum examination for registration would be in any way the equivalent of the examination for a University degree. The state of matters, therefore, would be this—that although men who desired to practice might have obtained a University degree, which was the highest proof of their qualification to do so, they would be debarred from practising unless they also underwent the qualifying examination that would admit them to the register. The Universities feared that the expense and trouble of the double examination would deter a great number from taking University degrees after the passing of the Bill who now took them; and that, therefore, instead of making the general standard of practitioners higher in Scotland, the Bill would have a tendency to diminish the standard of attainments. Their Lordships, he thought, were not fully aware of the great expense and the time which were necessary for the present final examination in Medicine and Surgery. That examination frequently extended over five or six weeks, and it was impossible for any man to undergo it twice. If they could get the time, and pay the expense, it was very doubtful whether the unfortunate patients on whom they had to experiment would be able to stand the strain which was put upon them. At the present time, owing to the number of candidates for University degrees, the resources of the large Infirmary at Edinburgh were taxed to the utmost; and, if the examination was made double, he believed that it would be found unworkable in practice, as he believed it to be inexpedient in theory. As these points were fully debated and decided by their Lordships last year, he did not intend to propose any Amendments on the Bill in the direction he had indicated. Then there was another thing in connection with the constitution of the Board in Scotland. Last year the Universities were entitled to send eight and the Corporations three representatives; this year the representation of the Corporations had been increased to five. He did not think that, if the matter went no further, there would be any serious

opposition to the change on the part of the Scottish Universities; but with regard to outside opinion, he was not at all certain whether the particular method in which it was proposed to allocate the additional members among the different Corporations in Scotland was the most satisfactory that could be devised. That was a small matter of detail; but in regard to the Bill generally, he hoped it would not be said that, as no Amendment had been proposed, the Universities had departed from the views they had advanced on every previous occasion.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, there was great satisfaction in Scotland with the change that had been made in the Bill, especially in regard to the representation of the Universities and the Medical Boards respectively; "but, as to the allocation of the new members, there was great difference of opinion, the general objection being that undue preponderance was given to the interests of the Edinburgh School on the Medical Board. He was not prepared to offer any suggestion for obviating that complaint; but he hoped that the noble Lord opposite (the Lord President) would see his way to effect that object. He had no doubt, from former expressions of his noble Friend, that he had had various and innumerable suggestions and complaints as to that measure. There was, however, one thing which he would venture to urge most strongly upon him, and that was that the Government should press the Bill through this Session. It was a most important measure; and, if the Government were really in earnest, they would have no difficulty in passing a Bill on that subject of far more practical value than many measures which might be of a more heroic character.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he desired, in the Bill of this year, to do full justice to the two Scotch Medical Corporations, which he thought, under the Bill of last year, had but a scant amount of representation. He, therefore, now proposed to give them two additional representatives without upsetting the due balance between them and the Scotch Universities, which should always possess the majority on the Joint Medical Board. In that object he thought he had so far succeeded that there had been a general

acceptance of the proposal by the bodies interested, and he was glad that so far the Scotch Universities acquiesced in it. Now, however, arose a difficulty of another kind, as to the allocation of the two new members, to which the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) had referred. The noble Duke knew by experience how difficult was the navigation of a Bill like that, and that it had to be steered through a labyrinth of shoals and quicksands lying in all directions, among which were the jealousies and the vested interests, or fancied interests, of a large number of rival bodies. They had first to deal with the jealousy of the Universities among themselves, then with the jealousy of the different Corporations among themselves, and then with the jealousy of the Universities in each country collectively, as against the Medical Corporations collectively. Now came another difficulty—namely, the jealousy between Edinburgh and the Provincial centres; and that was a difficulty which arose against the proposal he had made. He was not wedded to that proposal, but quite ready to consider any more satisfactory means of attaining the object in view; but he was bound to say that it was not very easy to devise a better plan. No one would say that the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow was a first-class Medical Body; and, although the Government thought it entitled to representation, they considered it right to associate it with the Edinburgh College of Surgeons. With respect to the Bill itself, he was glad to hear what the noble Duke had said and his appeal to the Government, because he (Lord Carlingford) felt strongly that it was their duty to take every means in their power to obtain the passing of that measure into law before the end of this Session, and he should be deeply disappointed if that were not accomplished. He was, however, somewhat surprised to learn from the noble Lord opposite (Lord Balfour) that there was likely to be some opposition to the Bill on the part of the Scottish Universities. He did not think the Scottish Universities had any fair ground for opposition. The noble Lord, in fact, asked that they should be put on a footing of exceptional favour, and that, among all the Universities of the Three Kingdoms,

their degrees should alone be recognized as qualifying for registration. That, he thought, was too much to ask on behalf of the Scottish Universities, and they could not reasonably expect it to be conceded; but he was convinced that their interests would not be sacrificed or injured by the Bill.

*Motion agreed to.*

House in Committee accordingly.

Clauses 1 to 8, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Establishment of medical boards).

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL), in moving an Amendment, the object of which was to effect a change in the constitution of the Irish Medical Board, said, he proposed to put the Irish College of Physicians upon an equality with the Irish College of Surgeons by giving an additional member to the Board. In order to maintain the balance of representation between the Irish Universities and the Irish Medical Colleges an additional member would be elected by Trinity College, Dublin, and the Royal University conjointly.

*Amendment moved,*

In page 4, line 3, after ("Dublin") insert ("voting as a separate elective body"); line 4, after ("Ireland") insert ("voting as a separate elective body; one by the University of Dublin and by the Royal University of Ireland voting collectively"); and in line 5, leave out ("two") and insert ("three").—(*The Lord President.*)

THE EARL OF LIMERICK said, that although he did not intend to oppose the Amendment, he trusted the matter would not be considered as perfectly settled. He hoped the noble Lord opposite (the Lord President) would fix the Report stage for such a day as would enable the noble Earl the Chancellor of the University of Dublin (Earl Cairns), who was unable to be present that evening, to have an opportunity of being present and stating his objections to the Amendment.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he was bound to say that his information in regard to the University of Dublin on this point did not agree with that of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Limerick). Before he placed the Amendment on the Paper, he had an interview with several members of the Trinity College, Dublin,

*Lord Carlingford*

who expressed themselves as satisfied with the Amendment.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK said, he must be allowed to again express the hope that the matter might be discussed at another stage of the Bill, and at such a time when his noble Friend (Earl Cairns) would be present, because he knew there was some feeling existing in regard to this matter.

*Amendment agreed to.*

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 10 (Medical board to regulate examinations subject to control of Medical Council and Privy Council).

On the Motion of The LORD PRESIDENT, the following Amendment made:—In page 6, line 16, leave out ("in each part") and insert ("as between the several parts").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 11 to 17, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 18 (Course of medical education).

On the Motion of The LORD PRESIDENT, the following Amendments made:—In page 10, line 2, leave out ("prescribed"); and in line 3, leave out ("and such medical education shall comprise") and insert ("comprising").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clause 19 (Medical board to regulate course of medical education subject to control of Medical Council and Privy Council).

On the Motion of The LORD PRESIDENT, the following Amendments made:—In page 10, line 18, after the first ("The") insert ("required"); line 20, after ("The") insert ("required"); lines 20 and 21, leave out ("in this Act referred to as the prescribed course"); line 22, leave out ("In defining the prescribed") and insert ("with respect to the"); line 29, leave out ("prescribed"); and after line 35 insert as a separate paragraph:—

"Any scheme under this section shall be framed in such manner as to secure, so far as is practicable, as between the several parts of the United Kingdom, a substantial equality of standard as respects education and examinations."

Clause, as amended, *agreed to.*

Clauses 20 to 37, inclusive, *agreed to.*



Clause 38 (Appointment of officers by medical board).

On the Motion of The LORD PRESIDENT, the following Amendment made:—In page 23, line 9, leave out ("secretary"), and after ("and") insert—

("May also from time to time with the like assent and sanction appoint and remove a secretary and").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 39 (Appointment of officers by Medical Council).

On the Motion of The LORD PRESIDENT, the following Amendment made:—In page 23, line 17, leave out ("registrar, secretary"), and after ("treasurer") insert ("or treasurers"), and after the first ("and") insert—

("May also from time to time, with the like sanction, appoint and remove a registrar, secretary, and").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clauses 40 to 51, inclusive, *agreed to*.

Clause 52 (Time of nomination and election of Medical Council).

On the Motion of The LORD PRESIDENT, the following Amendment made:—In page 32, line 16, after the first ("the") insert ("member or").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Clause 53 (Schemes for examinations and course of medical education).

On the Motion of The LORD PRESIDENT, the following Amendment made:—In page 32, line 34, leave out ("for") and insert ("respecting").

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Remaining Clauses *agreed to*.

House resumed.

Report of Amendments to be received on *Monday* next; and Bill to be *printed* as amended. (No. 34.)

HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES  
—THE ROYAL COMMISSION—PRECEDENCE OF ROMAN CATHOLIC PRELATES:—CARDINAL-ARCHBISHOP MANNING.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government, with reference to the announcement which has been published in *The*

*London Gazette* of the 4th March instant, that—

"The Queen has been pleased to issue a Commission under Her Majesty's Royal Sign Manual," addressed to "Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor, Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, Baronet, President of the Local Government Board, Chairman; Our most dear Son Albert Edward Prince of Wales, Knight of Our most noble Order of the Garter, Field Marshal in Our Army; Our trusty and well-beloved the Most Reverend Cardinal Archbishop Henry Edward Manning, Doctor in Divinity; Our right trusty and entirely beloved *Cousin* and Councillor Robert Arthur Talbot Marquess of Salisbury, Knight of Our most noble Order of the Garter; Our right trusty and right well-beloved *Cousin* Adelbert Wellington Brownlow Earl Brownlow; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Charles Robert Baron Carrington, Captain of Our Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor George Joachim Goschen; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Sir Richard Assheton Cross, Knight Grand Cross of Our most honourable Order of the Bath; the Right Reverend Father in God William Walsham Bishop Suffragan of Bedford; Our trusty and well-beloved Edward Lyulph Stanley, Esquire, commonly called the Honourable Edward Lyulph Stanley; Our trusty and well-beloved William Torrens McCullagh Torrens, Esquire, Bachelor of Laws; Our trusty and well-beloved Henry Broadhurst, Esquire; Our trusty and well-beloved Jesse Collings, Esquire; Our trusty and well-beloved George Godwin, Esquire, Fellow of the Royal Society; and Our trusty and well-beloved Samuel Morley, Esquire;"

and nominating, constituting, and appointing the said parties, in the above-named order of precedence, to be Her Majesty's Royal Commissioners "to enquire into the housing of the working classes;" Whether their attention has been directed to the statement in *The Tablet*, the leading Roman Catholic newspaper, of the 8th March instant, expressing the gratification felt—

"In observing that its proper precedence had been given to the name of His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop, immediately after that of the Prince of Wales;"

and upon what grounds have Her Majesty's Government considered it their duty to advise Her Majesty to issue Her Royal Commission, giving official recognition of such title of dignity to the said "Most Reverend Cardinal Archbishop Henry Edward Manning," and according to him rank and precedence next to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and above the precedence accorded to Her Majesty's "*Cousin* and Councillor the Marquess of Salisbury" and the other noblemen, bishop, councillors, knights, sons of noblemen, de-

signated only by their "commonly called" titles of courtesy, and other gentlemen named in the said Royal Commission; and whether such Royal Proclamation in *The London Gazette* confers any authoritative recognition of such rank, dignity, or title of precedence to the said Henry Edward Manning? said, that in putting the Question, he wished to make a short personal explanation. He would not trouble their Lordships with any further observations than to say that this was a kind of personal recognition of Cardinal Manning. In saying that, he had no wish that ecclesiastics, laymen, or Roman Catholic Churchmen should not be treated exactly the same, and on the same footing, as any other of Her Majesty's subjects, no matter of whatever denomination. He wished, however, that the mere fact of their belonging to a particular religion should not entitle them to any extra privilege or precedent.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, in reply, said, Her Majesty's Government had, in this matter, followed strict precedent. There were no fewer than three precedents which he would shortly quote to the noble Lord opposite (Lord Oranmore and Browne). The first was that of the Royal Commission on Charitable Donations and Bequests (Ireland) Fund. The date was December 20, 1844, and the list of names was in the following order:—The Most Rev. Father in God the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland; next came the Most Rev. Father in God the Archbishop of Dublin; after that came the Most Rev. the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Croly.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE: I beg pardon; but my Question is not with regard to the Archbishop of Dublin. I referred to the title "Cardinal Archbishop."

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, the next precedent was in 1849. On the 7th of August of that year there appeared in *The Dublin Gazette* a notice of a Levee and Drawing Room in Dublin Castle, which set forth that Her Majesty had been pleased to desire that the following persons should have the *entrée* to the Castle:—The Primate, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Roman Catholic Primate, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, the Duke of Leinster, and others,

this being the order in which they were named. The third, and by far the most important precedent, was that afforded by the Charter of the Royal University of Ireland, which was signed in 1880 by the late Duke of Marlborough, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in which the following names appeared in the following order:—First there was the name of the Right Rev. Dr. Trench, Archbishop of Dublin, and then followed that of Archbishop MacCabe, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, which was immediately before that of "Our trusty and well-beloved Councillor," Dr. Ball, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland. So that in that instance the Roman Catholic Archbishop came next after the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, and before the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. These were the precedents which Her Majesty's Government had followed in issuing the Royal Commission, and they had given to "Cardinal Archbishop Henry Edward Manning" a place next to the Prince of Wales, which was that which most certainly belonged to him. As, in Ireland, former Roman Catholic Archbishops came next to Archbishops of the Established Church, and before the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, it was thought that Cardinal Manning should have similar precedence in the Royal Commission that had just been issued.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE said, the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Dalhousie) had not answered the latter part of the Question on the Paper—Whether the Royal Proclamation in *The London Gazette* conferred any authoritative recognition of rank, dignity, or title of precedence to the said Henry Edward Manning?

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE: This confers no further precedence on Archbishop Manning than did the former Royal Proclamations, in accordance with the precedent created by which this Royal Commission has been issued.

LORD DENMAN said, he thought it unfortunate that the title of Archbishop, in connection with Cardinal Manning, should have been introduced into the Commission, because the rank of His Eminence as a Prince of the Roman Catholic Church was undoubted; but Westminster was part of the diocese of the Bishop of London. He believed that Cardinal Manning would have

served on the Commission without requiring his title of Archbishop to be recognized. He was always most distressed at the divisions among Christians, between Protestants and Catholics. They ought to live together in a friendly way. He reminded the House that sometimes too great power had been assumed by Popes; and alluded to the Battle of Varna, and to the taking of Constantinople—which fact would not have offended the Mahomedans, nor would Constantinople have been taken by them, if a Pope had not absolved Christians from an oath to maintain peace for 10 years. Benedict XIII., one of the best Popes who ever sat in the Chair, at the instigation of the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ireland, between 1715 and 1740, gave a plenary indulgence to all who would say and pay for aves and a Pater, in order to aid the cause of the Pretender; but, though £1,500 was collected, the Government discovered the plot, and prevented all mischief. On the other hand, Protestants had, at times, done things to provoke the larger number of Romanists, of whom a Lord Lieutenant had said that it was the “duty of the Government to protect the Protestants, but not to persecute the Catholics.” And on August 8, 1832, Mr. Shaw, Recorder of Dublin, had set the example of Obstruction by dividing the House of Commons 17 times on the re-commitment of the Party Processions Bill. This was recorded in the Journals of the House of Commons; it was a debate on a Wednesday, and the hon. Member, in a contemporary Memoir, was stated to have expressed his regret, justifying himself that he had made a vow to use every form of Obstruction; but he was sorry for it, and would not do so again.

LORD ORANMORE AND BROWNE said, he thought the answer of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Dalhousie) scarcely satisfactory. In the first place, he (Lord Oranmore and Browne) was not aware that Irish precedents were precedents in this country. The same rank, he believed, had never been accorded in this country to Catholic Prelates as in Ireland, and he doubted whether announcements in *The Dublin Gazette* were to be treated as binding legal documents in this country. In the second place, it was very doubtful whether the Crown had the Constitutional right of conferring precedence at all—whether

the precedence granted by 32 Hen. VIII. could be interfered with by the Prerogative of the Crown. The point was mooted when a Bill was brought in for the naturalization of the late Prince Albert. The Duke of Wellington raised the point, and it was doubted whether the Crown could give precedence to Prince Albert. It was then admitted that there were no precedents. Lord Melbourne, who was then Prime Minister, said that if they did not give Prince Albert precedence by Act of Parliament, there was no other way of giving it. Lord Cottingham, the Lord Chancellor, acceded to that view; and the Government found the matter so difficult that they withdrew the Bill as to precedence, and merely passed a Naturalization Act. Lord Brougham asked Her Majesty's Government how they contemplated dealing with the subject? They declined to answer, and, a few days later there appeared in *The Gazette* a declaration by Her Most Gracious Majesty giving Prince Albert precedence, so far as it was not forbidden by Act of Parliament—leaving it an open matter as to what precedence this gave to the Prince. The Government were strong enough to hold their ground. It was an exceptional case, and everyone wished to gratify the Queen. The matter, therefore, passed without remark. But the present was a very different case, and it would be quoted as a precedent for the conferring of precedence by the mere power of the Crown. He admitted that the Roman Catholic Church was a great power for good or evil, and that no Government could preserve peace and order, as in Ireland, if it set it at defiance. But let their relations with that Church be regulated by some Act of Parliament, and not by a side-wind such as this for mere Party interests, and contrary to the Constitution of this country.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE said, that Her Majesty's Government did not intend, by the issue of this Commission, that any new precedent should be created. He had quoted the three precedents in accordance with which the Commission had been issued, and, whatever those precedents were, they were created long ago, and this Commission created nothing new.

EARL CADOGAN said, that as he understood the quotations made by



the noble Lord (Lord Oranmore and Brown) from *The Gazette*, they amounted to a contention that it was not within the power of Her Majesty to create any precedence, and that it must be done by Act of Parliament. Now, *The Gazette* merely contained an enumeration of names arranged in order according to former precedents. There had been no attempt to create a new precedent, as that would have to be done, as the noble Lord himself had pointed out, by Act of Parliament; and therefore his own argument showed that no new precedent had been created.

#### HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES —THE ROYAL COMMISSION—THE CHIEF RABBI.—QUESTION.

LORD GREVILLE asked Her Majesty's Government, If they will add the name of the Chief Rabbi to the Royal Commission to inquire into the housing of the working classes?

LORD CARRINGTON, in reply, said, it was not the intention of the Government to add any new names to the Commission. At the same time, he must say he thought it would be quite impossible to speak in too high terms of the good work done by Dr. Adler, the Chief Rabbi, in London, and of the admirable way in which the Jewish charities and institutions were managed. He did not doubt that the Chief Rabbi, from his knowledge and experience in connection with the subject of the housing of the poor, would be able to give very valuable information; but there were many noble Lords and gentleman of whom the same might be said, and, as the number of Commissioners had been limited, the selection had been confined to those who were most qualified to serve. He understood his noble Friend to suggest the appointment of the Chief Rabbi should be made as the head of a religious body. Her Majesty's Government could not agree with the view that the question of religious creed should of itself determine the selection of a Royal Commission; and he thought their Lordships would agree that a Commission of that kind would have been placed on a most unsound basis.

House adjourned at a quarter before Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

*Earl Cadogan*

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday, 20th March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee—NAVY ESTIMATES.—£3,531,050, CIVIL SERVICES AND REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.—CIVIL SERVICES; CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS; CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS; CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE; CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART; CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES; CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES; CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS; REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—£10,432,850, Consolidated Fund.

PUBLIC BILLS.—Ordered—*First Reading*—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order \* [142]; Life Leaseholders Enfranchisement \* [143].

*Second Reading*—Consolidated Fund (No. 1).

Committee—Report—Dublin Museum of Science and Art \* (re-comm.) [59].

*Third Reading*—City of Norwich (Mousehold Heath) Provisional Order \* [105]; Local Government Provisional Order \* [127]; Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order \* [106], and passed.

## PRIVATE BUSINESS.

—o—

### CORK BUTTER MARKET BILL.

INSTRUCTION TO THE SELECT COMMITTEE.  
POSTPONEMENT OF MOTION.

MR. MOORE, who had the following Notice on the Paper relating to the Bill:—

"To move, that it be an Instruction to the Committee that they do provide that the Butter Inspectors shall not be accompanied by, or interfered with by, any Butter Merchant, or Broker, or other person, save and excepting the officials of the Market, during their inspection, and that the Trustees do frame bye-laws to protect the Inspectors from all pressure and undue influence in the discharge of their duty,"

said, that he had been in communication with the promoters of the Bill and with Lord Fitzgerald, and had received an undertaking from them upon certain points of the measure which he considered of vital importance. He therefore proposed to postpone the Motion of which he had given Notice. The most important question raised in the Bill related to inspection. Great censure had been cast upon those who inspected the butter in the Cork Market, and great injury to the trade had resulted

therefrom. The inspection had not been honest, but had been conducted under great pressure, and what had taken place now re-acted in such a way as to deteriorate the price of butter. All he wished now to provide for was—

MR. SPEAKER: I understood the hon. Member wished to postpone his Motion. If he wishes it, and there is no opposition, it will be done as a matter of course.

MR. MOORE: Yes, I wish to postpone it, as I have been in communication with the promoters of the Bill, and have received a very satisfactory statement from them.

Motion postponed till To-morrow.

### QUESTIONS.

—o—

#### THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND —CONSTITUTION OF THE SENATE.

MR. H. H. FOWLER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the late Rev. Dr. R. Scott, principal of the Wesleyan Methodists College, Belfast, was placed on the senate of the Royal University of Ireland as the representative of the Irish Wesleyan Methodists; and, if he could explain why the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Scott has not been filled up by a gentleman of the same representative character?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I answered this Question on Monday last in reply to the noble Lord the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton), and I then stated that in filling up the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Scott the Government had regard to the proportion of the several denominations in Ireland.

#### LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—SUSPICIOUS DEATH AT DONEGAL.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that a young man named James McCanley met his death under peculiar circumstances in a hotel in Donegal town; whether, at the inquest, all the witnesses except the proprietor gave evidence that no signs of intoxication could be seen on the deceased at a late hour on the night of his death; whether the father of deceased

expressed his dissatisfaction at the inquiry made at the coroner's inquest, and made a sworn declaration before the resident magistrate that, to the best of his judgment, his son died from some ill-treatment received; whether the body bore marks of violence; whether the father of deceased, in a letter to *The Derry Journal*, asked for a public investigation into the cause of his son's death, and made formal application to the resident magistrate for an inquiry; whether the police have taken any steps since to seek further evidence; and, whether the Government is prepared to institute the inquiry asked for?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, there is no ground for suspecting foul play in this case. The deceased was found dead in the hotel in which he was employed. Several witnesses proved that when last seen he was the worse for drink. A whiskey bottle, containing eight glasses, had been accidentally left out, and was found empty near the deceased. Neither the doctor nor the police found any marks of violence on the body, and the medical evidence at the inquest was that the deceased died from alcoholic coma, and a verdict was returned accordingly. Some days afterwards a letter appeared in *The Derry Journal* from the father asking for an inquiry; but the only ground for suspicion alleged in that letter was the appearance of the body, which had been fully explained by the doctor as arising from natural causes.

#### STATE OF IRELAND—POLICE PROTECTION TO MR. T. F. ROE.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why Mr. Thomas F. Roe, J.P., Carrolton, Dunmore, county Galway, is allowed police protection; how many constables attend him; and, how many outrages have been committed in the district within the last three months?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mr. Roe is allowed police protection in consequence of apprehension by him of danger, owing to a feeling against him in the district. His protection force consists of three men. Three outrages, consisting of two incendiary fires and a threatening letter, have been committed in the district during the past three months. The protection is not under the Prevention of Crime Act.

## INDIA (FINANCE, &amp;c.)—THE SALT TAX.

MR. BURT asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been called to the complaint made in the petition presented by the Natives of Chingleput, Madras, last month, to Lord Ripon, that Government "levy Duty of two rupees, or thirty-two annas, on three annas' worth of salt;" and, whether this taxation does not exist now throughout India, though in many parts the cost of carriage equals the cost of salt and Duty?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, I have not seen the Memorial referred to. If the price of salt at Chingleput is only three annas per maund, a duty of two rupees would have to be paid on three annas' worth of salt. This taxation certainly exists throughout India, and in some parts, far from railway communication, the cost of carriage is, no doubt, equal to both first cost and duty.

## INDIA — GOVERNMENT HOUSE AT OOTACAMUND—MR. GRANT DUFF.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true, as reported in the leading European journal in India, *The Pioneer*, and extensively copied into other Indian papers, that Mr. Grant Duff has spent

"40,000 rupees on silk hangings for Government House, Ootacamund, and has passed the item through the public accounts under the heading of repairs?"

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, when Mr. Grant Duff arrived in Madras he found that the Government House at Ootacamund, which had been begun some years before he left England, required to be finished and furnished. The amount sanctioned by the Government of India for furniture was Rs.125,000; but we have no details of the particular items on which this sum has been expended. There has been no expenditure on repairs.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: Is the gentleman referred to the same Grant Duff who in this House denounced so strongly the extravagant expenditure on this and other public buildings in India?

MR. J. K. CROSS said, this was a very large palace, and he dared say it had several times been denounced in that House; but Mr. Grant Duff was not in the least answerable for the building of it.

## EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—THE BATTLE OF EL TEB.

MR. GIBSON asked the Secretary of State for War, Has he ascertained how many Soudanese troops were killed at El Teb, and how many were wounded on the same occasion; and, will he state what are the estimated figures?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: We are still without Sir Gerald Graham's full despatch containing particulars of the battle; but I imagine we must shortly receive it. I would, however, remark that it is not usual for a General to give more than a conjectural estimate of the loss of an enemy in action, and that he has obviously no means of arriving at a correct result in such a matter. Of course, it would be impossible for him to make even a conjectural estimate of the number of wounded. I will inform the right hon. and learned Gentleman as soon as the despatch is received.

MR. GIBSON: So far what I have heard from the noble Lord amounts to nothing. Bearing in mind that the newspapers have stated specifically that our troops buried about 2,500 bodies of Soudanese troops; and bearing in mind also that I asked this Question a week ago, and postponed it in order to enable the noble Lord to obtain information, I think he might have telegraphed specially to the Soudan to ascertain if there was any foundation for the report.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: As I told the right hon. and learned Gentleman a week ago, we expected before this to receive a despatch which would probably contain all the information which General Graham is able to give. It does not appear to me to be desirable that the onerous duties which fall to officers when engaged on active service of this description should be increased by sending to them more telegrams than are absolutely necessary. This is a subject of no great importance for the moment, because it does not appear that any action can be founded on the information.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Who is bringing home the despatches?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I understand Captain Lloyd.

MR. GIBSON: I shall put another Question on this subject next week.



## ARMY—THE DUKE OF YORK'S SCHOOL.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it will not be possible to appoint one Roman Catholic master (out of five) to the Duke of York's School, provided that a suitable candidate can be found?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the masters are Army schoolmasters, and are four, not five, in number. At present there is no vacancy. They do not conduct the religious instruction of the pupils, for which other arrangements are made. The appointments are given to those candidates among Army schoolmasters who, on educational grounds, are considered most eligible, and if a Roman Catholic fulfils those conditions he would be selected. I may add that there are at this time 81 Catholics out of 480 boys.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—  
SOLICITORS' APPRENTICES.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether a solicitor's apprentice must, before being admitted to practise, swear—

"That he caused a notice of this application to be admitted a solicitor to be posted in the Law Club, No. 25, Nassau Street, in the city of Dublin, six days previous to swearing this affidavit ;"

if so, whether he is prepared to recommend that the foregoing paragraph be expunged from conditions of admission?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I will answer this Question for my hon. and learned Friend. The practice is, I believe, correctly stated in the Question. The admission of solicitors is in the hands of the Incorporated Law Society, and the Irish Government has no power to interfere with their regulations.

ARMY—CHELSEA HOSPITAL—A ROMAN  
CATHOLIC CHAPEL.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the recommendation of the Committee, that a suitable chapel shall be provided within the precincts of Chelsea Hospital, for the service of the Roman Catholics, will be carried out?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I am now considering this question, with several others raised in the Report of the Committee referred to, and I hope shortly to arrive at a decision.

## THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND—GRANTS FOR BUILDINGS.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the grant formerly voted for the Queen's University in Ireland amounts to £4,000 a year, and if all the duties discharged by that University are not now discharged by the Royal University, the expenses of which are defrayed out of the Surplus Church Fund (Ireland); and, whether the Government will apply the money in accordance with the statement of the then Lord Chancellor, when introducing the University Bill in 1879, that—

"The Vote of Parliament which had, up to that time, been taken for the expenses of the Queen's University would of course apply itself to the new University?"

MR. COURTNEY: My right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary asked me to answer this Question. It appears that it is true that the late Lord Chancellor is reported to have used the words quoted by the hon. and gallant Member; but the provision then contemplated has since been superseded by means which are much more ample. The sum of £74,000 has been voted by Parliament for providing suitable buildings for the Royal University. The maintenance of that building is thrown upon Parliament, and the annual sum of £20,000 is taken from the Church Fund to meet other expenses of the University.

SCOTLAND—THE SASINE OFFICE,  
EDINBURGH.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Clerks of the Third Class in the Sasine Office, Edinburgh, do not perform duties of as responsible and difficult a character as Clerks of the First and Second Classes; and, whether the time has not arrived for the revision of the numbers of the Second Class in terms of the Treasury Minute of 27th March 1881, which provides that—

"The numbers of the Second Class will be subject to revision hereafter, when experience shall have shown to what proportion of the Staff it may be necessary to entrust work which, while subordinate to that performed by the Assistant Keepers and First Class Clerks, is of a more responsible and difficult character than can be required from the Junior Clerks of the Department?"

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the Keeper of the Sasines Office is primarily responsible for the distribution of the work of the Office. The Treasury had received no representation from him that the amount of work of a responsible character which he performed by the junior clerks is more than is performed by the superior clerks.

#### INDIA (BOMBAY)—THE MAHARAJAH OF KOLAPORE.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If his attention has been called to the circumstances of the death of the Rajah of Kolapore in a struggle with a European ex-soldier named Green; whether the Maharajah, being of invalid health in mind and body, was taken out of the charge of his relatives and placed in charge of Green?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, full particulars of the circumstances connected with the death of the Maharajah of Kolapore have been received from the Government of Bombay, and have been considered by the Secretary of State in Council. The Maharajah having, in 1881, become hopelessly insane, it was deemed advisable, in the interest of his health, to remove him from Kolapore to Ahmednuggur, where he was placed in charge of his former guardian, Mr. Birch, assisted by Private Green, who had already shown himself a careful, kindly, and judicious attendant, and a suitable number of servants. On the 25th of December, the Maharajah, who had been subject to occasional fits of violence, assaulted Green, who, without using unnecessary force, endeavoured to get him into a chair. His Highness resisted, and fell, and shortly afterwards died. The opinion arrived at by the Bombay Government, that the fatal result was entirely due to the diseased state of the Maharajah's spleen, and that no blame could be attached to the attendant, was based upon the result of a *post-mortem* examination. A careful inquiry was held before the district magistrate, and a jury of Native gentlemen of different castes, selected, in view both of their position and intelligence, who reported that the death was accidental, and that the evidence showed the Maharajah to have been well treated by the persons, both European and Native, who attended upon him.

#### CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—ALLEGED OUTRAGE AT RATHMORE, CO. WEXFORD.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the alleged outrage against himself, reported by James Bourke of Rathmore, county Wexford, was ever investigated by the authorities; whether the evidence of the people living in the adjoining houses was taken as to a shot being heard; whether it is in consequence of the shot being alleged to have been fired that extra police are quartered on the district; whether any and what other outrages have been alleged; and, whether the county and district is generally peaceful; and, if the Government intend to relieve the locality of the police tax?

MR. TREVELYAN in reply, said, that the outrage referred to was the firing of a shot into the house of Bourke, who was unpopular in the district and "Boycotted." No sworn investigation was held, but the police made careful inquiries. It was true that the people in the neighbouring houses did not hear the shot; but that the shot was fired was beyond doubt, for the police found the window broken and some of the charge in the roof. The district had not been proclaimed under Section 18 of the Prevention of Crime Act; therefore no tax would be levied for the police.

#### AFRICA (SOUTH)—THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, What steps Her Majesty's Government propose to take in respect of that part of Stellaland and Goshen which is left outside the new Transvaal frontier line; and, whether it is proposed to remove the freebooters from that district, or to confirm them in the property which they have seized from the Natives?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, our information is that very few White men have trekked into the country beyond the new frontier line; but, whether few or many, it would be manifestly inconvenient for me to give an answer to my hon. Friend, as it would be immediately telegraphed out to that country. All I can say is that much will be left to the discretion of Sir Hercules Robinson and Mr. Mackenzie, after consideration on the spot, and that the claims of justice will undoubtedly be regarded by the

British Commissioner, who has on several occasions in this country publicly said that, subject to rules and conditions, there is no reason, in his view, why the White man and the Black man should not live side by side.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—  
AMOUNT OF THE GRANT PER  
HEAD OF POPULATION.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the Returns, just issued, of the Expenditure from the Grants for Public Education during the year 1883, showing an aggregate income for England and Wales of £5,829,781 6s. 9d., or an average of £1 17s. 0½d. per head, and for Scotland £906,068 3s. 1d., or an average of £2 1s. 2¾d. If he can state what was the aggregate income for Ireland in the same period, and what the average per head; and, whether he will cause Returns to be given for Ireland precisely similar to those for England and Wales and Scotland, so as to facilitate comparison?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that the Return should be given as an Appendix to the Annual Report.

INDIA—BENGAL TENANCY BILL.

MR. GORST asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Government of India has appointed, or is about to appoint, a Commission to inquire into the suitability of the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Bill to the various local requirements of Bengal and Behar; and, if so, whether it is true that that Commission will consist of three officials pledged to the policy of the Bill, together with one non-official nominally to represent the zemindars, who has notoriously opposed the views of the zemindars in recent discussions?

MR. J. K. CROSS: I can only give the same answer to this Question as that which I gave the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) last Monday, that the Secretary of State is not aware of any intention on the part of the Government of India to appoint a Commission of the nature suggested.

MR. GORST asked whether the hon. Gentleman would say whether the Secretary of State would make inquiries?

MR. J. K. CROSS said, that if the hon. and learned Member would give him reasons to suppose it was desirable to inquire into the matter, he could an-

swer on behalf of the Secretary of State that he would do so.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL also asked if it was not the case that two Commissions before this Bill was brought in had not inquired into the reports, and whether this was not the second year that the proceedings had been delayed in consequence of the departure of the Government to Simla?

MR. J. K. CROSS, in reply, said, that no doubt there had been some considerable delay, but it did not arise from the cause named by the hon. Member.

INLAND REVENUE—FREEING OF THE  
DEE BRIDGES—STAMP DUTY ON THE  
PURCHASE MONEY.

MR. HENRY TOLLEMACHE asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Treasury have demanded, through the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, that the Corporation of the city of Chester, who are promoting the Chester Improvement Bill, shall pay ad valorem duty on the purchase money and transfer of mortgages in connection with the proposed freeing of the Dee bridges; whether there is any precedent for such demands being made in the case of works of public utility, such as the freeing of bridges; and, whether the Treasury still insist on these charges being made?

MR. COURTNEY: Yes, Sir; the Treasury have refused to exempt this transaction from the statutory stamp. This course is in accordance with precedent in similar cases; and, however desirable the proposed improvements may be from a local point of view, I see no reason for making any contribution to it, even indirectly, out of the National Revenue. In a Memorial received on the subject, it was practically admitted that a waiver of the duty would be tantamount to a contribution out of public funds.

BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1883—BANKRUPTCY  
OF BLAKESWAY AND THOMAS.

MR. GREGORY asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he has received any Reports from the Official Receiver in the bankruptcy of Blakesway and Thomas; and, whether he can state whether any and what steps have been taken for the arrest or prosecution of the absconded debtor?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The Board of Trade have received through the



Chief Official Receiver in Bankruptcy a letter from the trustee in this bankruptcy, in which it is stated that the firm stopped payment on January 30th. The petition was presented by Mr. Thomas on January 31st, and on the next day, February 1st, a warrant was issued for Blakeway's apprehension at the instance of a creditor; and on the following day another warrant was issued, also at the instance of a creditor. Both these warrants were placed in the hands of detectives, who have been actively engaged since that time in endeavouring to trace Blakeway in all parts of the United Kingdom. These warrants are still in the hands of the police.

MR. GREGORY: Has any attempt been made to trace him abroad?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: No; there does not appear to have been any such attempt.

#### POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—TELEGRAPH CLERKS IN DUBLIN.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Postmaster General, Whether he can see his way to acceding to the application of the telegraph clerks transferred to Dublin since Mr. Scudamore's scheme, and engaged on Sunday and night duty, to be placed on an equality with their brother clerks previously in Dublin in regard to the term of their annual leave of absence?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that the question of annual leave is about to be carefully examined, and until this is done I am unable to say what decision may be arrived at in the case of the clerks to whom he refers.

#### STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT LONDONDERRY.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether steps have been taken to bring to justice the man Rutledge, who, according to the evidence of the approver Marshall on the trial of Thomas Doherty at Sligo Assizes, fired two shots from the window of the Corporation Hall at Derry on 1st November last; whether his attention has been called to the declaration in the charge of Mr. Justice Murphy, that persons who were close to the man who fired the shot which wounded Dunne were equally guilty; whether Doherty was found guilty of aiding and

abetting the outrage, and sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment; what measures have the Police taken to ascertain who were his accomplices; and, whether proceedings will be instituted against persons who were conspicuous, and who can be proved to have fired shots or flung bottles or other missiles from the Corporation Hall, on that occasion?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, Marshall was not an approver as alleged. He was not a Crown witness. He was taken to Sligo and examined by the prisoner's counsel, with the object of upsetting the case for the Crown, by swearing that Doherty did not fire shots and that Rutledge did. The Crown got a verdict against Doherty, despite his evidence; and it would be extremely unlikely that the Crown could rely upon him as a witness in another case. As to Doherty's accomplices, there was nothing to show who were such, although the police have made all inquiry in their power. Any person who can be identified as having taken a conspicuous or active part in the riot will be proceeded against.

MR. O'BRIEN: Has a secret inquiry been held?

MR. TREVELYAN: No; not at least under the Prevention of Crime Act.

#### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — INEQUALITY OF SENTENCES.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can explain to the House how it was that Hannan, an Orangeman who, on the 25th January, drew his revolver and attempted to shoot the sentry at Omagh Barracks, Tyrone, was released on bail, and only punished by a fine, whilst Lawrence Kenny, who fired at a soldier who was not on duty, at Mullingar, was sentenced to penal servitude for life, the offence in the latter appearing to be less serious?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, Hannan was not tried on a charge of attempt to murder, and I am advised that the evidence would not have sustained such a charge. He was tried on a charge of having arms in a proclaimed district, and was fined by the magistrates in the exercise of their discretion. In the case of Lawrence Kenny there was a deliberate attempt to murder, and he was tried and convicted accordingly.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—  
TEACHERS IN CONVENT SCHOOLS.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that, while the convent national schools are, according to Sir P. J. Keenan, the Resident Commissioner of National Education, "remarkable for their efficiency in secular teaching, and especially so for their moral and religious results," the nuns who teach in them are deprived of the advantages of the increase accorded to classified teachers; and, whether he will inquire into the matter with a view to removing this inequality?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have stated this Session that convent national teachers in Ireland are in all cases at liberty to adopt the principle of classification, and when they do their salaries are the same as those of secular teachers. I will look again into the matter; but, having regard to what I have stated, my doing so must not be taken as in any way holding out hopes of any alteration.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND  
—THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that the provision in the Royal University Statutes against students holding scholarships, or other similar prizes, at the same time in the University and in the Queen's Colleges is evaded by the practice of paying, at the termination of the College Session in June the amount of scholarships which are awarded in October, for one year, thus enabling students to compete for University prizes in September, before the legal term of Queen's College scholarships has expired; how many students of the Queen's Colleges have won University prizes in this manner; and, whether the practice is an infringement of the University Statutes; and, if so, whether steps will be taken for its discontinuance?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have received letters from the Presidents of the respective Queen's Colleges emphatically denying that such evasion takes place. The present arrangements by which scholarships are obtained—and they are obtained by three instalments

at fixed times—Christmas, Easter, and June or July—existed long before the establishment of the Royal University, and no change has been introduced. The academical year commences, as it has always done, in October, and ends in June or July.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Mr. Speaker, in order to get at the root of this matter, I bag to give Notice that I will move for a Return of the names of the students of the Queen's Colleges who obtained the scholarships in the past two sessions, and the number of marks obtained by each.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND  
—THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many students are attending the Queen's College, Cork, this session in the Faculty of Arts; how many scholarships are available for this number; how many scholarships are vacant for want of competition or otherwise; whether any action will be taken in reference to the vacant scholarships; how much of the entire grant for the Queen's College, Cork, is devoted to the Arts Department; how many of the Arts students at present attending lectures were unsuccessful candidates for exhibitions at intermediate examinations; and, how many of them failed to obtain honours at the Royal University examinations in the subjects in which they hold Queen's College scholarships?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, 36 undergraduates are attending Queen's College, Cork. There are 20 scholarships open to competition, and 10 which might be held in continuation from last year. Of the 20 two are vacant from want of competition, and five from candidates not reaching the required standard. Of the 10 three are vacant from not having been filled last year, and one from the holder not having returned to the College this session. The senior scholarships available for graduates, who are not required to attend courses of lectures, are not included in these figures. The statutes of the College empower the Council to apply the unexpended balance of the scholarship fund in giving exhibitions to unsuccessful candidates who show sufficient merit, and each year they do so apply such balance, or a large portion of it. The hon. Mem-

ber's inquiry as to what portion of the College grant is devoted to the Arts department is somewhat ambiguous. If it is intended to refer to the salaries of Professors who hold Chairs which are wholly or in part Art Chairs, the answer is £2,728. I am going to make inquiries into the question of the relative proportion of Medical to Art students, and the manner in which the funds of the College are distributed.

MR. O'BRIEN: I beg to give Notice that I will call attention to the state of this College. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would inform the House whether it is a fact that five students of this College have been rusticated and deprived of the scholarships for attempting to expose the misuse of the public funds?

[No reply.]

MR. O'BRIEN: As the right hon. Gentleman does not appear to know anything about the matter, I beg to give Notice that I will put a Question on the Paper with regard to it.

MR. TREVELYAN: Really, I think it is too much for the hon. Member to expect me to give information without giving me dates, or anything else. I am perfectly aware that several students have been punished for disorderly conduct—[*Cries of "No, no!"*—] disorderly conduct and insubordination, after ample investigation; and it can hardly be said that they were unfairly treated by the Staff of the College for their insubordination, the only excuse for which was that they imagined they were the subjects of inequalities. People must obey the laws of the Institution in which they are.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked whether out of five entrance scholarships in Literature only two had been awarded; and whether the Government would consider the propriety of issuing a Royal Commission to investigate the state of affairs in the College?

MR. TREVELYAN said, there were only two competitors. He could not advise the appointment of a Royal Commission.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—CORK DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUM—DISPOSAL OF DECEASED INMATES.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

*Mr. Trevelyan*

If it is a fact that subjects for dissection are supplied to the Queen's College, Cork, from the Cork District Lunatic Asylum; and, if so, whether it has been done with the sanction of the Board of Governors; and, if such be the case, what was the total number supplied during the College Sessions 1881-2 and 1882-3, and the average expense of each?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he was in communication with the Inspector of Anatomy, and would answer the Question as soon as possible.

INDIA—DACCA COLLEGIATE SCHOOL—  
FLOGGING OF STUDENTS.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If his attention has been called to a recent sentence of public flogging inflicted upon certain students of a high school at Dacca, on the charge of being concerned in a brawl or disturbance with the police; and, whether these youths belonged to some of the most respectable families of Dacca and the neighbourhood?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, the Secretary of State's attention has been called to certain Indian newspapers, from which it appears that three boys, seemingly students of the Dacca Collegiate School, were convicted on different charges of assault, and sentenced to be whipped. In two, if not in all, of the cases the whipping was to be by way of "school discipline." There is no information in the India Office as to the family or respectability of the boys thus punished. The case is receiving attention.

INDIA (FINANCE, &c.)—THE SALT TAX.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If his attention has been called to the Address of the people of Bellary, containing a population of a million and a half, petitioning the Viceroy for an alleviation of the Salt Tax, and declaring that—

"That the prohibition of the manufacture of earth salt, without a corresponding reduction in the price of sea salt, inflicts an unmitigated hardship upon the poor ryots, who have now almost to do without this important and necessary article of food, to the detriment of their health and the usefulness of their cattle,"

and that—



"The recent rules under the Salt Law afford scope to unscrupulous men to harass the people;"

whether his attention has been called to the fact that the Address of the people of North Arcot, containing a population of nearly two millions, declares that—

"The Salt Tax is so heavy and prohibitive that people cannot obtain salt for their own requirements, and that their cattle are ravaged with various diseases owing to the want of this indispensable article of life;"

whether the Indian Government keep the Home Government regularly informed upon the expression of native grievances with respect to the Salt Tax; and, if he can state the number of Petitions against the Salt Tax which were presented to British Authorities in India during the past year?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, I have read the address of the people of Bellary petitioning for an alleviation of the Salt Tax, as reported in *The Madras Weekly Mail*, but I have not seen that of the people of North Arcot on the same subject. The Government of India do not send home Returns of all Petitions giving expression to Native grievances with respect to the Salt Tax, nor can I state the number of such Petitions presented to the British authorities during the past year.

MR. O'DONNELL: But are there any means by which the Natives can make their grievances known?

MR. J. K. CROSS said, they always had the opportunity of petitioning the Secretary of State.

#### THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND —THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether in Queen's College, Cork, in October 1882, out of five entrance scholarships in literature, only two were actually awarded; whether, on that occasion, there were fewer competitors than there were scholarships proposed for competition, and what was the number of competitors; whether the two successful students, whose answering was thus deemed satisfactory, according to the Queen's College standard for the distribution of £20 scholarships, were mere passmen at the Royal University, neither of them having there

obtained an exhibition nor honours of any kind in any literary subject; whether the answering of these same two students in the competition, also for the science scholarships, was so satisfactory, according to the Queen's College standard, that they were placed on the list of science scholars as well, and were only not awarded £20 scholarships in science, in consequence of a College rule restricting the holding of double scholarships; whether, at the Royal University, these students were mere passmen in science, as in literature, neither having there obtained an exhibition, nor honours of any kind, in any subject, literary or scientific; whether, of the five students to whom the £20 science scholarships were actually awarded, only one obtained honours, and these only of the second class, in even one subject, at the University examination; whether, of the remaining four to whom these £20 scholarships in science were awarded in the Queen's College, only one was even a passman at the University, the names of the other three not appearing in the University matriculation list for 1882-3; and, whether he will take into consideration the propriety of advising the issue of a Royal Commission, fully to investigate the state of affairs in that College as regards the number of its students, their educational status, and its standards of examination for the distribution of scholarships maintained out of public funds?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Report of the President of the Queen's College, Cork, already before this House, and the published calendar of the Royal University of Ireland, afford replies to nearly all of the hon. Member's inquiries. It is the case—as shown by the Report—that in October, 1882, only two entrance scholarships in literature were awarded. Five were available, and there were only two competitors. These students were also placed on the list of science scholars; but under the College regulations they could not hold the double scholarships. Their names appear in the Royal University Calendar as passmen. I cannot undertake to advise the issue of a Royal Commission; but I have communicated to the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) what I propose to do.

INDIA — ALLEGED ASSAULT BY AN OFFICER UPON A NATIVE PLEADER IN THE HIGH COURT, MEERUT.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the circumstances of the assault by an Officer of the King's Dragoon Guards at Meerut upon a distinguished Bengalee pleader of the High Court, practising at the Meerut Bar; whether Captain Rogers was accused of having, on two different occasions, ridden up to this native barrister, and applying to him a most opprobrious epithet, lashed him with his horsewhip for not having salaamed to him; whether the accusation was proved before the Cantonment Magistrate; whether the sentence of the Court declared that—

"It is proved that the Officer did assault Babu Bhola Nath Mookerjee without provocation, and that the abusive words used by him were such an intentional insult as he knew to be likely to cause a breach of the public peace;"

whether the Cantonment Magistrate sentenced the said Captain Rogers only to a fine of less than 200 rupees; whether the only reason given by the Cantonment Magistrate for so light a sentence was that, if he had given a heavier sentence, he would have been bound by Law—

"To make a special Report to the Commanding Officer of the regiment to which Captain Rogers belongs;"

and, whether the Military authorities have taken, or intend to take, any notice of conduct unbecoming an Officer?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, neither the Secretary of State for War nor the Secretary of State for India has any knowledge of the case referred to.

#### INLAND REVENUE — SOLICITORS' LICENCES.

MR. W. H. SMITH (for Mr. GIBSON) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, What was the amount received in the year 1883 in England, Ireland, and Scotland, respectively, for solicitors' licences; what is the amount paid for each solicitor's licence; whether the members of any other profession are obliged to take out licences for practice; and, whether he is prepared to abolish or lessen the exceptional

treatment to which, in this respect, the solicitor profession is subjected?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): Sir, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman, I have to say that the amount received in 1883 for solicitors' licences was £109,104. Of this £87,045 was received in England, £13,780 10s. in Scotland, and £8,278 10s. in Ireland. The rates of duty are—(1) For solicitors practising in London within 10 miles of the General Post Office, or within the City or Shire of Edinburgh, or in the City of Dublin, or within three miles therefrom, £9; (2) for solicitors practising beyond the above-mentioned limits, £6; (3) for solicitors who have been in practice less than three years, half the above rates. Appraisers and house agents are required to take out an Excise licence of £2 a-year, auctioneers of £10, and bankers of £30 a-year. Before 1853 the rates were £12 for town and £8 for country solicitors respectively; solicitors who had been in practice less than three years paying, as now, only half rates. These rates were reduced after full consideration in 1853 to their present amounts, and the new rates were confirmed by the Act of 1870. I am not prepared to propose any further alteration in these licences.

#### EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)— BATTLE OF EL TEB—ALLEGED KILLING OF WOUNDED ARABS.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement of *The Times* correspondent in Eastern Soudan:—

"On the way I passed over yesterday's battle-field with Captain Slade, and there found a wounded rebel who by some mysterious chance had not been killed yesterday after the fight;"

and, whether, as this statement implies, the wounded of the enemy, with the exception of this one man, who were unable to leave the field of battle were killed; and, if not, whether he can state how many wounded were taken prisoners?

MR. JOSEPH COWEN asked the Secretary of State for War, If there were any prisoners taken in the two battles in the Eastern Soudan?

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any wounded

Arabs have survived the late engagements; if so, can he state what becomes of them when the battle ground is occupied by the English; and, has any reference been made to the subject in any of the communications that have passed between the Military authorities and the Government?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In reply to these Questions, I will, with the permission of the House, read a telegram from Sir Gerald Graham on the subject. It is dated from Suakin, at 10.30 last evening—

“At El Teb no wounded man injured unless he attacked our men. Fifteen prisoners were made by General Davis. Two others feigning death attempted to murder a sergeant of the Black Watch. My aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Scott, rescued five men from a heap of wounded at El Teb, of whom one made an attempt to attack with his knife, but was disarmed. Of these I sent one with a letter to garrison of Tokar; the rest were afterwards released at El Teb. At Tamai the wounded continued to fight to the last. General Stewart was nearly stabbed while giving water to a wounded man. Corporal Moffat, R.E., and a wounded Infantry man were attacked and injured by men feigning to be dead. Many other cases occurred. Generally speaking the enemy neither gave, nor accepted quarter, and our men were obliged to kill them in self-defence. It is, however, no question of colour or nationality. Our men like these blacks who fought so well, and are friendly with them when they will allow them. If wounded European soldiers were to continue fighting they would be killed by their enemy in self-defence.”

MR. HEALY: Has the noble Marquess seen the sketch in *The Daily Telegraph*, by Mr. Melton Prior, in which there occur the words, “Shooting wounded rebels in rifle pits?”

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes, I have seen the sketch; but I do not know that it in any way impugns the accuracy of what I have stated.

INDIA (MADRAS) — SALE OF DRINK LICENCES BY AUCTION IN TANJORE, TINNAVELLY, AND NORTH ARCOT.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If his attention has been called to the appearance of official advertisements in the Madras papers offering for public auction the right of making and vending intoxicating drink in the districts of Tanjore, Tinnavelly, and North Arcot; whether it is true that the population of these districts, though exceeding six millions in number, have no control over the establishment of the system of Drink

Licence Auctions in their midst; whether the system of Drink Licence Auctions has been only recently introduced; when was the system approved by the Madras authorities; and, whether the consent of the Home Government was given to the measure?

MR. J. K. CROSS, in reply, said, he was unable to give much information upon the subject. No change in the Madras Excise system had been reported, nor had any allusion been made to it since the last Report. The details asked for were not in possession of the India Office, but would be included in a Report called for from the Governor of Madras.

EGYPT (RE-ORGANIZATION) — EXTORTION OF EVIDENCE.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether his attention has been called to the statement in *The Times* of Monday, by its correspondent in Alexandria, that the mudirs of all the Egyptian provinces, having complained that they are unable to maintain order because they have no power, and having requested to be allowed to extract evidence by means of torture, Mr. Clifford Lloyd has expressed the opinion that, without the concession of some authority to these mudirs, there must be anarchy; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will assent to accord to the mudirs, who ask to be allowed to employ torture, power to judge and punish the misdemeanours of their fellow subjects?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have no confirmation of the statement referred to by my hon. Friend, and there is no intention of conferring on the Mudirs of the Egyptian Provinces such power as that to which he alludes.

THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—DECISIONS OF THE SUB-COMMISSIONERS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will cause inquiry to be made respecting the statements in the following paragraph taken from *The Leinster Leader* of Saturday the 15th instant:—

“Last week we stated publicly that the decisions in the cases heard at the last sitting in Naas had not been given. Several times our



representatives made inquiry of the responsible officer of the Sub-Commission, and on every occasion the answer was that the cases had not been decided. Yesterday we learned with astonishment that the judgments in these important cases had been given at the Birr sitting more than a fortnight before. They had been withheld from our reporter; they appeared in no newspaper; how they were given we do not know. But this is not all. They were not communicated to the tenants, nor to the tenants' solicitor. Appeals against the decisions of the Sub-Commissioners must be lodged within a month. How are tenants to know what judgments have been given in their cases?"

and, if he will take steps to secure that the judgments shall be promptly made known to the parties?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Land Commission inform me that the Deputy Registrar of the Sub-Commission could not have said that the cases mentioned were not decided, and it was improbable that he did so. In any case it is no part of the duty of the Deputy Registrar to inform the Press of the Sub-Commissioners' decisions. He is bound to communicate them to the persons interested, in the manner laid down in the Commissioners' regulations, and of which the persons concerned are fully informed. With regard to the time for appealing, although it is limited to a month, the Land Commissioners have power to extend it; and they would do so in any case on being satisfied that there had been a neglect of duty on the part of the Deputy Registrar in notifying the Sub-Commissioners' decision. But, as I have said, there is no obligation on the part of the Deputy Registrar to notify the Sub-Commissioners' decisions.

MR. O'BRIEN said, that surely it was not the duty of the Registrar of the Sub-Commissioners to suppress those facts from the knowledge of the Press.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked if the decisions were notified to the solicitor for the tenants?

MR. TREVELYAN said, that if any complaint were made that they were notified, and it was ascertained that the Deputy Registrar neglected his duty, in such a case the time for appealing would be extended.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR requested the right hon. Gentleman to answer the last clause of his original Question.

MR. TREVELYAN: There is nothing to show that the Deputy Registrar has neglected his duty. It is perfectly competent for the tenants and their soli-

citors to proceed in the manner indicated in my answer.

#### INLAND REVENUE—RETURN OF OFFICERS ABOVE 63 YEARS OF AGE.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he would have any objection to furnish a Return of all Collectors and Supervisors of Inland Revenue and Superintending and Chief Clerks in Collectors' Offices of sixty-three years old and upwards?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): No, Sir; I do not see that any good end would be served by such a Return, and it is not usual to give in a Parliamentary Paper the ages of gentlemen in the Public Service.

#### ARMY—EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TO THE SOUDAN—SMALL ARMS—CUTLASSES AND BAYONETS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, If he can state whether the bayonets with which the Forces under General Graham are armed are of Government manufacture, or were obtained by purchase?

MR. BRAND, in reply, said, that no bayonets had been obtained since 1880, and that it was quite impossible to say whether they had been purchased or were of Government manufacture. General Graham had been asked to send home a sample of the bayonets in use by the British troops in the Soudan.

#### AFRICA (WEST COAST)—CONSUL HEWETT.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he would explain why Mr. Consul Hewett is kept in England, when his presence is needed on the Coast of Africa, where hostilities between Bonny, New Calabar, and Eckerreeki men are with difficulty kept in abeyance, pending the Consul's return to his post; whether Consul Hewett is kept in this Country "on official duty;" and, who is acting as Deputy Consul, to look after British interests, during Consul Hewett's nine months' absence from the Bights?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Consul Hewett returned to England in consequence of severe illness. His health

is now fairly re-established, and it is hoped that his return will not be long delayed. Owing to the scarcity of European residents, it has not been found possible to find a qualified person to act for him. I may add that during Consul Hewett's residence in England his advice has been largely employed by the Foreign Office, and has been found of very great use.

#### MERCANTILE MARINE—THE STEAMSHIP "ELEPHANT."

DR. CAMERON asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the attention of his Department has been called to the case of the *Elephant*, a steamer of under 200 tons burden nett, which sailed from London, on February 17th, for Portsmouth, with a cargo of machinery intended for H.M.S. *Impériouse*, and is supposed to have gone down with all hands in the gale of 20th of February; whether it is a fact that she carried two boilers on deck, and that portions of the machinery carried projected through the hatchways, preventing them from being closed; and, whether she was inspected previous to being sent to sea; and, if so, by whom?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, the attention of the Board of Trade has been called to the case of the steamship *Elephant*, and I have ordered an inquiry into her loss by the Wreck Commissioner's Court. Until the Report of that Court has been received, I am unable to give a complete answer to the hon. Member's Question. I may say, however, that a Surveyor of the Board of Trade saw the *Elephant* the day before she left, and her disc was then considerably out of the water. No surveyor was present at the time she actually went away.

#### STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT BALLYMOTE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in pursuance of the order made at Ballymote, on the 7th ult., by Mr. Moloney, R.M., in the shooting affray case, that James Murray, senior, should be committed to take his trial with the other persons accused, any steps have been yet taken towards trying him at the Galway Assizes, fixed to open on the 22nd instant, and if he will be tried accordingly; whether Joseph

Murray has yet been proceeded against, as promised, for aiding and abetting in the riot, and if he will be tried at the same assizes; whether the Crown will summon to the Galway Assizes those persons who attended at Ballymote for several days to give evidence against the Murrays, and whose evidence was not taken there; whether two of the Crown witnesses against the Murrays were committed for trial on the unsupported evidence, in each case, of one of the Murrays, and why the magistrate in one case refused to accept bail, though solvent and ample bail was tendered; whether the houses of the Murrays have been searched for arms since the occurrence of the affray; and, whether, of the thirty-seven persons holding excise licences for revolvers in the district, the three Catholics only have paid the excise licence, and whether the Department has yet begun proceedings against the rest?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, unavoidable delay has occurred in the case of James Murray owing to the serious character of the injury he received in the riot, his life having been in danger. He is summoned to appear before the magistrates this day. The Sessional Crown Solicitor is gone down to prosecute. His son, Joseph Murray, is also summoned to appear before the magistrates to-day. With regard to the persons to be summoned as witnesses to the Assizes, the Crown Counsel and Crown Solicitor who have charge of the case will do what they consider right in the interests of justice. The witnesses against the Murrays who were committed for trial were, in the opinion of the Resident Magistrate who dealt with the case, committed on full and complete evidence. The reason that bail was refused was that the life of the injured person was in danger. Immediately after the affray the workshop of the Murrays and all the persons therein were minutely searched for arms. It was considered that it would be useless to search their house. It is not for me to answer Questions with regard to the action of the Inland Revenue Department; but I may say that I am aware that proceedings are being taken in four cases, and inquiries being made in the others, with a view to ascertain whether they are proper cases for prosecution. I presume, however, those men hold magisterial licences.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary whether every case in which it appeared the Excise licence had not been paid was not a proper case for prosecution?

MR. TREVELYAN said, the hon. Member had better put the Question to the Secretary to the Treasury.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—  
OUTRAGES IN KILKENNY.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any information is in the hands of the Government with respect to certain recent acts of disorder and outrage in the village of Windgap, Rossenany, county Kilkenny; whether, with regard to the following several acts: kicking at doors, and calling offensive names, at midnight; firing shots into the house of a man named Jackman; breaking of windows in the house of a man named Purcell; and cutting of harness and destroying property on the highway; representations and tenders of evidence, connecting a certain individual with those offences, were repeatedly disregarded by Sergeant O'Beirne, of the local police force, while he persisted in searching the houses of respectable farmers, members of the Land League; and, whether he will now take steps, by due inquiry on the spot, to make the guilty party or parties amenable?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am informed that in November last a shot was fired into the house of a man named Jackman, and a few days afterwards he received a threatening letter warning him not to work for a man named Purcell. The latter is unpopular, because, in pursuance of an agreement, he holds a farm as security for money lent to a neighbour. There has been no more recent act of disorder or outrage of a serious character in the district. The cutting of harness and destruction of property referred to were of a trifling character, and are believed to have resulted from a drunken quarrel. The injured person refused to give the police any information, although he stated he knew who did it. No representations were made to Sergeant O'Beirne, nor evidence tendered to him connecting anyone with these offences; but he has used every endeavour to trace the offenders. The houses of two men who do not bear a good character were searched for

arms. I see no ground for ordering any special inquiry with regard to the matter.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT  
LONDONDERRY—TRIAL OF THOMAS  
DOHERTY AT SLIGO.

MR. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to an article, on the trial of Thomas Doherty at Sligo, in *The Londonderry Sentinel* of last Thursday, declaring the charge of Mr. Justice Murphy to have been "a one-sided charge," accusing him of "displaying an amount of ill-concealed hostility to the loyalists," and of "attempting to cast odium and discredit on the party of peace and order," and, specially, whether his attention has been drawn to the following expressions:—

"The jury bargaining with Crown Counsel as to the verdict they would be allowed to bring in, the Judge winking at this utterly unjudicial transaction, giving his tacit sanction to an irregular compromise, and finally wringing from an unwilling jury a verdict of 'guilty,' which they were plainly not prepared to give. This was what was witnessed in the Court-house at Sligo."

"It is as clear as noonday that the jury did not return a verdict of guilty, and that poor Doherty was not legally convicted of the crime charged against him. But the Government demanded a victim, and they have not been disappointed;"

and, what conclusion the Irish Executive have come to upon consideration of this language?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the article referred to appears to be an extremely unfair comment upon the proceedings at the trial of the prisoner Doherty. The evidence as to his guilt appears to have been convincing, and both Judge and jury seem rightly to have discharged their duty. Articles of the nature referred to, of which there has been a vast number in Ireland, are, in the interests of justice, much to be deplored. It is not, in the opinion of the Government, a case in which any action should be taken further than this expression of opinion.

MR. LEWIS asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, on the trial of Doherty at the recent Sligo Assizes, for unlawfully wounding a boy named Durwin, at Derry, on the 1st November last, the jury being unable to agree, applied to the sub-sheriff to know if a verdict of guilty of the lesser offence in the indictment



ment was returned whether the punishment would be light, stating that, if such were to be the case, the jury would agree; whether the sub-sheriff, without the knowledge or intervention of the judge, did not thereupon put himself in communication with the Crown counsel, and obtain his assurance that the punishment would be light, which was stated to the jury, and followed by their finding a verdict of guilty; and, what, if any, steps the Lord Lieutenant intends to take in the matter?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he was informed that there was no foundation whatever for those allegations. A similar charge was made in open Court by counsel for the prisoner, and the Judge asked the jury if there was any foundation for it, saying, at the same time, that if there were he would discharge them and try the case with another jury. The jury repudiated the charge, and assured the Judge that the verdict was disinterested.

MR. HEALY asked whether they were now to regard it as judicially laid down that if a jury communicated with any person they would be discharged and the prisoner tried by another jury? In the case of Hynes, the jury was allowed to separate, and yet Hynes was hung on their verdict.

MR. TREVELYAN said, this was a communication of a definite nature, which, if the jury had accepted it, must have influenced their verdict.

#### PORTUGAL—THE CONGO RIVER TREATY.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT asked the Secretary of State for War, If an opportunity will be afforded to the House to express its opinion on the Treaty between this Country and Portugal in regard to the Congo, according to the pledge given by the First Lord of the Treasury on April 3rd of last year—

“That the Treaty should be made known to Parliament before ratification in such a way and with the intervention of such an interval that Parliament shall be enabled to exercise an independent judgment upon it;”

and, whether the House may be assured that the Treaty shall not be ratified until such opportunity has been obtained?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The pledge given by the Prime Minister last year appears to be accurately stated in the Question of my hon. Friend; and,

in conformity with that pledge, the Treaty between this country and Portugal in regard to the Congo and the Correspondence relating to it has been laid on the Table. The Treaty has not yet been ratified. I believe that there are on the Paper one or two Notices of Motion calling attention to this subject; but the hon. Members who have placed these Notices have not yet obtained a day for bringing them forward. No doubt they will do their utmost, if they desire to discuss the question, to obtain a day. At the present moment I am not in a position to make any arrangement on behalf of the Government with regard to giving a day for the discussion; but there is no immediate intention of ratifying the Treaty, and the House will not be taken by surprise, as the ratification will not take place until full Notice has been given.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT said, the noble Marquess had stated that there was no immediate intention of ratifying the Treaty. Would the noble Marquess be good enough to answer the last part of his Question?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I really do not know whether the House is desirous to discuss the matter. All I can say is that the House shall not be taken by surprise. If they wish to discuss it I have no doubt an opportunity will be found.

MR. NEWDEGATE: Remembering what occurred in regard to the French Treaty of 1860, I would ask the noble Lord whether he will give the House a similar assurance to that given in 1860, to the effect that the Treaty will not be concluded until the House has had an opportunity of considering it?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: Before the noble Lord answers that, and remembering what occurred last Tuesday, I would ask whether, supposing an hon. Member who has a Notice of Motion on this subject obtains the first place on a Tuesday, the Government will undertake to keep a House?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In reply to the Question of the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate), I have to say that I do not remember what occurred in 1860, and, therefore, I cannot undertake to give a similar pledge. With reference to the Question of the hon. Member for Wigtonshire (Sir Herbert Maxwell),

I have to observe that it is beyond the power of the Government sometimes to keep a House on Tuesday. But if this matter should be brought forward on a Tuesday evening we will do the best we can.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR: Supposing that private Members should fail in getting a good place, will the Government pledge themselves to give facilities for the discussion?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have already said that I am not in a position at present to make any arrangement on behalf of the Government, but that the Treaty will not be ratified without the House being informed of it, and it appears to me that that will be the time for raising the question as to a discussion.

#### ARMY—THE ROYAL MUNSTER FUSILIERS.

MR. GABBETT asked the Secretary of State for War, If he would explain why the 5th Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers (County Limerick Regiment) is not placed on the same footing as the other battalions of the regiment, in having the advantage of an Adjutant from the Line under the new system, its present Adjutant having served only in a West Indian regiment, and Officers of West Indian regiments having been excluded from appointments as Adjutants of Auxiliary Forces under the new system?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The adjutant of the 5th Battalion Royal Munster Fusiliers was appointed under the old system, under which he is not liable to removal till he reaches the age of 55 years. I may add that he is reported to be a very efficient officer.

#### NAVY—THE ACCOUNTANT BRANCH—PAYMASTERS.

MR. ALDERMAN COTTON asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is the intention of the Lords of the Admiralty to alter the existing regulations with reference to the Accountant Branch of the Navy, in which the block is so great that there is no promotion whatever from assistant paymaster to paymaster, many of the former of which rank have been in the service upwards of fourteen years?

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether

their Lordships' attention has been directed to the present stagnation in the promotion of Assistant Paymasters of the Royal Navy; and, if so, whether it is proposed to take any steps to remedy the same?

MR. GABBETT asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, If he will state the number of Paymasters of the Royal Navy who will reach the age for compulsory retirement during the present and five following years; if, taking into consideration the small number of compulsory retirements of Paymasters, R.N. which can be reckoned on during the next six years, and the stagnation of promotion of assistant Paymasters which will be caused thereby, he is prepared to offer inducements to the senior Paymasters to retire, or introduce any measure to compensate the assistant Paymasters for their long and increasing detention in the junior rank?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, in answer to these Questions, I beg to say that there may be a temporary slackness of promotion in the paymasters' branch; but it is purely temporary, and there is no intention of adopting any special measures with regard to it. The number of paymasters who will reach the age for compulsory retirement before the end of 1889 is 17; but this number must by no means be taken as including all who will retire, as it seldom happens that officers remain on the active list to the end. During the last three years I find that only one-tenth of the actual vacancies have been created by age retirements.

#### POST OFFICE (SCOTLAND)—THE POSTMASTERSHIP OF KEITH.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Postmaster General, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the Correspondence between the Post Office and the Treasury relative to the appointment of Mr. Fraser to Keith Post Office?

MR. FAWCETT, in reply, said, that there had been no correspondence between the Post Office and the Treasury in reference to the appointment of Mr. Fraser as Postmaster of Keith.

#### NAVY—ADMIRALTY PENSIONS.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the Admiralty will consider the ex-

pediency of giving the age pension to pensioners who had retired from the service prior to 1878?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The Order in Council of 1878 restricted the age pensions to 7,500, and limited the combined pensions from Public and Greenwich Funds to 2*s.* 6*d.* a-day. These restrictions were imposed in consequence of the rapid increase in the annual charge. Age pensions are payable from Greenwich Funds, and were given as a charity in lieu of an asylum. It would be inexpedient to admit that men retired at any particular date have a superior claim to pensions of this nature.

#### ARMY ESTIMATES—THE MEDICAL VOTE.

MR. GUY DAWNAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, seeing that the Committee of Supply had no fitting opportunity last Session for the discussion of the important questions raised by the Medical Vote of the Army Estimates, he will undertake that an adequate opportunity shall be given to the Committee during the present Session for the discussion of that Vote?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am afraid I can only say that I will make the best arrangements I can for bringing on these important Votes at a time which will be convenient to the hon. and gallant Member and to the House.

#### EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN) — ALLEGED FLOGGING OF CAMEL-DRIVERS.

MR. PARNELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been directed to a paragraph in the London papers of Tuesday, describing the infliction of several dozens of lashes, by order of Admiral Hewett, upon sixteen Egyptian camel-drivers of the Carrier Corps, who accompanied the recent British expedition against Osman Digna; whether this flogging was inflicted upon these Egyptian carriers as a consequence of the sentence of a Court Martial for an offence against Military discipline committed by them during this expedition of Thursday last, or simply by the direction of Admiral Hewett; whether these carriers come under the definition of Sub-section 10 of the 168th Section, Part 5, of the Army Discipline

and Regulation Act of 1879, which provides that—

“All persons, not otherwise subject to Military Law, who are followers of or accompany Her Majesty's troops when employed on active service beyond the seas, shall be subject to Military Law as soldiers;”

whether, if so, corporal punishment for persons subject to Military Law as soldiers has been abolished by Statute; and, whether he can inform the House under what authority, Statutable or otherwise, these Egyptian carriers were flogged, and the number of lashes they received?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the Admiralty have received a telegram from Admiral Sir William Hewett on this subject, from which it would appear that the newspaper reports of what took place are somewhat exaggerated. Admiral Hewett reports—

“Some of the gendarmerie having refused to work and obey orders, I punished the chief offenders, an immediate example being necessary. I did not consider it amounted to mutiny, and, therefore, I did not think it worth reporting to your Lordships. The remainder of the men obeyed orders, and gave three cheers for the Khedive.”

Two others, for refusing to obey orders, were to be flogged; and, on arriving at Cairo, an officer was reduced to a lower rank for setting a bad example to his men. Camel-drivers accompanying troops on active service would come under the provisions of the Army Act. In addition to any statutory powers under the Army Act, Sir William Hewett exercises under a commission from the Khedive all the powers of an Egyptian Governor of Suakin under the Egyptian law.

MR. PARNELL: I wish to ask the noble Lord whether camel-drivers do come under the Army Discipline and Regulation Act of 1879 as persons subject to military law, and whether there is any difference as regards the power of Admiral Hewett over those persons subject to military law, and over other persons subject to military law; whether, as Admiral Hewett claimed the right, as it appears he did, to flog the camel-drivers, he claims a similar right to flog any other persons in the expedition?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I understand the Question to be whether the camel-drivers come under the operation of the Army Discipline Act? I



understand that they would come under that Act.

MR. PARNELL: My point is, whether any persons composing the expedition, and subject to the Army Discipline Act, would come under the Admiral's power to flog with the permission of the Khedive?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I conceive that Admiral Hewett would act at Suakin and in its neighbourhood by the authority of the Khedive as Governor under the Egyptian law.

MR. PARNELL: Am I to understand that Admiral Hewett, under the commission of the Khedive, would have power to flog British soldiers; if not, what difference is there between the case of the camel-drivers, who are subject to the Army Discipline Act, according to the statement of the noble Lord, and the case of any other persons in the expedition who are likewise subject to the Army Discipline Act?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Perhaps the hon. Member will give Notice of this Question?

MR. GORST: I should like to ask a Question of the noble Lord, or of the Judge Advocate General, whom I see in his place—Whether it is not a principle of International Law that the Commander-in-Chief of a belligerent force within the lines of an Army exercises the authority of the nation to which he belongs; whether, therefore, Admiral Hewett has not a right to enforce British law as opposed to Egyptian law within the lines of his Army; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government will direct him to administer that British law in such a manner as not to inflict torture?

MR. LABOUCHERE: Perhaps the Judge Advocate General would also be kind enough to say whether flogging in the Army and Navy, both in the field and at home, was not abolished by an Act of this House?

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN: I have no difficulty in answering the Question of my hon. Friend. Flogging has in such cases been abolished by Statute. As to the Question of the hon. and learned Member opposite, it involves a very nice question of International Law, to which I should be sorry to reply off-hand; but if my hon. and learned Friend will be kind enough to put it in writing, I will do my best to answer it.

*The Marquess of Hartington*

COLONEL MAKINS: I should like to ask whether, as would appear from the telegram read by the noble Lord, these men were flogged because they refused to cheer the Khedive.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not know what inference the hon. and gallant Member may draw from the telegram. That is not the inference I drew from it.

MR. O'DONNELL: Is it not the case that the punishment of flogging in the Soudan has been abolished by General Gordon, acting under the authority of the Khedive, and that in proof of that abolition he has caused whips and other instruments of torture to be publicly burnt? And can the noble Lord produce the text of any document withdrawing Admiral Hewett from the authority of General Gordon?

[No reply was given to this Question.]

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—  
ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM HEWETT'S  
PROCLAMATION—OSMAN DIGNA.

MR. HEALY asked, Whether a counter-proclamation, withdrawing the reward of £1,000 offered for the body of Osman Digna, dead or alive, has been issued; if so, what are its terms; and, if the Government can give any assurance that Copies of the Document have been circulated as widely as the original offer of a reward?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have received information that another Proclamation has been issued withdrawing the former, but I do not know in what terms.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON: I should like to ask the noble Lord whether he has made any inquiry into the details of the taking of the lives of Admiral Hewett's two messengers, and whether the taking of those lives was the cause of the Proclamation?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: It will not be necessary to make any inquiry on the subject, because, independently of that statement of Admiral Hewett, the Government thought it necessary to cause that Proclamation to be withdrawn.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: If the first Proclamation should result in a bringing in of the head of the murdered Osman Digna, will General Graham be compelled to pay the reward which he

offers, and will the Government reimburse him, as they gave him a discretion for which he would then have to pay?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I think it is impossible for me to give an answer to a hypothetical Question of that kind.

MR. HEALY: The noble Lord has not answered the second part of the Question.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have given all the information that we have. A Proclamation has been issued with drawing the former one; but in what way it has been circulated, or in what terms it has been couched, I do not know.

MR. HEALY said, he would repeat the Question on Monday.

MR. O'DONNELL: Is it not a fact that no notice or mention whatever has been made of a counter-Proclamation by any of the newspaper correspondents?

[No answer was given to this Question.]

#### EGYPT—THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM.

MR. KENNARD (for Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT) asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If his attention has been called to the following statement of the Cairo Correspondent of *The Standard*, which appeared in that paper on March 12th:—

“The state of Egypt is indeed causing apprehensions in every respect. Not only are crimes of violence largely on the increase, but the greatest difficulty is experienced in collecting the taxes. The absence of any fixed or settled Government is giving rise to intense and general discontent throughout the whole Administrative system. The steady downward movement towards chaos, which has been slowly going on for the last two years, is now proceeding at a terribly accelerated pace;”

further, to the statements made by General Gordon to the Correspondent of *The Times*, at Khartoum, on March 8th:—

“It is a certainty that the Mahdi will raise the tribes between Khartoum and Berber. This is not owing to disaffection, but to fear caused by the pronounced policy of the abandonment of the Soudan. . . . It is no longer a question of days, but of hours;”

and, whether, in view of the gravity of the situation in Egypt and the Soudan, Her Majesty's Government will now proclaim a definite British Administration of Egypt, and appoint a British Governor General to restore order and

good administration for the Soudan, in co-operation with the Sovereign Power?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The Government have received no information which confirms the statement of the Correspondent referred to. With regard to the latter part of the Question, it is exactly the same as one which was put on the Paper on a former occasion by the hon. Member, and is one to which it is impossible for me to give any further answer than I have given on several occasions.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Can the noble Lord give us any further information as to the state of affairs in Egypt, and especially with regard to the communication between Khartoum and Cairo?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Telegraphic communication does not appear yet to have been restored, and it further appears that the district around Berber is more or less disturbed. Sir Evelyn Baring stated a short time ago, that although the telegraph was cut, information would be able to reach General Gordon in two or three days. We have not received from Sir Evelyn Baring anything modifying that statement.

#### CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL—PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, he wished to make a personal explanation. He had read a report in *The Times*, which he presumed was correct, of a statement made on Tuesday afternoon during the debate on the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill by the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) as to the views which he was alleged to have expressed on that subject in the United States. He was in the United States in 1882, and in 1881; but he had never made a speech there, never saw a reporter, and took care to avoid that most obnoxious person the interviewer. What the hon. Member had imputed to him was, no doubt, a kind of bucolic invention. He took that opportunity of mentioning the subject, as he was sure that the hon. Member would not intentionally misrepresent him.

MR. CLARE READ said, he had first seen the statement in an American paper, and he had afterwards read it in an agricultural journal. He was extremely sorry to have misrepresented the hon. Member. He was not the first person

who had been hoaxed by a Yankee paper, nor would he probably be the last.

# PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ARRANGEMENT OF BUSINESS.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to ask the noble Lord a Question with regard to the conduct of Business. I see on the Notice Paper to-day the Navy Estimates, and also a Vote on Account for the Civil Service. I wish to ask, Whether it is intended to proceed with the Vote on Account, and, if so, at what hour; and, also, what course is going to be taken with regard to the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, and whether there is any probability of the second reading being taken to-night; and, if not, what arrangements the Government will propose for going on with that Bill?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the Government propose to take a Vote on Account in respect of the Civil Service Estimates to-night, and the Navy Estimates will be taken at whatever hour they may be reached. With regard to the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, as we were not able to take the second reading on Tuesday morning, although there appeared to be a general concurrence of opinion in the House, we propose to consider that Bill again at a Morning Sitting to-morrow. I wish also to give Notice that as it is possible, and even probable, that the end of the debate is very nearly reached, we shall propose to put down after that Bill the Committee on the Election (Hours of Polling) Bill, and after that the Sunday Closing (Ireland) Bill.

MR. PARNELL: I wish to ask the noble Lord whether, in view of the fact that the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill involves a very wide question, in reference to which Members from Ireland differ very widely, and that the Bill is absolutely certain to be talked out if the course announced by the noble Marquess is pursued, he will not consult the general feeling of Irish Members as to the choice of Government Bills relating to Ireland which he will put down for to-morrow's Sitting?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: There is very little probability of the House being able at the Morning Sitting to-morrow to make progress beyond the second Bill I have referred to; and

if the hon. Member think it to be impossible to dispose of the Bill I have named, there shall be put down as the third Order the Revision of Jurors and Voters List (Dublin County) Bill.

LORD JOHN MANNERS asked why, if Supply was urgent, it could not be taken after the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill to-morrow?

MR. GIBSON: I would like to ask the noble Lord, after what conference has he decided that the Bill which he intends to put down as third Order is likely to be one most pleasing to the House and having the best chance of being passed? Is the noble Lord aware that the Irish Government are pledged to the highest point that they can be pledged to go forward with the Sunday Closing Bill?

MR. HEALY: I would like to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) whether he is aware that the Bill against which he now hints opposition was read a second time without a single word of discussion on Monday night?

MR. TREVELYAN, as responsible for advising the Leader of the House with regard to Irish Business, might say that he had heard from many quarters that it would be impossible that the Sunday Closing Bill would have any chance of passing as the third Order on any day whatever; and with regard to the Jurors, &c., Bill, it was a very small Bill, that passed the second reading without any discussion, and he had every reason to believe the reason for that was that it was a Bill to which there was no serious opposition in any quarter of the House.

MR. ONSLOW said, that the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) wished to take part in the debate in Committee on the Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill, and he was a Member of the Committee on Indian Railways which would be sitting to-morrow.

MR. GORST asked why the Elections Bill was to be taken before the Merchant Shipping Bill, which involved the loss of human life; and whether they were to understand that the Shipping Bill was adjourned *sine die*?

MR. BROADHURST asked whether the noble Lord could give any assurance when the House would get to the Representation of the People Bill, which was of far greater importance and interest



to the country generally than the Cattle Diseases Bill?

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Secretary to the Treasury for what amount it was intended to take a Vote on Account?

MR. COURTNEY said, the Paper had been circulated for some days; the Vote on Account would be for two months.

MR. RITCHIE asked whether there was any truth in the rumour that the Government proposed to take the Representation of the People Bill *de die in diem*?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The present necessities of Supply will be met, if we are able to obtain the Votes I have mentioned to-night; to postpone those Votes till to-morrow will make them too late for the operations so frequently described by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Besides, there will be no certainty that we shall obtain the Votes at a Morning Sitting, on account of the Motions that may be made on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair; and if we do get into Committee there is no certainty that the Votes will be obtained before we are compelled to break off. As to the Hours of Polling Bill taking precedence of the Merchant Shipping Bill, the President of the Board of Trade is not now in the House; but I am under the impression that he gave a distinct pledge to Members interested, that it should not be brought forward without ample Notice. In these circumstances, it would be impossible to bring it forward at one day's Notice. The Franchise Bill it is proposed to take on Monday next. As to proceeding *de die in diem*, the Government at present have no intention to ask the House to come to a resolution of that kind. With reference to the engagement of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) on the Committee on Indian Railways, I would point out that the House does not sit until 2 o'clock; there are Questions and preliminary Business; and the Cattle Diseases Bill will probably occupy some little time, so that when the Hours of Polling Bill is reached, it will be in the power of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire to be here.

SIR JOHN HAY asked whether, if the general discussion on the Navy Estimates were not completed on the first Vote, it would not facilitate Business if

an understanding were come to that it might be resumed on the second Vote?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I understand that has been done on a former occasion; and, so far as it depends upon the Government, it may be done again.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked on what occasion the Navy Estimates would be taken after to-night?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that the proper time to settle that would be when Progress was reported.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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### SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

### NAVY—MARINE ARTILLERY AND INFANTRY.

#### MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM, in rising to move—

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into and Report upon the expenditure incurred for the professional training and technical instruction of the Officers of the Royal Marine Artillery and Royal Marine Light Infantry, the position these Officers occupy, and the duties they perform, both afloat and ashore, when serving under the Naval Discipline Act, and further to inquire and Report whether the administration of the Royal Marine Forces adequately provides for the due representation of their special interests, and sufficiently secures economy and efficiency of the public service,"

said, that two reasons had induced him to give Notice of the Motion he had just read—the first, that having no personal interest, beyond the interest that all hon. Members who looked to the state of the defences of the country no doubt felt in the question, he could not be accused of prejudice; the second, that it would give an opportunity to hon. Members, who had so often spoken on the question before, to fill up the gaps he feared would be apparent in the remarks he would venture to make. In this Resolution he asked the Government to pledge themselves to nothing. He merely asked for this inquiry as an act of justice to a deserving body of men. Last year he seconded a similar Motion made by the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr.

Hopwood), the chief reason given for resisting which was the objection felt to the demand that there should be an officer of Marines on the Board of Admiralty. Without having altered his own opinion, he did not now put forward that demand. A Committee could in a short time ascertain whether the present system was a good one or not; and he thought the Marines would be willing to abide by their decision. Rightly or wrongly, dissatisfaction existed through all branches of the Marine Force; and the Admiralty should be glad of the opportunity of vindicating their administration, especially as the request for inquiry was not made in a spirit of hostility. He wished to call attention to the expense annually incurred in the support and maintenance of the Marine Forces, and to show that the benefits which the country ought to receive from the expenditure of a large sum of money upon those Forces were practically thrown away. He desired also to point out what appeared to him to be a defect in the present administration of the Forces. It was difficult to arrive at the annual sum expended; but he believed he was correct in saying that it amounted to £1,000,000. The pay and pensions of Marine officers alone amounted to £160,000 a-year; and before the country could make use of the services of a Naval Marine Artillery officer a sum of about £900 was expended upon his education and training. Owing to the fact that the sum for this instruction was scattered over several Votes—such as the Royal Naval College at Greenwich, the Establishment of the *Excellent*, and the Ordnance Votes—it was impossible to arrive at a perfectly accurate estimate, and he would be glad if the Secretary to the Admiralty would tell the House what the exact sum was; but they knew the pay, while under instruction, of a Marine Artillery officer was £350, and that of a Marine Light Infantry officer £150; and he believed, from a careful estimate prepared for him, that the instruction of a Marine Artillery officer cost £550, making up the sum of £900 above referred to. It would be interesting to know the relative costs of converting a civilian into an efficient Marine—Artillery or Infantry—officer, and of imparting Artillery and Infantry information to a naval officer. One thing was clear—in one, case the

whole expense was incurred to make the civilian a scientific and practical officer fit to command a trained Artillery force, and to perform the duties required of him by land and sea; in the other case, the naval officer had to master so many other subjects, that the Artillery instruction and cost thereof were merely incidental. The special grievances of which the Marines complained were the hopelessness of advancement of officers of rank, the non-employment of Marines in the Intelligence and Ordnance Departments, the careful exclusion of Marine officers from employment on Committees on military and naval subjects, and the fact that there was no proportion of Marine officers on naval courts martial. It was well understood that captains of ships and the officers serving under them must be responsible for discipline on board; but when the Marines were on shore, officers of that Force should be responsible for the discipline of the men in the operations in which they might be engaged. He believed that the Marines were perfectly satisfied while serving under the Army Discipline Act; but when serving under the Naval Discipline Act and the Admiralty Instructions, the whole system of discipline was entirely changed. The responsibility of officers became nominal; they had no power to punish their own men, and they themselves might be tried by captains and commanders of ships without any one of their own body sitting on the court martial. This was extremely prejudicial to the Service, humiliating to the officers, and demoralizing to the men. It was a notorious fact that a Marine officer engaged in military operations might be ordered about by any young executive naval officer. When Marine Artillery were landed, they were not employed as Artillery, but as Infantry, under the command, perhaps, of some young naval officer who was, perhaps, not in the nursery when the officer of Marines was already in the Service. He was not aware whether the Secretary to the Admiralty had seen a piece called *Iolanthe*, which was very popular last year. One of the principal characters in that play was named Strephon, who was in the extraordinary position of being a fairy down to the waist, but below that he was only mortal; when he wished to enter a room by the key-hole, which was rather the custom

among fairies, he found that up to a certain point he could pass through the keyhole with considerable ease, but the moment that point was reached, the more active part of his person was left dangling hopelessly outside. That, in his opinion, very aptly described the present position of the Force of Marines in relation to the Board of Admiralty. He wished to know whether it was the opinion of the Admiralty that the work for the performance of which the officers of the Marine Artillery were specially trained could be equally well done by officers of the Navy who had no such special training; and, if that were their opinion, what was the object of spending money on the instruction of Marine Artillery officers? He held that clear rules ought to be laid down for the guidance of officers of Marines when they were used as a land force, and that the men when landed ought to be commanded by their own officers. He did not intend on that occasion to press for the addition of a Marine officer to the Board of Admiralty. He might be allowed to observe, however, that it was very curious that while the Marines were under the Board of Admiralty there was no one on that Board who possessed a knowledge of military requirements or with experience of the internal necessities of a military system. He only called attention to the subject, not to ask for an officer of Marines to be placed on the Board, but to see if it would not be possible for the existing powers of the Deputy Adjutant General to be extended. Referring to the employment of Marines in the neighbourhood of Suakin, he asked whether it was not a fact that they who were a trained military force were then placed under the command of a naval officer? Judging from the actions of the Board of Admiralty, it would seem that in their opinion military knowledge was most valuable on board ship and nautical knowledge on shore. Other questions to which he should like to have an answer were whether the Marine Force at Suakin was not considerably under-officered when the enemy was attacked, and whether the Marine Artillery were supplied with machine guns and light ordnance? Another matter to which he wished to call attention was the mode in which a force of Marines, consisting of 497 rank and file and 11 officers, had

been conveyed from Malta to Alexandria. They were placed on board the *Gilsland*, in which there was boat accommodation for only 160 men—a circumstance which might have led to a terrible catastrophe. The decks had no scuppers, there was no means of swinging the hammocks, there was but a limited allowance of water, the mess deck was filthy, the bulwarks only 2 feet high, with a rail above, and there was no protection from sun or rain. That such a large body of men should have been sent 1,000 miles on the open sea in winter with such a want of accommodation surely required explanation. There was some mystery about the chartering of the *Gilsland*, and he hoped they should be allowed to have the Report. He was informed that “the men went on board cheerfully, and agreed among themselves that there should be no grumbling.” The cheerful way in which officers and men had taken the indignity was beyond all praise. There was some question of increasing the number of men in the Army. He would like to say a word for the Marines. He did not know whether hon. Members had seen the article bearing on this point in *The Nineteenth Century*, of May last, by General Schomberg. What the General proposed was that the Marines should be the constant auxiliary of the Army as well as the Navy, in peace as in war. General Schomberg said—

“The Marines are frequently employed as an auxiliary to the Army as well as the Navy—witness their services in Spain, Syria, China, India, Africa, and Egypt—but an auxiliary only in time of bitter need and war. Let the Marines be a standing and constant auxiliary to the Army as well as the Navy—in peace as in war—and augment them so as to enable them to furnish portions of the Eastern, Western, Mediterranean, and, perhaps, eventually Australian garrisons. It would certainly be an advantage to the Line and Royal Artillery to be relieved of a portion of the burden of foreign service, which weighs heavily upon them, and, with the ever-recurring interruption of our small wars, renders the formation of a Reserve for the Army slow and difficult. If the Marines were raised in number so as to enable them to take a portion of routine Colonial service—say, at Malta or Gibraltar, Hong Kong or Bombay, and Halifax—this pressure would be considerably relieved; and the Navy would have a Reserve Force and a Landing Force to draw upon at all its outposts. Such a force at hand might have actually prevented some of our late minor wars. Moreover, the Marines, at their present diminished numbers, are a very inadequate Reserve for the Navy. If the late Egyptian Campaign had been a great war, the chief Naval Reserve would have been drained at the outset.



After the Marine contingent had sailed for Egypt there remained in England less than 100 trained Marine Artillerymen and 600 trained Marine Infantry. Is this a satisfactory condition for the First Reserve of the Navy? However admirable its training may be, its present strength in numbers is quite inadequate."

One point more. Last year the Secretary to the Admiralty concluded his remarks by asking the House not to appoint the Committee, but to leave the matter to the Government, who recognized the strong opinion that prevailed to discover whether it was necessary to do anything more. If they did not do what was necessary, then the House could call them to account. Well, nothing of any importance had been done; and now, as the Government had thrown down a challenge, the House ought to take it up and insist upon the appointment of the Committee for which he asked. If this question of Marine grievances was a bubble, the sooner it was burst the better. But if it was not a bubble, the longer the sense of grievance continued the greater the dissatisfaction would be. The Marines were always ready; they had shed their blood freely in every part of the globe, and their history was identified with the history of this country throughout the world. He begged to move the Resolution which stood in his name.

CAPTAIN PRICE, in seconding the Motion, said, that the Marines were the last to complain, but they were the first to meet with a want of consideration from whatever Government happened to be in Office. The House was entitled to know the facts of the case with respect to the *Gilstand*. About 500 Marines had been sent out in the *Poonah*—a fine ship, capable of carrying a much greater number. On the arrival of the vessel at Malta they were transferred to the *Gilstand*, which was in a very filthy condition, to proceed to Alexandria. The officers and men of the Marines, however, had not uttered one word of complaint; if ordered to go in a dung-boat, they would have gone; their only object was to get to their destination as soon as possible, and to be the first in the field. But when he heard that the 38th Regiment was ordered not to embark in that vessel because it was not in a fit condition, he thought himself perfectly justified in calling attention to the subject. If his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty placed himself in the

position of the officer in charge of these men, he would have sufficient pride in his corps to feel some discontent. He asked the other day whether the ship had not been condemned for carrying troops by the military authorities, and the hon. Gentleman said that it was in the highest degree improbable that the military authorities had been consulted in the matter. Why was it improbable that the military authorities should have been consulted? It was strictly in accordance with the Queen's Regulations that a ship of that kind should be inspected. Those Regulations not only directed an inspection, but required that a Report of the inspection should be made out. Some further explanation was required as to what happened on board the *Gilstand*. The reason given for transferring the Marines was that the vessel would only accommodate 400 men, but nearly 500 were sent out in her. It was not the first or even the second time that such a thing had happened. It happened when the Marines were transferred from the *Orontes* to the *Tamar* at Gibraltar, the excuse then also being that the *Tamar* was not large enough to convey a Line regiment. There was a case in 1872 when the *Juno* was employed to take a battalion of Marines to Japan after having been condemned for the transport of troops. He was quite certain that if such a slight had been put upon a regiment of the Line, 50 military officers would have risen to denounce the proceeding. He wished also to inquire why it was the officers of Marines were never allowed to sit on courts martial held on members of that branch of the Service? He suggested that a clause should be added to the Naval Discipline Act providing for the amendment of the Regulations on that point. There could be no possible objection to that course, which he said had been attended with many advantages.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into and report upon the expenditure incurred for the professional training and technical instruction of the Officers of the Royal Marine Artillery and Royal Marine Light Infantry, the position these Officers occupy, and the duties they perform, both afloat and ashore, when serving under the Naval Discipline Act, and further to inquire and report whether the administration of the Royal Marine Forces ade-

quately provides for the due representation of their special interests, and sufficiently secures economy and efficiency of the public service,"—(*Viscount Lewisham*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

LORD HENRY LENNOX wished to express his thanks to the noble Lord for bringing forward this Motion, and especially for his declaration that no censure on the Government was intended. He maintained that the naval policy of the Government should be held distinct and apart from any political considerations. There was no force in the Navy at one time more neglected than the Royal Marines, and none which had rendered such splendid services to the country abroad during recent years, especially in the late actions before Alexandria, at El Teb, and at Tamanieb. He was quite sure that the Admiralty intended no slight upon the Marines by placing them on board the *Giltland*, but provided the best accommodation in their power. He thought the Government ought not to refuse to appoint a Committee. If the Marine Force was in a satisfactory condition, that fact would appear more clearly after inquiry. If it was not, the Committee would render an important service. The Royal Marines had assumed too commanding a position in the eyes of the country to have their claims put off by a mere official reply. What they wanted was a Committee of Inquiry to see that one of the most splendid forces in the Service was administered with the greatest possible economy and efficiency. For these reasons he cordially supported the Motion.

MR. PULESTON said, he also supported the Amendment of the noble Lord. Just before the commencement of the difficulties in Egypt some discussion arose as to the advisability of diminishing the numbers of the Marine Force. He was, however, bound to say that the services which had been rendered by the Marines, not only as a naval and military corps, but as a police force in Ireland, would probably remove all idea of decreasing the strength of the force. He thought that some steps should be taken to increase the numbers of the Corps, which had been reduced from

30,000 at the beginning of the century to 12,000 at the present time. He hoped that the Government would see their way, not only to grant the proposed Committee, but also to give it authority to act in the way he suggested, with a view to promoting, as it would also do, the efficiency of both the Army and the Navy.

MR. GORST complained that no Member of the Cabinet was present, and supposed that the subject was not worthy of their consideration. The Marines appeared to be a kind of outcast force, acknowledged neither by the Army nor the Navy; but he felt sure that if a Joint Committee of the Admiralty and the War Office were appointed, some valuable understanding might be arrived at with regard to this important branch of the Service. The Marines had rendered good service wherever they had been engaged, and had prevented battles being lost owing to their extreme steadiness, which resulted from there being a large proportion of old soldiers among them. But so little were they considered or noticed either by the authorities of the Army or the Navy, that in one of his despatches the General in command in Egypt never even mentioned the fact that the Marines were engaged in a battle which they had done much to win. He knew that many of the officers of this Corps were so dissatisfied with its present position that they were desirous to see it turned into a part of the Army. No doubt a brigade of that kind would be extremely useful. He did not know whether the Secretary to the Admiralty would be able to say anything about the unfortunate arrangement by which Marines, when landed, still remained under the command of an officer of the Navy, and that without the General in command having any direct authority over them. The Secretary to the Admiralty informed him last year that the position of the Marines was to be dealt with by legislation; and he believed that a Bill on the subject was actually introduced. But what he complained of was that the Government brought in Bills and did not pass them. He wished to impress upon the Secretary to the Admiralty that he should not only introduce a Bill, but pass it through Parliament. It was, however, useless to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty, as he had no power to act. There ought really to

be a Cabinet Minister present who would be able to give the House some assurance that the subject should be dealt with during the present Session. It was the unfortunate position of the present Government that necessary measures excited but little enthusiasm among their supporters, and that unless by some legislative action they could create political capital there was but little chance of Bills being carried. He hoped the Committee would be appointed, and that their recommendations would stir the Government into action.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, this question had been raised last year in another form. On that occasion he had supported the Government; but he was bound to say circumstances were very different this year, and that some inquiry into these statements, which were repeated year after year, would be advantageous in the public interest. This question ought to be debated without Party spirit. Experience had shown in late years that departmental inquiries had not satisfied the requirements put upon them, although he was afraid that nothing which was done within the walls of the Admiralty, whether the present or any other Government was in power, would entirely satisfy the claims made from time to time upon the Department by the different interests which might think themselves aggrieved. It seemed to him wise that an inquiry such as was suggested by the noble Lord should be made; and he thought it would be better that it should not be conducted by a Committee of the House, but by a Royal Commission, which should consider the very important questions raised by the Motion with reference to the professional training and technical instruction of officers in the Royal Marine Artillery and Royal Marine Light Infantry. The appointment of officers to these Corps was, in his view, a matter of extreme difficulty to every Board of Admiralty. He had been informed that of nine probationary officers last year only one passed the examination, which indicated a state of things that could not be satisfactory to those who had to administer so valuable a Corps as that to which the Motion of the noble Lord referred, and whose desire would, of course, be to secure the most suitable junior officers for the Corps. There could only be one opinion as to the high

efficiency, gallantry, and usefulness of a Corps which had always discharged its duty, whenever and wherever called upon. The Marines were always perfectly ready for duty, and they always did their work admirably; a fact which was borne out by the figures furnished by the Secretary to the Admiralty, which showed that there was a larger proportion of efficient in the Marines—proportionately to the whole strength of the Corps—than in any other branch of the Service. These were not the only grounds on which he thought there should be a full consideration of the position in which the Marines stood as compared with other branches of the Service. The Motion of the noble Lord was very full and ample. It proposed not only that inquiry should be made as to whether the administration of the force sufficiently secured economy and efficiency of the Public Service; but it also proposed that inquiry should be made as to whether the administration of the Royal Marine Forces “adequately provides for the due representation of their special interests.” He did not understand clearly the meaning of this phrase; because, as far as he knew, there was nothing which an officer of Marines would wish for less or wish to avoid more than a representation of special interests, their sole desire being to secure the complete efficiency of the branch of the Service to which they belonged. He hoped a Royal Commission would be appointed, because such an appointment would enable the Government in selecting the Members to go beyond the House of Commons, and obtain an inquiry and a Report which no ordinary Committee of the House could make or produce. The Admiralty during the past few years, owing, doubtless, to a necessity for economy, had been compelled to reduce the strength of the Marines by 600 men. He thought it would be wise to reconsider the establishment of this branch of the Service, and to go back to what was, in his view, the opinion of the country, instead of acting on the view of any particular Board of Admiralty that might have been in Office. He hoped the Government would accede to the Motion of the noble Lord, modified, as he (Mr. W. H. Smith) suggested it should be, in order to secure efficiency in a most important arm of the Service.



MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN expressed his satisfaction and pleasure at the friendly tone—if he might so describe it—in which this Motion had been brought forward and discussed. Even the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), who had a lively imagination, and evolved by its means a picture which was by no means flattering of the administration of the Admiralty, did not apply it to the present Government, but to the normal state of things existing there. He could assure the hon. and learned Gentleman that, although he had been two years at the Admiralty, he had failed to detect any contemptuous feeling for the Marines amongst his Colleagues at the Board. The noble Lord had asked the House to appoint a Select Committee to inquire as to three distinct questions in reference to the Marine branch of the Service. Taking the proposals in inverse order, he would deal first with the last branch of the proposal, which was that the Committee should inquire—

“Whether the administration of the Royal Marine Forces adequately provides for the due representation of their special interests, and sufficiently secures economy and efficiency of the Public Service.”

The right hon. Gentleman who had last addressed the House had alluded to the awkwardness of the phrase, “due representation of their special interests;” and he (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) could not think of anything less likely to secure “economy and efficiency” than the appointment to the Board of Admiralty of an officer whose function it should be to specially represent the interests of the Marines. He could only repeat his statement of last year as to the nature of the business which came before the Board. There were few cases in which a distinctly Marine question came before the Board at all. The business was conducted under the direction of the First Lord, by the Senior Naval Lord, and the Deputy Adjutant General of Marines; and he conceived that no system which could be invented could better represent the relation between the Marines and the Navy. On board ship, and, in fact, under all circumstances, the Marines were essentially a part of the Navy. The duty of the Board was to secure the efficiency of the Service as a whole. Any attempt to set up the Marines as a separate Corps from

the Navy would be a mistake, even in the interests of the Marines themselves; for the Board, as at present constituted, most adequately, in his opinion, represented the relations between the Marines and the Navy. He did not think, therefore, that there was any ground for inquiry as far as the third branch of the noble Lord’s Motion was concerned. The second part of the Motion had reference to the position which officers of Marines occupied, and the duties they performed when serving both afloat and ashore under the Naval Discipline Act. As to their position when afloat, he had heard it argued that they ought—of course, under the captain of the ship in which they served—to be entirely responsible for the discipline of their men; and he admitted that there was a great deal to be said in favour of that argument; but there was an obvious inconvenience, in that seamen and Marines serving in the same ship would be under different discipline for offences which might be of a precisely similar character. With regard to the relative position of seamen and Marines on shore, he had made last year a statement of the views of the Government on the subject. When Marines served on shore as a distinct Corps in conjunction with the Army there was no difficulty, because they were placed under the Army Act. But occasions arose, as, for instance, in 1882 at Alexandria, when they were temporarily serving on shore, and were subject to recall to their ships at any moment; and it would then be inconvenient to place them under the Army Act, as they might be one day under one discipline and the next day under the other. But if such a detachment remained subject to the Navy Act, reference had to be made, for purposes of discipline, to the officers of the ships. This was felt to be a serious inconvenience and grievance on the part of Marine officers. It was, therefore, the desire of the Government to give the senior officer commanding a detachment the power of punishment. A clause to that effect had been introduced into the Naval Discipline Amendment Bill of last year, which, having passed the House of Lords, the Government had very reluctantly withdrawn, owing to the pressure of Public Business; and it was intended to introduce a similar measure this year, as the Go-

vernment thought that no further time should be lost in making the necessary alterations in the law in this respect. It appeared to him, however, that to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the discipline of the Royal Marine Forces would be a very unusual course. The question of discipline was one of the greatest delicacy, and would be treated in a far better manner by a body of men of practical experience than by a Select Committee of the House of Commons. He was afraid, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government, with every desire to assist the noble Lord's wishes, and the wishes of those who supported him, would be unable to assent to this part of the noble Lord's proposal. With regard to the noble Lord's proposal that a Select Committee should be appointed to inquire into and report upon the expenditure incurred for the professional training and technical instruction of the officers of the Royal Marine Artillery and Royal Marine Light Infantry, without at all being understood to condemn the present system, he thought an independent inquiry into the subject might be of great assistance to the Admiralty; and the question was one which Her Majesty's Government were quite willing, if hon. Members desired it, should be referred to a Select Committee of that House, which was a proper and a fitting tribunal to refer such an inquiry to. The large number of probationers who had failed to pass showed that there was something wrong with the existing arrangements. With regard to the other matters which had been referred to by the noble Lord and by the hon. and gallant Member for Devonport (Captain Price), he could only declare in the most positive terms that there had been no intention whatever to put an indignity upon the Royal Marines, or to subject them to any discomfort beyond that which was unavoidable. As many officers had been sent to Suakin with the Marines from the Mediterranean as could be spared in view of a contemplated landing at Alexandria. The arrangements had been made mainly under the advice of the Commander-in-Chief on the spot, and there had been no desire to impose upon the Marines any services which were not proper and usual. Coming to the great question of the *Gilsland*, he again entirely disclaimed any intention of treating

the Marines worse than battalions of the Line were treated. It must be remembered that the arrangements for securing transports in the Mediterranean to convey the troops were not made in the ordinary way, as in time of peace, but by telegraph. The *Gilsland* was one of the ships in the Port of Malta which were available for transport. She had just concluded a successful voyage, she was in good condition, and was owned by a good firm; and exactly similar ships had taken the regiments from Suez to Suakin. He must remark upon this point that no complaint whatever had been made of this ship by any officer or man conveyed by her, the only complaint with regard to her that had reached his ears being made by the noble Lord and by the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Captain Price). He must repeat that he was satisfied that this complaint did not originate with the officers and men of the Royal Marines who were engaged in the expedition; and he was afraid that those who made the complaint were doing the Corps a very sorry service. The Government had received no information that the authorities had refused to allow troops of the Line to proceed by the ship; and, inasmuch as the vessel had been engaged for the express purpose of conveying the Marines, he did not see how the military authorities could have had an opportunity of inspecting her. His answer, therefore, to the noble Lord was that the Government would not object to the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the system adopted for the appointment and preliminary training of officers of the Marine Artillery and Marine Light Infantry; and if that met the views of hon. Members he should be willing to move it on some subsequent occasion; but he must oppose the particular Motion of the noble Lord. No Board of Admiralty had done so much for the Marines in the same number of years as the present Board. They had increased the pay of the men to an extent represented by the sum of £24,000 a-year; they had equalized the promotion and the prospects of the officers; and they had conferred other smaller advantages. He might add that last summer a Committee was appointed at the War Office to consider the question of the employment of Marine officers with the Army either as adjutants of the

Auxiliary Forces or on the General Staff. That Committee was presided over by his hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the War Office, and one of its Members was Sir Francis Festing, then Assistant Adjutant General of Royal Marines. Sir Francis Festing did not induce the Committee to agree to all that he proposed; but his views were fully expressed before the Committee, and he was highly gratified by the spirit in which they considered the claims of the Marines. The Committee made recommendations for facilitating the employment of Marine officers, as far as that was possible according to the Army system. Nothing was further from the intention of the Admiralty than to do anything to check or discourage the high spirit and the zeal of both the officers and the men of this force. We had often to depend upon them in emergencies; but even if we had not, there could be no question about the high spirit and the attainments of the officers, and the solid, sterling qualities of the men. If any ground for discontent existed in the force the Admiralty would do what they could to remove it; but they were unable to assent to the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the whole subject mentioned in the noble Lord's Motion, because such a course would not be in accordance with usage, nor, in their opinion, conducive to the public interest.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT said, he thought the country was indebted to his noble Friend (Viscount Lewisham) for advocating the claims of this distinguished Corps. He must confess that he was disappointed at the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty; yet he was glad that he had announced the willingness of the Government to go so far as he had stated. While great compliments were paid to the Marines, yet, so far as their grievances were concerned, very little was done for them. He did not find, from the speech of the hon. Gentleman, that any of the grievances set forth were in any way contradicted. There might be some difficulty in putting officers of the Marine Forces on the Admiralty Board; but whenever the good things were given away they never found their way to the Marines. The Marines were somehow always left out; and he did not for a moment believe that men whose conduct was so distinguished in all parts

of the world, in every kind of service, would continually come into that House with grievances if those grievances did not exist. It was said that if they gave the Admiralty time, no doubt everything would be set right. He did not say that it was the fault of any Board of Admiralty; but, clearly, there was something wrong about the system by which this gallant Corps was always left in the lurch.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 63; Noes 36: Majority 27.—(Div. List, No. 47.)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," again proposed.

#### NAVAL DISCIPLINE ACT, 1866—PUNISHMENTS IN THE NAVY.

##### OBSERVATIONS.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER, who had given Notice of his intention to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, the powers given by the Naval Discipline Act of 1866 ought not to be used to inflict penal servitude on young men and boys of good character for offences against discipline involving no moral guilt,"

said, that it was high time that this serious question was looked into. It was causing agitation throughout the country; and a Petition, which had received 8,300 signatures, had been, or would be, presented to the House. He readily acknowledged, as every Member in the House would, the great necessity for enforcing discipline by severe punishment, and no one would take any objection that this should be the case. But they must remember that their soldiers and sailors not only exposed themselves to dangers, and hardships, and privations for their country's sake, but they volunteered, in joining the Service, to give up some of the most valued rights and privileges of citizens; and he thought that it was the duty of their countrymen to interfere when undue severity was exercised towards their sailors. He would remind the House that the Naval Discipline Act of 1866 became law without any debate either in this House or the House of Lords; upon the different stages of the Bill. The Houses considered that it was right that extraordinary powers should be granted; and he supposed that on that account they did not think it necessary to examine too closely into the



details. It was read a first time on the 20th July, 1866, and it received the Royal Assent on the 10th August. By it insubordination might be punished by imprisonment not exceeding two years or penal servitude; but he contended that the framers of the Act could only have intended that this extreme penalty should be applied to extreme cases and to old offenders. The sentence of penal servitude could be for life, or for any term not less than five years; and it involved dismissal with disgrace, the forfeiture of pay, allowances, gratuities, &c., and incapacity to serve Her Majesty again in either civil or military service. This was a terrible punishment to pass upon a young seaman who had previously borne a good character, and who, in a moment of rashness, had assaulted an officer. It was never expected by those who advocated the abolition of flogging that a far more cruel and degrading punishment should be substituted and inexorably enforced. Previously, when a man had received a flogging he resumed his duties, and some men who had been flogged had attained to honourable positions, one having become post captain of a ship. But now men, who formerly could have regained their position, were sent to penal servitude, and obliged to herd with felons of the lowest class, and their lives were blasted and ruined. He had carefully gone over the Returns from the 1st January, 1870, to the 31st December, 1882, and found that for the offences to which his Motion referred 75 men during that period had been sent to penal servitude, and of these 29 had previously had very good characters, and 34 had had fair characters. Of that number seven were boys under 20, five of whom previously bore good characters; 10, five having good characters, were 20 years of age; eight, two having good characters, were 21 years of age; eight, three having good characters, were 22 years of age; 11, one having a good character, were 23; eight, two having good characters, were 24. Of the boys under 20, therefore, more than one-half were of good character before they were convicted and sent to penal servitude. Since the existence of the present Admiralty the number had increased. In the time of the late Government the average yearly number of cases was seven; but during the present Government the average yearly number was 12, including six cases where the

young man's character was good. Previously, no boy of 18 or under was sent to penal servitude; but under the present Administration there had altogether been four boys under 18 years of age sent to penal servitude. With reference to the case of the boy Lewis Price, who was convicted in March, 1882, he believed that the offence which the youth committed was more or less a serious one, as he knocked down his senior officer. The boy threw himself on the mercy of the Court, and no evidence was produced; but he understood that the youth had received a good character from the captain of the ship on which he served. There was no evidence to show that he was drunk at the time; but as he was cook of the mess he would not only receive his own allowance of grog, but also part of the rations of the other men. It was therefore reasonable to assume that a boy of his age, 18 years, could not have consumed that grog without suffering from the effects of it. The offence was committed before the Order of the Admiralty that the allowance of grog should not be given to boys of 18 years reached the youth's ship. He thought the House would agree with him that to send a promising lad, who had received a good character from his captain, into penal servitude was a very serious thing. A Report had been made concerning this boy's case; but the Admiralty had declined to produce it. He submitted that a document of that character ought not to be kept secret, and that if it contained anything which tended to exculpate the boy, the Admiralty should make the fact known. There were three other boys who were undergoing the terrible punishment of penal servitude at the present time; and he could only fear that when they were set at liberty they would be added to the criminal classes of the country. Last November a Petition was presented to the Prime Minister, signed by no less than 12 Members of Parliament, earnestly praying that this matter might have the serious consideration of the Government. He was informed that no notice was taken of that Petition, and that it was not even acknowledged by the right hon. Gentleman or by his Secretary. There was, undoubtedly, a serious agitation going on in the seaport towns with regard to this question; and he had little doubt that the quality of the seamen who were to

join the Navy would be seriously interfered with unless the Admiralty did something to stop this terrible penalty being inflicted for slight offences. He would again remind the House of the splendid services rendered by our sailors on land and sea; no one could think of the gallant, heroic conduct of British sailors without feeling that too much could not be done to promote the interest and welfare of such brave and noble men. He thought it terrible that for an offence against discipline young men in the Navy should be ruined, when in civil life a small fine would have been considered sufficient punishment for an offence of a similar nature. He considered that for a young man of 18 or 20 a sentence of two years' imprisonment at the very most in a naval prison would be a sufficient punishment in all conscience for the offence, especially if he had borne a good character. The lad could then be permitted to rejoin the Service, and show that his first boyish offence was one he would never seek to repeat. He sincerely trusted that the Admiralty would consider whether some steps ought not to be taken immediately to remedy such a terrible state of things as he had shown to exist.

Mr. WARTON believed that in the case of the boy Price the sentence was reduced from five years' to three years' penal servitude. But the Admiralty had committed no act of mercy in reducing that period of penal servitude; for the dreadful nature of the punishment lay not in its duration, but in its character. He was in favour of strict discipline, and in the olden times there was a sharp, short, and effectual remedy for boyish offences, which did the youths a world of good and did not ruin their lives. Nemesis was pursuing a Radical Government in this matter. A Radical agitation with regard to this matter was got up by the Radical Member for Birmingham; and the result was that when the present Government came into Office, they were thwarted by the very agitation which they helped to promote. Such was the result of an ill-considered agitation got up for Party purposes, which had proved a difficulty to those who created it when they found themselves in Office. There was an increasing number of young men who were subject to this terrible punishment of penal servitude; and he hoped that if the Ad-

miralty authorities could devise any other punishment in its place they would not be ashamed to retrace their steps.

Mr. HOPWOOD said, he could not conceive how it was logical to lay the recent increase of sentences by courts martial to penal servitude to the abolition of flogging, and to assume that, if flogging were now permitted in the Navy, a sentence of 40 or 50 lashes would be the equivalent punishment inflicted in cases where a court martial now deemed that five or seven years' penal servitude was a necessary punishment. Therefore, the argument that because that punishment was taken away, courts martial were driven to give five, seven, or ten years' penal servitude, seemed to him not to be supported by facts. When a discussion of this kind occurred, in which discipline was concerned, the opinion was almost always expressed that it must be secured by "severe" punishment, meaning, by that, some punishment out of all proportion to that which would be given in civilian life for some breach of the law. This was always assumed by naval and military men, who, no doubt, thought that they knew more about punishments and their effects than other hon. Members. He begged to contest that. On the civil side of life, in the administration of the law, they claimed to know more about the matter than naval men. Their experience was greater. There were many more offences and temptations to them possible than were contained in the Naval Code. The law, in those cases, was duly enforced by a moderate punishment, and many lawyers would be positively shocked at the length of imprisonment inflicted by courts martial; and he wanted to call the attention of military and naval men to the fact that a feeling existed that a lighter amount of punishment might be adopted quite efficaciously to produce the results which were desired. The Admiralty had the matter in their own hands, and they ought to revise the sentences passed on men tried by courts martial. There ought to be a permanent officer at the Admiralty, like the Judge Advocate General for the Army, to go into these matters, and whose duty it should be to call the attention of the First Lord of the Admiralty to the punishments ordered. At present, instead of the sentences being revised by a responsible



officer, they were handed over to some clerk or other, who was vouched for to the House as being a gentleman of some experience and knowledge on the subject. Having entered his protest against the present mode of inflicting punishment, he would ask his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), when he replied to the observations which had been made during the debate, to state whether it was a rule of prison life that a man sentenced to penal servitude had, by good behaviour, an opportunity of securing the remission of three months of every year? If that was not the case in naval and military prisons it ought to be. It was so as regarded every criminal sent to other prisons. He thought it right to ask the question in order that this privilege might be secured as a right to naval and military offenders. Another excuse for his rising was, that he was about to call attention to the cognate matter on the military side on the Army Discipline Act.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF, in supporting the object aimed at in the Notice of the hon. Baronet (Sir Frederick Milner), said, that nothing had created a greater sensation than the punishment which had been inflicted on a number of young men for offences against discipline. The class of punishment introduced of late was far more degrading in its character than the former punishment for such offences. In the town of Portsmouth there had been two or three cases of this description which had caused the greatest sensation; and he had been asked to present a Petition signed by many thousands of the inhabitants of that town, protesting against the unnecessarily degrading character of the sentences inflicted for offences which were not in themselves morally disgraceful. Formerly these offences would have been punished with a few strokes of the cat; but now young men of good character, for only losing their temper, were punished with penal servitude, and sent to herd with rogues and felons. He had made an application to the Admiralty with reference to some of these cases, and the response was that they would reduce the sentence from five years to three years. But it was not so much the length of the sentence to which he had desired to call attention as to the fact that these young men—whose characters were not bad, and

whose offence was committed in a moment of haste and ill-temper—had entailed upon them such disgraceful and painful consequences. It would have been more desirable, instead of shortening their sentences, to have committed them to imprisonment in some naval gaol, where there would not be the same deteriorating influences. He thought that it would be a very desirable thing that orders should be given to officers who were likely to sit upon courts martial not to use their power of inflicting penal servitude. Offenders might be sent to naval prisons, where they would not be associated with that unhappily degraded set of men who filled our penal establishments. He thought that some method might be found for avoiding the degrading necessity of penal servitude, and the danger of men being deterred from entering the Navy by a sentence so terrible in its nature.

#### NAVY—STATE OF THE NAVY—THE ARMOUR-CLAD NAVY.—OBSERVATIONS.

SIR JOHN HAY said, before proceeding to his Notice of Motion, to which he wished to invite attention, he would thank the hon. Baronet (Sir Frederick Milner) for having brought forward a subject of the greatest possible importance, and reminded him that, as they had been promised that evening a Naval Discipline Bill, he would be able to recur to that question, and to obtain a reply to his remarks from the Treasury Bench. He now turned to the Resolution that he had himself put on the Paper. He desired to obtain the appointment of a Select Committee of that House on the condition of our armour-clad Navy. Although he knew how inconvenient it was for the Secretary to the Admiralty, at that period of the night (9 o'clock), not to have an opportunity of introducing the Navy Estimates, the hon. Gentleman would forgive him, because that was a matter cognate to the matter on which the hon. Member would address them, and of the greatest importance to the country. It deserved to be treated separately, and to be considered by a Select Committee, in order to see whether, in the first place, we had enough iron-clads; and, secondly, whether they were of the right character. The Navy Estimates which they were about to discuss were slightly reduced, while our iron-clads were insufficient in number, and some of them of a character



which he was surprised to see put before the House in a Return that had just been laid on the Table as ships that were considered as at all efficient for the Public Service. That Return was of a fragmentary description; and he observed, from the ordinary source of public information, that it had led the public to believe that we had 62 iron-clads. Before analyzing the figures, he remarked that he was aware it might be said that the granting of a Select Committee to investigate the number or the condition of our ships was interfering with the responsibility of the Board of Admiralty. He had heard that argument before, but it had not been allowed to prevail; many Select Committees had been appointed, and he thought the time had come when another should institute the inquiry that he now suggested. The present Board of Admiralty had extremely able officers on it; but, unfortunately, none of them were in that House, and the House had lost the advantage of the presence of the First Sea Lord, who was responsible for advising the Admiralty as to the defence of the country and the number of ships that was necessary. If, however, a Select Committee were appointed, that gallant Officer would be called before it, and would state the reason why the number of ships was, in his opinion, sufficient or insufficient, and point out the duties they had to perform. The Return which he held in his hand—as to which he had had some correspondence with the Secretary to the Admiralty—omitted information of the greatest possible importance to the country. The state of the boilers and also of the hulls was omitted from it. He had himself made up that Return with great labour, so as to have the information that ought to be given; but, being given by himself, it was of no value; whereas, if given by the Admiralty, it would be of great value to the House. The suggestion that it might supply information to foreign countries ought not to weigh with the House. Foreign countries might get at that information just as he had done. He wished to have a Committee which would inquire of the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty as to the condition of the ships of the Navy. The present First Sea Lord, an officer of great distinction and ability, held the same Office when his right hon. Friend

(Mr. W. H. Smith) was at the Admiralty. That information was given to the House in 1879 by the consent of his right hon. Friend and of Admiral Sir Cooper Key. It was also given in 1882, with the consent of the noble Earl at the head of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook) and of Admiral Sir Cooper Key; but in 1884 a different course was taken, for some reasons which he could not understand. Information, which every foreign Government and every person could have who would take the trouble, was now withheld from the House and the country, to whom it would be useful. He, therefore, thought it desirable that a Select Committee of the House should be appointed to ascertain from the First Sea Lord of the Admiralty the condition of our armour-clads, and why the important information to which he had alluded was now withheld from the public. He was anxious to analyze some of the figures in the Return, and he was glad to see the hon. Gentleman the Civil Lord of the Admiralty present, because he had obtained some information as to the condition of ships which were now put before them as being efficient ships, from the valuable book of which that hon. Gentleman was the author. There was a class of vessels—armoured ships in commission—on page 2 of the Return. There were 28 ships placed there. Of these, four were not down for repair or alteration; and according to that statement they were efficient for the Public Service. He would give the case of the *Defence*. He referred to the Return of 1882, and he found that in 1882 the pressure of the boilers of the *Defence* was 15 lbs., which they knew was below what was required, and that she would require new boilers, for which no provision was made. Therefore, she was not an efficient ship, though she was put down in the Returns. Then there was the *Glatton*, which was good enough in her way; but she was not what could be called a sea-going iron-clad ship; there was a pressure of only 18 lbs. in the boilers, and, though tolerably useful, she ought not to be considered anything but a coast defence ship. Then there were two other ships—the *Hydra* and the *Gorgon*. He should like to know what the Civil Lord (Sir Thomas Brassey) thought of them? They were of the *Cyclops* class, and the *Cyclops* herself had some superstructures put

upon her, which made her a little better than she was. At page 181, vol. 1, of the Civil Lord's work, he found these words—

"If such hesitation was felt as to the despatch of these vessels on a coasting voyage in the summer season they can scarcely be accepted even as coast defence vessels for service in the English Channel."

It was hardly right to let the country suppose that ships of that character were armour-clad sea-going ships. They might be harbour ships. Therefore, as regarded the first table, he should like to reduce the 28 to 24. He came next to the armoured ships in reserve, in which class 14 vessels were given. It was astonishing to read as sea-going armoured ships in reserve—as complete in the First Reserve—the names of the *Prince Albert*, the *Cyclops*, the *Hecate*, the *Scorpion*, the *Wyvern*, the *Vixen*, and the *Viper*. The *Wyvern*, the *Vixen*, and the *Viper* were no more efficient sea-going ships of the Navy than was "Noah's Ark." That 14 he must reduce by seven, leaving seven as really available for public service. When he came to the ships waiting for repair, he looked in vain in the Estimates to see that any repairs were going to be made. What was the use of the Admiralty including as waiting for repair the *Waterwitch*? He wished to read to his hon. Friend the Civil Lord of the Admiralty a document which he believed had been signed by him. But whether it had been signed by him or not, he was, at least, a Member of the Board of Admiralty which had produced this document for the use of the House; and if the Civil Lord had not signed it, it would be an advantage to have such a Committee as he suggested to inquire why such a document had been placed on the Table of the House—

"The speed of this vessel at sea has never exceeded five or six knots, and although 10 years old it has never been trusted out of sight of land."

He should like if his hon. Friend would tell the House when and how this vessel was to be repaired, and why it was stated that they were going to repair vessels, when hon. Members looked in vain for any indication in the Estimates that money was to be asked in order that the repairs might be carried out? Then, again, why were they told that 62 ships were available, when seven had to be

deducted which were not yet completed? The real fact was that, instead of 62 ships being available, there were only 40; and if the hon. Gentleman opposite said, when he came to investigate the condition of the French Fleet, that 19 wooden vessels ought to be deducted from the list, then he said that the *Lord Warden* and the *Repulse* ought to be deducted from our list, which would reduce the number to 38. He would now ask the House to look at the condition of the other Navies, taken from official information, in order to see whether this country had anything like the number of ships it ought to have for the service of the State. It had always been supposed in this country that we were equal to any two other Naval Powers. With 38 available iron-clads, and 11 of these necessarily on distant stations, the number at home was reduced to something like 29; and this number, he ventured to say, was not enough for the Public Service, or for the defence of the country. The French had 20 ships of the first class—*Amiral Duperré*, *Poudroyanté*, *Dévastation*, *Friedland*, *Trident*, *Redoubtable*, *Colbert*, *Richelieu*, *Océan*, *Suffren*, *Marengo*, *Couronne*, *Surveillante*, *Héroïne*, *Flandre*, *Valeureuse*, *Gauloise*, *Savoie*, *Provence*, and *Revauche*. They had also the following ships of the first class available for Coastguard defence:—*Caiman*, *Indomptable*, *Terrible*, *Fulminant*, *Tonnerre*, and *Furieux*. He remembered mentioning in the House last year that the French at that time had 19 iron-clads in process of construction, and some doubt was thrown upon the rapidity of their construction. But five of those vessels had since been launched, and these five were at this moment fitting for sea. The French had the following ships of the second class:—*Bayard*, *Turenne*, *Vauban*, *Du Guesclin*, *La Galissonnière*, *Victorieuse*, *Triomphante*, *Montcalm*, *Reine Blanche*, *Atalante*, *Alma*, *Belliqueuse*, *Jeanne d'Arc*, and *Thétis*. As most of those vessels were wooden ships, he was quite willing to deduct them; but two years ago nine of these ships were employed at Tunis. They had, in addition, the following ships of the second-class Coastguard, and which were available for Channel service:—*Tempête*, *Tonnant*, *Vengeur*, *Cerbère*, *Belier*, *Bouledogue*, *Tigre*, *Taureau*, and *Onondaga*. Some of these ships were unfit for sea; but the French had at this moment, deducting

the wooden ships, 35 iron-clads fit for service, and they had building at the moment no fewer than 14 ships, three of them by contract. They were—*Requin, Guerrier, Jean Bart, Formidable, Amiral Baudin, Charles Martel, Brennus, Neptune, Hoche, Magenta, Marceau, Vaudan, and Duquesne*. He was not prepared to believe that these ships were not advancing with considerable rapidity. He was uncertain about those that were being built by contract; but he believed the others were advancing as rapidly as the five which had been added to their Navy since this time last year. He would take only one other Power as a further illustration—Italy. The Admiralty, no doubt, had the most excellent information respecting the condition of the Italian Navy, because the Colleague of his hon. Friend opposite had as good information as anyone in the world in reference to this question. In the first class they had the *Duilio* and *Dandolo*, which were almost unrivalled for power. He thought we had only one ship—the *Inflexible*—which was a match for either of them in regard to speed and armour. In the second class the Italian Navy had the *Ancona, Castel Fidardo, Maria Pia, S. Martino, Palestro, Principe Amadeo, Roma, and Venezia*. In the third class there were the *Affondatore, Formidabile, Terribile, and Varese*. Although it might be contended that the first-class ships of the Italian Navy were not a match for any of our vessels in the same class, and that it was not desirable to build more large ships, we ought, he contended, to have more small ones. The Italians were building five ships, two of 19-inch and three of 18-inch armour, and all of them must be considered formidable ships. They were the *Italia, Lepanto, Andrea Doria, Ruggiero de Loria, and Francisco Morosini*. If they calculated the Navy of Italy as our Navy was calculated—that was, good, bad, and indifferent—they would find that the Italians had 19 ships to our 62, and the French had 64 to our 62. But making the deductions which ought to be made, and reducing the number of our ships to 38, it would be found that there were 46 or 47 formidable ships ready for sea belonging to the Italian and the French Navies. That, he maintained, was not a proper condition for this country to be in. The statement was made that there was a

decrease in the Estimates. [Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No.] Well, the statement had been made in the ordinary sources of information that there was a decrease in the Estimates by about £85,000. But he was now glad to hear that the Estimates had not been reduced. It seemed, however, that the Government had not added to the building very much, because the account was very small. It was nothing like what it ought to be in order to add to the building. The Government were only building seven iron-clads, one of them by contract; while the French at this moment were building 14, and they had now a Navy, deducting wooden ships, which was equal to our own. It was certain we were not equal to the two Naval Powers he had mentioned in the number of iron-clads, and that was a point which he wished to urge upon the attention of the House. It was for that reason that he desired the appointment of the Committee, and in order to ascertain whether Sir Cooper Key, who was responsible for the Navy of this country, had a sufficient number of ships for its protection. He maintained that if Sir Cooper Key came before a Committee of the House they would hear from him—after a certain amount of loyalty had been shown towards the defence of his Colleagues—that he had not a sufficient number of ships to protect the trade and commerce of this country in the event of war and against a combination of European Powers. He was not taking into account the ships of the German Navy, which must, of course, be considered; but there were two European nations of great naval power which were at this moment making the most strenuous exertions to improve their Navy, and both of which, if combined in numbers—but he did not say in power—were superior to the Navy of England. There were many Members in the House most competent to investigate this matter; and if the Committee was nominated entirely from the Ministerial side of the House, it could not but declare that the naval power of England, as represented by its iron-clads, was far below what it ought to be, and what the country believed it to be. There were at present 38 British iron-clads, and 7 building; 29 French, and 8 building; and 14 Italian, and 5 building. This was the condition of the



three great Naval Powers and the number of their ships. He also had to appeal to his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Admiralty to add two columns to the Returns, showing the condition of the boilers and the condition of the hull of each ship. There must be something wrong if the Government were afraid to supply this information, especially having regard to the fact that it was given in 1879, and again in 1882, when Lord Northbrook, as now, was at the head of the Admiralty. As to the guns, he understood that other nations were manufacturing guns of much greater size than we. The Italian Government was having guns of 110 tons for some of their ships, while our heaviest guns did not exceed 81 tons. Such a Committee as he had suggested ought also to inquire into this question of the armament of the Navy. They were now confronted with the question whether this country was to be satisfied with guns of smaller power than those of other countries. They had been told that there were 280 merchant ships ready to be placed at the disposal of the Admiralty in case of war; but it turned out that there were only guns for 50 of these. What was the use of patriotic shipbuilders supplying their ships if guns were not forthcoming for them? The officers and men of the Navy and Marines were as ready and able as ever to do their duty; and it was, therefore, the more incumbent on us to see that they were provided with sufficient ships and efficient guns. He was sure the House would allow him, before passing from this subject, to refer to the brilliant services recently rendered by the Navy and Marines at Tamanieb, and to the heroic death of the three young naval officers in defence of their guns. The House sat under the shadow of the great Abbey in which the gallant deeds of our most famous naval officers were recorded for our example. But he did not believe that among them all were names to be found more deserving of our grateful recollection than those of Almack, of Montresor, and of his dear young friend Houston Stewart, who, when the square which covered them had to retire, remained with their brave comrades by their guns, and, under the death-thrusts of the enemy, disabled them, so that, though temporarily in possession of the foe, the guns could not be turned against our troops.

*Sir John Hay*

"Brave hearts, to Britain's pride once so faithful and so true."

They now slept beneath the sands of Africa; but their names would ever deserve to be celebrated in song and story. The House would, he was sure, sympathize with those who mourned them, and would not think it wrong in him to allude on this, the first opportunity, to their gallant conduct and heroic death. It was for officers and men such as these that he pleaded with the House for a Committee to see that sufficient ships and efficient guns were provided.

LORD HENRY LENNOX regretted that, in the event of the Government refusing the Committee asked for, there was no possibility of their being able to go to a Division on the proposition of his right hon. and gallant Friend. What his right hon. and gallant Friend had said was so true that the Return presented to the House almost amounted to a burlesque. The Government now refused to give the House any Report as to the state of the boilers and hulls of the ships, and they included in their Return of fighting vessels ships like the *Waterwitch*, which he thought had long ceased to be classed even in the category of hospital ships. His right hon. and gallant Friend who had just spoken had alluded to the mawkish feeling against allowing foreign countries to know too much about our Navy. There was not a foreign country which had a Navy, or which aspired to have a Navy, which did not know as much of the number and condition of British ships, and the number and weight of the guns, as hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. Why, then, was not this information given openly and authoritatively to Parliament? He agreed with his right hon. and gallant Friend in saying that he could not understand the Government refusing this information now, having regard to the fact that it was given in 1879, and again in 1882. The only conclusion he could come to, and that the country would come to, was this—that, owing to the parsimony and cheese-paring policy of the Government, the condition of the hulls and boilers was too bad to be made public. Of course, the Admiralty would not grant the Committee asked for, and he was exceedingly sorry that he and those who agreed with him could not go to a Division and show their strength; or, at any rate, the

strength of their convictions. It was a remarkable fact that his right hon. and gallant Friend had incorporated into his speech in support of the appointment of a Committee quotations from the writings of the Civil Lord of the Admiralty. He himself had last year supported his arguments by references to the hon. Gentleman's books on the Navy. Certainly, there was no one to whom the public owed so much in regard to this branch of the Public Service as to the Civil Lord. There was another point he had intended to allude to, and that was that now most celebrated class—the *Cyclops* and *Hecate* class. Those who wished to see a strong and powerful Navy had to live on promises. The Secretary to the Admiralty every year promised something which next year he had to confess had not been performed, and that had been going on for 16 or 17 years. They were told that the vessels of the *Cyclops* and *Hecate* class were to be made into fine sea-going vessels. He would like to ask the Secretary to the Admiralty whether the experimentalization on the *Hecate* had been successful; and whether it was to be continued on other vessels in that class? He could not see anywhere in the Estimates any allusion to an intention to make the rest of that class into sea-going vessels. He reserved to himself the right of making general observations after the statement of the Secretary to the Admiralty, and the further right of making very much longer and fuller observations when the Estimates came into Committee.

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, that after the disparaging statements which had recently been made in many quarters the Government were not unprepared for the criticisms which had just been addressed to them. He must, indeed, confess that it was not unnatural for one connected with the Admiralty to have some sympathy with the advocates of increased Estimates. The Government were, however, satisfied that the provisions they were proposing in the present Estimates, and in those which they had made in preceding years, were sufficient to maintain the naval supremacy of the country. He might go further, and say that they would regard it as impolitic, in the circumstances in which they found themselves, to propose those sensational Estimates which some

critics of their policy seemed to demand. Last year he had laid before the House a general view of our position, and this year, after a further examination in the light of the latest official information, he could confidently say that there was no material change in our relative position as it was then described. For themselves, the Government accepted the assurances which had been given to the French Chambers that the increased construction for the French Navy was designed not so much to increase the number of iron-clads as to compensate for the withdrawal of the wood-built ships from the list of effective vessels. He ventured to say that a comparison of Estimates would supply the best answer that could be given to those who would charge the Government with supineness or indifference to the naval interests of the country. The total expenditure for the Naval Services, including ordnance, had increased from £10,550,000 in 1879-80 to £11,499,635 in 1883-4, and the Ordnance Vote alone had increased from £212,000 in 1879-80 to £512,549 in the present year. A large proportion of the expenditure on the Navy was practically automatic, or, at least, directly dependent upon the number of men voted for the Fleet. The distinctive policy, therefore, of any Administration was mainly indicated by the fluctuations of the Shipbuilding Votes. To his mind the great increase in the expenditure upon these Votes—namely, from £3,227,000 in 1880 to £3,961,000 in 1883-4, and practically to the same amount in the present year—was a complete answer to the charges of supineness and inaction which had been brought against the Department. The expenditure upon shipbuilding alone—for armoured ships, including machinery—for the years 1883-4 and 1884-5 was actually double that of the year 1879-80. This large increase had not been obtained by neglecting repairs. The number of men employed on repairs had been largely increased, and in point of preparation to meet any emergency the condition of the Fleet ought to be regarded as highly satisfactory. They had actually ready for sea, or in a condition to be put to sea in a very few weeks, no less than 18 iron-clads, including such ships as the *Dreadnought*, the *Ajax*, the *Agamemnon*, the *Conqueror*, the *Hotspur*, the *Rupert*, and the *Devasta-*

tion. They had in the foreign yards the *Thunderer*, the *Scorpion*, the *Wyvern*, and for harbour defence at Bermuda the *Viper* and the *Vixen*. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had spoken very lightly of these vessels; but he could assure him that they were in very good repair, and were very valuable for defensive purposes. Of unarmoured vessels, there were the *Mercury*, the *Bacchante*, and others. There were 13 corvettes, many of them the finest vessels afloat, nine gun-vessels, and 29 vessels for coast defence. With the exception of the *Warrior*, *Black Prince*, and *Resistance*, and eight unarmoured vessels, of which five were wood-built, and as to the re-armament of which some doubt existed, every defective vessel not actually in commission was included in the repairing programme. With respect to the *Hecate* class, the Government acknowledged that reconstruction of the superstructure was advisable, and they claimed it as a very creditable feature in their programme that they had at last addressed themselves to the alterations required in these vessels. By the simple addition of a superstructure costing some £12,000, vessels of this class were raised from the position of mere harbour defence ships into iron-clads capable of making long sea passages in safety, and especially adapted by their light draught for coast defence. It was proposed to take one vessel of this class in hand every year until the alterations were completed. In conclusion, he hoped this statement would be considered a satisfactory reply to some of the criticisms which had been addressed to the Government.

MR. JENKINS asked whether it was intended that the new boilers to be placed in reconstructed ships should be of steel or iron? He believed that a large number of foreign iron-clads were in a worse condition than our own iron-clads. Naval critics were, for the most part, always complaining that the Shipbuilding Vote was not increased; but, in his opinion, the Board of Admiralty was to be commended for not proposing a larger Estimate. The fact was that shipbuilding was in a transition state, and ships built 20 years ago were now comparatively useless. He thought that the Admiralty could be relied upon for keeping the Navy in an efficient condition. Our Navy ought to be superior to

any combination of Naval Powers which was at all likely to be formed against us. But the Admiralty claimed to have done that already; and, if that were so, there was no use in building more ships. He thought there was a tendency to overrate the importance of iron-clads. What we wanted far more than iron-clads was powerful cruisers ready at the shortest notice to go to the most distant stations, and so constructed as to be able to perform the longest voyages. Thus capacity for carrying fuel was of the first importance. Good organization, too, was most essential, and we ought to pay particular attention to the torpedo and the ram. In these days, as much as at any other period, the most skilful seaman would win the day. A great deal was said about the Italian iron-clads; but with such seamen as we possessed we needed not to fear them. The Admiralty had done much in the matter of training officers and seamen for the Navy; and in spite of shortcomings he considered they were entitled to the gratitude of the country for the efficient condition in which they had placed the Service. The training of officers and seamen ought to be maintained at a high standard, and it was of the highest importance to keep them afloat as much as possible. If we did so, we had no occasion to fear any combination of Foreign Navies.

MR. T. C. BRUCE could not claim to speak from technical knowledge; but he feared that the margin of strength over the Navies of foreign countries was dangerously small. He had always understood that the British Navy ought to be superior to any probable combination against it; but after the discussion which had taken place he did not think that condition was fulfilled at present. Our Navy ought to be stronger, at least, than any two other Navies. He entirely agreed with the hon. Member who had just sat down as to the superiority of our men; but it would not be wise to trust to that superiority alone. There ought to be an equal superiority in ships and material, if our supremacy was to be maintained. At the present time we were subject to great changes in the conditions of war, both by land and sea. There were two lessons which the war of 1870 had impressed upon all thoughtful men. One was that a whole nation might be formed into an Army, and the other that the



railways might be employed in carrying enormous bodies of men upon one point of attack. The result of the latter state of things was that the Power which could most successfully so concentrate its attack obtained an overwhelming superiority. Thus our enemy would be able to combine its forces in aggression against us, and the need of keeping up our naval supremacy was not less, but greater, than it was in former times. He thought the bearing of that state of things had by no means been so fully recognized as it ought to have been by successive Governments. He did not recommend the foreign military system for our adoption. On the contrary, it was a happy thing for us that we were able to retain our Army in its present rudimentary condition. But although that system was not strictly applicable to our Navy, its existence in foreign countries made it imperative to retain our naval pre-eminence. It was, therefore, very unfortunate that it could be said with any appearance of truth in the House of Commons that our Navy did not enjoy the absolute supremacy which was on all hands admitted to be so necessary, especially as our ships were scattered all over the world, and we had to defend so many Colonial and foreign interests. He was certain the country would gladly sanction any expenditure which would place us in an assured position. He was not an alarmist; but he remembered that the peace of Europe depended on one man's life, and the troubles arising out of the aggressions of the French or of the Russians were not impossibilities. All he wanted was that a country with boundless resources and vast responsibilities should be found fully equal to any emergency. It was impossible for him to say what the state of Europe might be a year or two hence. A change in its condition might come very quickly; but the construction of an iron-clad Fleet was a slow and difficult operation, and required foresight and exertion long before it might be wanted. Did we not know that our nearest neighbour was turning to foreign adventures, which might bring us into collision with her unexpectedly, and that in Asia there was another Power whose boundaries were brought near our own, and with whom some differences might easily arise? Knowing the enormous stake which depended on our Navy, there

ought to be no possible doubt as to what should be done; and if his right hon. Friend did not obtain the Committee for which he asked, he hoped the Government would, at all events, take such steps as would make us feel that our Navy was in a position of undoubted superiority.

MR. GORST said, he could assure the Government that the Navy Estimates, which were about to be brought before the House, had been received with consternation by the Naval Profession, and by hon. Members who, like the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), felt indignation at the supineness of successive Boards of Admiralty. He remembered an instance in which one First Lord of the Admiralty spoke the truth. He referred to the late lamented Mr. Ward Hunt, who, in the first blush of his accession to Office, told the House that the country possessed only a paper Fleet. He remembered how the statement confounded the right hon. Gentleman's Colleagues, who, he had no doubt, subsequently remonstrated with him upon his conduct, for neither he nor any other First Lord had ever ventured to tell the House the truth since. They had heard in the House and on platforms, and seen in the public prints, repeated comparisons between the French Fleet and our own. Did the Admiralty venture to say that the comparison was erroneous? So clear was the demonstration that everybody expected that the Government would this year have asked for £500,000 more for the purpose of placing the Fleet in a proper position. The hon. Gentleman opposite could not tell them the secrets of his prison-house; but he believed that he and his Colleagues would have asked for £500,000 more were it not that they were controlled by other influences. He could not understand how we lavished £28,000,000 a-year on our Army in England and India, and yet the Army could not give us influence in the Councils of Europe; while the Navy, which constituted the real defence and power of this country, was neglected. It was able to fight Egyptians and Arabs, but could scarcely be put in the field against the enormous Armies of civilized Europe; and yet we spent only a paltry sum of less than £11,000,000 a-year upon that Navy which was the only ground we had for claiming preponderance among

the nations. It was admitted by the Admiralty that our Navy was barely sufficient for the defence of the country, and that in the event of war the loss of one or two iron-clads would positively endanger our safety, and then it would be too late for the Admiralty to address itself to the task of providing a proper system of defence. Let the Admiralty ask any of our distinguished naval officers whether, comparing ship with ship, they did not unhesitatingly give the preference to the French, though a sailor generally thought any old tub in which he might have served superior to the finest ship afloat? The French ships had higher speed—[Sir THOMAS BRASSEY: No.]—and they were all provided with breech-loaders; whereas ours were still armed with muzzle-loaders. The Secretary to the Admiralty would say that they were going to supply the Navy with breech-loading guns; but many a year must pass before that could be done. Would the officials at the Admiralty say that in the ships of the English Navy there were any machine guns throwing shells? He believed there were not; whilst the French had 23 of these machine guns, which could fire 30 rounds in a minute. Would they deny that the number of combatants on board our ships was smaller than on board French ships, and that not only was their number of men smaller, but the proportion of combatants also? All the elements of superiority of the French over the English ships were admitted by the Government except that of speed. Let the House consider how the English Navy was supplied with smaller craft and cruisers. Would the Civil Lord of the Admiralty dispute the fact that in the Indian Ocean, and in the China Seas, there were three vessels going 17 knots an hour, one French, another Russian, and a third Italian, while England had not a single vessel that could compete with them? There was one French vessel in the Eastern Seas, named the *Tourville*, which was capable of eating up every one of the corvettes and gunboats stationed there. Was it true that this vessel carried a pivot gun, while English vessels only carried broadside guns? If they had not machine guns, at least they began to supply them with Nordenfolt guns; but he would ask whether the vessels in the Indian Seas were not ordered to prepare for the reception of

these guns three years ago, and whether they were yet supplied with them? Then, with regard to torpedoes, he asked how many great harbours were provided with them? There was not a single first-class torpedo boat for the defence of Bombay Harbour, the second largest city of the British Empire in India. If a French Fleet or a Russian Fleet were to attempt to enter it, they would find it absolutely defenceless except for two or three harbour gunboats, by no means the best even of their kind. He had a Return before him—it was not an official Return, but the Admiralty could contradict it if it was not accurate—which showed that at the close of 1884 both Russia and France and Germany would have more torpedo boats than we had. The Return showed the number of first-class and second-class torpedo boats, and the totals:—British, 24, 53, total 77; Italian, 23, 20, total 43; French, 50, 32, total 82; Danish, 5, 5, total 10; Dutch, 15, 0, total 15; Austrian, 4, 10, total 14; German, 8, 3, total 11—money was asked to build 70 more of all sizes; Russian, 10, 90, total 100; Greek, 20, of both classes, total 20; Swedish, 5, 3, total 8. The officials of the Admiralty always referred with pride to their Mercantile Marine; but how could they utilize it, even if they would, when, owing to their desire for economy, they had no stores wherewith to convert them into armoured vessels? The fact was that, instead of having swift cruisers fitted with the best modern appliances, instead of having torpedo boats and stores by which the Mercantile Marine might be made available for the defence of the country, the Admiralty, whichever Party was in power, kept things down to the lowest possible point. The Government did not hesitate to spend money upon wars in Egypt, and upon all sorts of extravagances the country would perhaps be better without; but when it came to providing for the very life-blood of the country, they seemed to grudge every shilling, and instead of having an armour-clad Fleet equal to any in the world, they reduced its expenses to the lowest point and came to Parliament for a miserable £11,000,000. When Gentlemen like the right hon. and gallant Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay) and the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) protested, they laughed at their criticisms and

pooh-poohed their remarks. It was idle to say that the request for a Committee arose from a groundless alarm, which was merely the dream of an enthusiast. If the Navy was in such an excellent state, why not quiet popular alarm by proving that the statements respecting it were unfounded? They were afraid to do so, because, if the country came to suspect the real condition of affairs, they would demand, as a matter of economy, that a much larger expenditure should be made on the Navy. His remarks were directed as much against one Government as against another; there was not a pin to choose between them; both were under the thumbs of the permanent officials of the Admiralty, who dare not ask the Treasury for the sum required to be spent upon the Navy.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he did not underrate the difficulties with which successive Boards of Admiralty had to contend; they had frequently to make a choice of evils, and to do the best they could for the country in circumstances of difficulty. His right hon. Friend had called attention to matters of the gravest importance; but he did not go so far as he (Mr. W. H. Smith) was prepared to go in reference to some of the ships that were treated as being efficient. More than he had mentioned were in a crippled condition in 1882, so far as their boilers were concerned. The *Agincourt*, the *Achilles*, the *Minotaur*, the *Valiant*, the *Defence*, the *Gorgon*, the *Glutton*, and one or two others were in a crippled condition; and since then other ships that had been referred to had fallen into that condition. The boilers were put into the *Agincourt* in 1876; and it was quite certain she would not serve out another commission without new boilers. The boilers of the *Alexandra* were put in in 1875; she was commissioned in 1877; and she had been at sea ever since. The boilers of the *Téméraire*, were put on board in 1876; she went to sea in 1877, and had not had a day's rest since. In these cases the wear and tear must have been very considerable. Within a very short time these vessels would become completely inefficient for active duties if they were not taken in hand for repairs. Only one ship out of the first list of 28 had been dealt with during the last four years so far as boilers were concerned. That, at all events, said something for

the condition in which they were found when the present Board came into Office. He by no means wished to press the Government to undertake expenditure that was not required; but it was the most short-sighted policy to allow ships to get into a condition in which no private owner would consent to retain them. He did not ask the Government to do anything more than private owners would do—to exercise the same economy, foresight, and care in the use of the material they had at their disposal. The statement that had been made by the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, as to the sufficiency of the Navy to maintain our supremacy, involved enormous personal responsibility. Were the ships relied upon all ready to do the work required of them in the event of sudden war? He was not an alarmist; he believed that a state of fitness was the best possible prevention of alarm; and if the ships on which we relied were in perfect condition, we could rest with greater security. In all human probability, if war ever came upon us, it would come without warning, as the last war came upon Europe with only three weeks' notice. Were the Admiralty certain that they could so dispose of our Fleets as to protect corn and cotton coming in and cargoes afloat, and so prevent any suspension of the supply of vital necessities? He did not urge these considerations from any Party motive. He had endeavoured as far as possible, ever since he had had anything to do with the Navy, to avoid making references to the question in a Party spirit, or saying anything which could in the slightest degree embarrass the Government of the day, or even when in Office attempting to make Party capital out of a question which was altogether beyond Party. He urged the appointment of a Committee, because if the Admiralty took such Members as the hon. Member for Falmouth and others on their own side into a Committee Room and proved the case of the Admiralty before them, they would, to a large extent, relieve themselves of a personal responsibility resting upon them. There was, no doubt, a widespread sense of insecurity which arose out of repeated allegations that Foreign Powers were increasing their Navies rapidly, and out of all proportion to the duties they were called upon to discharge. We had 80 per cent of the carrying trade of the world; we had our



squadrons on various stations from which we could not withdraw them, and they were a positive source of weakness so far as the fighting strength of the Navy was concerned. In the event of war, the first demand would be for an increase of strength in some of these quarters, and cruisers would be required for the protection of commerce. It was requisite to satisfy the House and the country that, with the money which had been appropriated, adequate force could be provided to protect the interests of the country if we were threatened with sudden war. There was nothing in the objection that inquiry would give information to Foreign Powers; for those who had the management of their Navies knew a great deal more about our Navy than many of us did. He had had practical evidence of the fact. The Government might suppress printed documents; but if he wanted information as to the condition of the Navy he could get it at Berlin, Copenhagen, or Paris, if he chose to spend a little money. The only effect of withholding information from the people of England was to create the impression that it could not be given without damage to responsible officials; and he did not think that was fair and just to them. It must be remembered that it would take from three to six weeks to fit out any ships belonging to the Merchant Navy as cruisers for the protection of our commerce. We could not do it by anticipation. There would be a tension of diplomatic relations, and the object of any Government would be to avoid giving the slightest ground for the suggestion that we had made up our minds to go to war. There would be the greatest indisposition on our part to take any ships in advance, while the agents of Foreign Governments would be able to purchase ships in this country with the view of employing them against us in the event of war. No doubt we might look to our Commercial Marine to assist us to a considerable extent in the event of war; but to look to it entirely for the protection of our commerce in time of war would be about as wise as to rely upon our Volunteers for making war abroad. Our corn, our coal, our cotton, and our manufactures were carried by ships which could only steam at the rate of eight or nine knots an hour; and, if unprotected, they would infallibly become the prey of fast cruisers in time of war, and they

would, therefore, require quite as much protection from Her Majesty's ships as our Commercial Fleet of sailing vessels did in times past. The duties that would devolve upon our vessels of war would, therefore, be considerable and grave, and it was in these circumstances at least reasonable that we should see that our preparations were sufficient. In the belief that the Motion of the right hon. Baronet would go far to strengthen the hands of the Government, he trusted that it would in some form or other be accepted.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that a most interesting subject of discussion had been introduced by the hon. Baronet the Member for the City of York (Sir Frederick Milner), the gist of whose observations was contained in the Notice which stood upon the Paper in his name—that the powers given by the Naval Discipline Act of 1866 ought not to be used to inflict penal servitude on young men and boys of good character for offences against discipline involving no moral guilt. That was a proposition to which he could almost assent without observation, and he believed that the Admiralty would also be quite willing to accept as a rule of conduct the very words of the hon. Baronet's Motion. The hon. Baronet had pointed to the great increase of late years in the number of persons sentenced by courts martial to penal servitude; but he had forgotten to observe that the increase was due not to a growing tendency on the part of courts martial to increase the severity of the sentences, but to an increase in the number of those offences for which the law authorized that punishment to be inflicted. The Admiralty had very little power to review sentences pronounced by courts martial; and, indeed, any wholesale reduction in the sentences by the Admiralty would have the effect of lessening the authority of the courts martial. To do away with the extreme punishment on board a ship would be very dangerous, because on board ship order and discipline were preserved by moral rather than by physical force, although he admitted that extreme and exaggerated sentences were by no means calculated to diminish crime. The Admiralty by no means approved of exaggerated sentences being passed, and in many cases where it was shown that a man had been severely punished for a

first offence the punishment had been mitigated. In the case of Lewis Price, which had been referred to, the Admiralty had thought it right to refer the matter to Captain Markham for his opinion; but that officer stated that although his own belief was that the man was under the influence of liquor when he committed the offence, he was unable to obtain, at the time, any evidence to that effect. Captain Markham having reported that he had been unable to find any extenuating circumstances in the man's conduct, the Admiralty had felt themselves unable to interfere in the matter. Then the question was raised as to the inequality of sentences. No doubt this was a difficult subject. There might be considerable disparity in the sentences assigned by courts martial; but it had been found impossible, even in the ordinary Civil Courts, to secure uniformity of sentence. Still the Admiralty endeavoured to equalize the punishments in the best way they could, according to the best judgment they could form of the circumstances of each case. All the cases were carefully investigated by members of the Board, whose duty it was to inquire into them, and they were treated in no slipshod or careless manner; but if the Admiralty were always to interfere largely in the sentences of courts martial, such a proceeding would be extremely prejudicial to the position of courts martial in the Service. It was intended to bring in a Bill to amend the Naval Discipline Act, and that would probably afford an opportunity for some further debate on this point.

MR. HOPWOOD pointed out that the hon. Member had not fully answered his question whether a person sentenced to penal servitude by a court martial could by good conduct secure the reduction of three months out of every year?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN replied, that when a man was sentenced to penal servitude he passed out of the hands of the Admiralty into the hands of the Home Office, and he believed that good conduct did procure a certain amount of remission of sentence. The Government could not assent to the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the condition of the Iron-clad Fleet, as proposed by the gallant Admiral (Sir John Hay), because that would be taking the matter out of the hands of the Government and of the Admiralty. In fact,

they would be thereby assenting to a Vote of Censure upon themselves. It was impossible for the Government to allow an inquiry to be instituted into the state of the Fleet on the supposition that its condition was unsatisfactory, and that they had consequently failed in their duty. He was astonished to find that he had got himself into trouble by producing the Return to which allusion had been made, and he was in the position of the man who vowed that he would never do a good-natured action again. Hitherto, an Annual Return had been presented giving a great deal of information which really was of no use in the shape of financial Estimates of the cost of repairs before those Returns had been taken in hand. Those Estimates were merely guess-work, although they were honestly and truthfully given. That Return of the state of ships was originally moved for by his hon. Friend the Civil Lord, when he was an independent Member of the House; and it had been an Annual Return presented every year, but not laid on the Table till July or August, when it was of little use to hon. Members. Then there was a Return regarding boilers, moved for by the right hon. and gallant Admiral opposite (Sir John Hay). He believed it was only issued twice—in 1879 and 1882. It appeared to him that there was a great deal in those Returns which was unnecessary and misleading, and that it would be desirable to prepare a unified Return, and to present it with the Estimates. But the reward he got for his exertions in this respect was that this Return was very warmly denounced. It was not an argumentative or a controversial Return at all, and there was nothing misleading in it. He objected to state what was the condition of the hulls of ships, because that could not be ascertained until the vessels were opened up for repairs. It had been said that excessive secrecy was preserved with regard to the boilers. That was not so. The Admiralty were not called upon to publish to the world the actual state of every ship in the British Navy; but they were quite willing to give Members of the House any information they might desire. The Admiralty did not refuse to give the House of Commons information; but they refused to publish a Return which would make the whole world acquainted with the weak spots of our ships. The right hon. Gentleman oppo-



site said that every particular regarding our Navy could be ascertained in any capital in Europe. He supposed that the right hon. Gentleman meant that the information could be obtained by means of money. The Admiralty had no reason to believe that their officers could be thus bribed to betray their trust, and he was surprised that the right hon. Gentleman should have suggested such a thing. The responsible engineer officer at the Admiralty stated that the general condition of the boilers of the Navy, excepting in the case of a certain class of ships, was better than at any former period, and that new boilers were in store for the next two years. Boilers were now made of steel, and he believed that even in the private trade they lasted for 12 or 14 years. The Reports on Boilers showed that the wear and tear during the first commission of a vessel was often practically *nil*. That showed that the boilers were strong, and also testified to great care on the part of the officers. The exceptions to which he had alluded when speaking of the generally satisfactory condition of the boilers of the Navy were ships of the class of the *Warrior*, *Achilles*, and *Minotaur*. These ships, whose boilers would last for more than a year and a-half, would not have new boilers until a determination should have been come to as to what should be done with them. As to the question of boiler pressure, experience showed that a reduction as great even as 25 per cent in that pressure would make very little reduction in the steaming capacity of the ships in the Navy. The general condition of the vessels, so far as their boilers were concerned, was very much better than it had been; and he did not think it was necessary for the House of Commons to watch the Admiralty which the sedulous care which had been shown in many quarters in this respect. Speaking generally, he should now, as he had on former occasions, decline to join in comparing our ships with those of other countries, believing, as he did, that such a course would not, in the first place, lead to a settlement of the question at issue; and that, in the second place, it would certainly not tend to the maintenance of the good feeling which ought to be maintained between this and other countries. He had listened with much interest and a great deal of sympathy to the speech of the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Mr. Bruce), for he agreed

in thinking it important to consider the position in which this country stood in reference to our Navy, and the only point upon which they differed probably was as to the actual margin of superiority at present possessed by this country. He could not admit to the hon. Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), that in any way the Board of Admiralty were under the thumbs of their professional advisers. He should have thought it was in human nature that the exact reverse of this would be the case, and that professional advisers and constructors would be only too anxious to spend public money in new and extended projects of shipbuilding; while the Admiralty would have to keep them in check, because they had to consider, not only what was required in the public interest, but how far it was either necessary or advisable to increase the public burdens. While, as he had said, he should decline to compare our Navy, ship by ship, with the Navies of other countries, he might, in reference to a statement which had been made by an hon. Member, say that in the Report of the Budget Commission on the French Naval Estimates for this year it was stated that, in speaking of Foreign Powers, they must set aside the English Navy—

“With which our Fleet cannot enter into comparison for the number of first class iron-clads, cruisers, and torpedo boats.”

With regard to the observations the hon. Member for Chatham had made as to our ships in the Eastern Seas as compared with those of other Navies, many of the alleged facts must not be taken as accurate; while it must be observed that some of the foreign vessels named were of the newest type, while ours have, most of them, been for some years in commission; and if comparisons were advisable at all, they should be comparisons between ships of a similar class and age, and not between vessels which were in many respects dissimilar. With reference to Nordenfeldt guns, he might say that a full complement of those guns had been sent out to all vessels on the Eastern Station. It was of no use for right hon. and hon. Gentlemen to threaten the Admiralty with their responsibility; they were fully alive to it, and they had shown their sense of it ever since the present Government had been in Office. If the Navy was unable to discharge its duties, it was not their



fault, but that of their Predecessors, for no iron-clad ships could have been laid down since the Government came into Office that would have been ready for service at this moment. As soon as they came into Office, it was their policy steadily to increase the number of iron-clad ships. They had not proposed a sensational increase to startle foreign nations, and perhaps promote a rivalry, but had modestly and steadily, and at the same time very effectively, increased the amount of work in the Dockyards year by year.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he was anxious in a few sentences to call the attention of the House to a matter of great importance to the country. However excellent the Navy might be, it was quite certain that our ships would not be able to do the duty which the country expected of them, if they could not find coals and supplies when they required them. When he filled the Office of Secretary to the Colonies a circumstance occurred which directed his attention to the defenceless state of many of our coaling and naval stations abroad, and led to his recommending the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the condition of those stations. That Commission instituted a very exhaustive inquiry into the matters which were referred to it, and about two years ago presented a Report to the Government. That Report had, of course, not been published, and it was not advisable that it should be, because it contained matter of the gravest importance, which it was absolutely necessary to keep secret. He did not know the contents of the Report; but he was confident that recommendations must have been made by the Commission which would entail considerable work and expenditure in placing our Colonial seaports and stations in a proper state of defence. He had hoped that the Government would have laid before the House some proposal founded upon that Report, which he was confident would have had the unanimous support of the country. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War informed him some time ago that he expected to make a statement upon the subject in proposing the Army Estimates. That statement, however, was not made, and he was extremely disappointed that the noble Marquess had not made it on Monday last. This was not a

Party matter, but it was one which was of most vital importance to the future of the country. A small expenditure upon the Colonial seaports and stations now would be of the greatest value to the country in the event of a war breaking out. He hoped the Government would make a statement showing that they recognized their responsibility in the matter, and that they had not neglected to take action.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he was indebted to the right hon. Baronet for calling his attention to the subject. He omitted to mention the matter in his speech of Monday last, but would make a statement as to what it was proposed to do in regard to the Report of the Commission which was appointed during the period of Office of the right hon. Gentleman when the Fortification Votes on the Army Estimates came before the Committee. It was easy for a Royal Commission to recommend large fortifications; but the difficulty was to devise the means by which the works were to be carried out. He could assure the House that the subject had not been lost sight of by the present Government, who fully acknowledged its importance. It had been occupying the attention of the Government for some time; but he had only learnt a short time before that the right hon. Gentleman intended to call the attention of the House to that question, and in consequence he was not prepared then to go into it; but he would lose no time in informing the House as to what were the views of the Government on the subject.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put, and agreed to.

#### SUPPLY—NAVY ESTIMATES.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, in rising to move—

"That 66,950 men and boys be employed for the Sea and Coast Guard Services for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, including 12,400 Royal Marines,"

said: Sir, I wish to commence the observations I have to make in moving these Estimates by stating to the Committee precisely how they compare with those which it was my duty to propose

last year. The net amount required to be voted for the Service of 1884-5 is £10,811,770, or a decrease of £87,730 below the total amount that has been voted for the current year. If, however, we exclude the Supplementary Estimate for Military Operations in Egypt, and contrast the normal Estimates for the two years, the sum at present exceeds that which was asked for last year by £59,470. But hon. Members will observe that we anticipate a falling-off in the amount of receipts which we are allowed to use in aid of the Votes to the extent of £41,817, so that the total sum available for the Service, whether derived from Votes of Parliament or Appropriations-in-Aid, will be £11,595,711, as compared with £11,578,058—a difference in favour of next year of £17,653. It is by this amount only that the resources placed at our disposal, if these Estimates receive the approval of Parliament, will be increased. In connection with a comparison of the Votes there are two small points to which I may, in passing, allude. I mentioned last year that we provided a reduced sum for Teams in the Dockyards, according to a plan by which the War Department would undertake the duty with military transport horses. This arrangement, which would have been advantageous, has not been found practicable; so that we have this year to resume the charge, amounting to over £8,000. The second matter is that Votes 1 and 2 have been disturbed by the transfer, under Treasury direction, to the Wages Vote of a sum of £37,500 for money allowances in lieu of gratuitous clothing, and in aid of boys' kits, hitherto charged under the Victuals and Clothing Vote. This is a mere matter of accounting which makes no difference in the expenditure under the two Votes. Sir, in moving this Vote for the number of Seaman and Marines, it will be my duty, in the first place, to invite the attention of the Committee to several questions affecting the *personnel* of the Navy. When I made a similar Motion last year, I availed myself of the opportunity to express the high sense entertained by my Colleagues at the Board of Admiralty of the manner in which the Navy had discharged the duties entrusted to it during their recent military operations in Egypt. And now it is again my privilege to propose this Vote to the Committee while we have under our eyes a still fresher

evidence of the sterling and versatile qualities possessed by the officers and men who make up this noble Service. This is not the time, of course, to review recent events; but I am sure the Committee will share the admiration we feel for the conduct of the Naval Force while engaged in operations which, though limited in extent, have been, in many particulars, exceptionally trying and difficult. At the same time, I may give expression to the deep regret with which we have heard of the loss of some of our gallant seamen and Marines, and of four officers—Lieutenants Royds, Almack, Montresor, and yet another who, it was hoped, would have lived to carry, in the third generation, into the highest ranks of the British Navy the honoured and familiar name of Houston Stewart. With regard to the general conduct and character of the seaman of the Navy, the reports received have been highly satisfactory. Commanders-in-Chief on Foreign Stations have expressed warm admiration of the physical qualities of crews sent out to recommissioned ships, and there is comparatively little complaint of drunkenness and misconduct, the only dark spot being a tendency, especially on the part of the younger men, to insubordinate conduct towards their superior officers. I may, perhaps, quote one or two of the most recent testimonies we have received. A report concerning some drafts who were stopped on their way home, and landed at Port Said, says that the men were of fine physique, and presented a smart and creditable appearance; that from the 16th to the 24th of February there was only one case of drunkenness or disorder; that the usual leave was given; and that the behaviour of the men on leave was very good. Again, General Earle reports of 500 blue-jackets recently landed at Alexandria that their "conduct was irreproachable." And I may be allowed to read an extract from a letter from Lord John Hay, which is equally satisfactory. Writing to Lord Northbrook, he says—

"The accident to *Euphrates* has made the business of transferring crews somewhat inconvenient. But for the presence of *Thunderer* and *Orion* we would have been obliged to put some of the men into military barracks. However, the only paid-off crew is *Superb's*, and they are so well behaved that they have only 50 men on the General Leave List; and I am able, therefore, to give leave to almost all of the ship's company, even to-day (Christmas). I mention

this, because when you hear so much doubt expressed about discipline in the Fleet, think what would have happened in former days if you had let a paid-off ship's company loose on Christmas Day."

In a subsequent letter, referring to the same subject, he says—

"The *Superb's* paid-off crew did not commit themselves any way, either afloat or ashore, so far as I have ascertained; this is creditable for Christmas Day."

I believe that no words I could use would be so effective as these simple facts as to the conduct of men—we have no reason to suppose exceptional men—in trying circumstances; and they show how excellent is the stamp of those who now man our Fleet. In order fully to maintain their number, the Committee will observe that we propose to increase by 150 the number of boys to be trained, while the reduction of seamen is in the non-combatant classes of domestics, &c., and is in large measure due to the withdrawal of the *London* at Zanzibar. Now, Sir, there can be little doubt that it is the petty officers upon whom mainly depend the sound spirit and high tone of the men of our Fleet. The expression "backbone" does not somehow appear so appropriate when speaking of sailors as when speaking of soldiers, because there are people who think that a soldier should be all backbone, whereas a sailor should be all arms and legs. But if we may apply the word not to the individual, but to the Service, we may truly say that the petty officers and chief petty officers are the backbone of the Navy. It is not too much to say of them that they are the most all-round highly trained men in the lower ranks of Her Majesty's Service. They require to be steady in conduct, patient in temper, unswerving in obedience, cool-headed in command. At the same time, they must be of quick intelligence, in order that they may be able to master and to practice, not only the noble old-fashioned art of seamanship, but the less poetical and more intricate forms which are assumed by the manifold development of modern science when applied to purposes of war. Now, Sir, some time ago the Admiralty received Memorials, bringing forward most temperately and reasonably certain points in which the petty officers thought their position ought to be improved. These Memorials were carefully considered with a desire not only to recognize the just claims of this class, and to offer

every necessary inducement to men to qualify for higher ratings, but also to stimulate competition, and raise gradually to the highest point the standard of qualification. We have, accordingly, provided for an improved rate of pay to seamen petty officers and chief petty officers, based on the principle of giving a reward to men of meritorious character, who have kept their rate for some years. The seamen petty officer of the second class will receive 2s. a-day, instead of 1s. 11d., as at present. The first class will commence at their present rate of 2s. 2d.; but after four years' service as such will receive an increment of 3d., making 2s. 5d. The chief petty officer's initial rate will be raised from 2s. 7d. to 2s. 8d., and after three years he will receive an increment of 6d., making his ultimate rate of pay 3s. 2d., instead of 2s. 9d., as at present.

MR. W. H. SMITH: May I ask if this increment will commence from the date of their appointment as chief petty officers?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: From the date of their appointment. These proposals affect continuous-service men of the seamen class, and do not apply to the artificer class, whose remuneration must be regulated by the market value of labour, the only exception being the case of the armourers. This is a class of growing importance, owing to the more complicated naval artillery now in use; and it is necessary to attract good men to the Service. With this view it is proposed to establish a new rating of armourer's mate, who would be a second class petty officer, intermediate between the armourer and armourer's crew, with pay of 2s. 8d. a-day. Further, the attention of the Board has been directed to the signalmen. They will, in common with others of the seamen class, profit by the proposals I have described; but there are two reasons why it appears desirable to give some additional advantage to them. In the first place, with the growing prominence in naval tactics of fleet evolutions under steam, it becomes important to secure the service of superior men for signal duties; and, in the second place, the nature of their employment precludes them from sharing in the special allowances given to other seamen for gunnery and torpedo qualifications. We, therefore, intend to grant them some improvement in pay,



probably dependent on special qualification; but as the details have not yet been approved by the Treasury, I am unable to describe our proposals definitely. The cost of the increases of pay which I have just enumerated will be somewhat in excess of £9,000 a-year. Before I pass from the petty officers and seamen, I must mention another subject which intimately concerns the comfort of the men and the efficiency of the Service—namely, that of the sick berth staff of the Navy and the nursing staff in the naval hospitals. The Board appointed a Committee to inquire into it; and this Committee, under the able presidency of Admiral Sir Anthony Hoskins, have submitted a Report which shall be laid upon the Table. They represent that the present arrangements for nursing the sick in the Navy afloat and in hospitals are unanimously pronounced to be unsatisfactory, especially in that the men who act as nurses are without any previous knowledge or training, and that there is no practical guarantee of their competence. For the present male civilian nurses they recommend that a trained sick berth staff be substituted. This staff they propose should be recruited from boys, as far as possible taken from Greenwich Hospital School, and subjected to the usual training in seamanship in the training ships. From the training ships they would pass to Haslar Hospital for special instruction in their duties, and thence, if found fit, receive their rating as sick berth attendants and enter the regular nursing service. Promotion to higher ratings and increases of pay will follow upon examination and good character. An important point is that each man will be called upon to do a fair share of home and foreign service in ships and hospitals, and that on return from foreign service the men will be employed in hospitals and harbour ships alternately, thus being usefully and economically occupied and acquiring improved training, instead of being exposed to the injurious influence of the comparatively idle life led by the spare sick berth staff at present. With regard to hospitals, the Committee recommend that a staff of the best class of lady nurses be employed in certain hospitals to superintend the nursing duties and to train the boys for this first appointment. This scheme, in its general outline, the Admiralty have decided to adopt, and money for its gra-

dual introduction is provided in these Estimates. I feel sure that the change of system will commend itself to all who are interested either in the efficiency and health of our seamen, or in the large general question of the treatment of the sick. It has also been represented to us that the warrant officers of the Navy, a most deserving class of officers, laboured under disadvantages in certain respects. This case also has been carefully inquired into; and while we are unable to recognize the necessity of any change in their special instance, affecting pay, retirement, or widows' pensions, there are certain points in which we either have met or propose to meet the views expressed to us. They will be allotted a largely increased number of Greenwich Hospital pensions for officers on the Retired List; their orphans will be admitted to a right to compassionate allowances similar to that of other ranks in the Navy; and a definite relative rank with the Army has been assigned to them. I believe that these are advantages which will be fully valued by the warrant officers. I pass now to the higher commissioned ranks, as to which I would say that it is necessary to look carefully from time to time to the state of the lists of executive officers as to employment and promotion. The zeal, ability, and high accomplishments of those who now fill those ranks cannot be too highly praised; and by all accounts we never had better officers to command ships, or better junior officers coming on to succeed them, than at the present time. Now, Sir, in reviewing the position of the various ranks, our opinion is that the right policy is to meet such hardships as may arise without making any unnecessary changes. Since the last important revision of the Lists in 1870 some modifications have been made, especially in 1875; but the scheme then adopted is, on the whole, working well, and there is no desire to make any substantial alteration. With regard to the Admirals' List, it must, of course, exceed the number actually required to provide officers for employment, because the flow of promotion from below depends upon the number of retirements by age and casualties producing vacancies in it. The consequence is, that while there is sufficient choice, many good officers are inevitably left unemployed. As to the captains, there was, in 1882 and 1883, a certain stagnation in promotion to flag

rank; 'but this year and hereafter the vacancies will occur at a rate of five or six a-year, which is sufficient. Although young captains are left unemployed, perhaps, longer than is desirable, on the whole the state of the Captains' List is satisfactory. It certainly should not be increased, and it would not be wise to reduce it in numbers. The Commanders' List is in a better condition, both as to promotion and employment, than probably at any former time. Of the lieutenants, the same cannot be said. This is, perhaps, the most important rank in the Service, containing many excellent officers of long service, who are well worthy of promotion, and naturally expect it. But they cannot all, or nearly all, be promoted without unduly crowding the list of commanders; besides, it is essential, in the interest of the Service, that some of the younger officers of the rank should be promoted. The present Board of Admiralty have done much to improve the prospects of the older lieutenants. In 1881 the number of annual promotions to commanders was increased from 20 to 25, further than which it was not right to go. The number of superior Coastguard appointments has also been increased by six. But we recognize the fact that something more is required. After all, it comes to this, that, as in the corresponding rank of major in the Army, many good officers must retire. But we do not wish to increase the number of retirements, nor to raise the inducements, which are sufficient. Besides, the officers are doing excellent work; and in the event of a war occurring, every man on the Lieutenants' List would be required. We have, therefore, decided to make a substantial increase in the pay of lieutenants of 10 years' standing, which will, we trust, be taken as some recognition of the value attached to their services. The precise effect is this. The pay of a lieutenant of over 10 years' seniority, with seven years' service in that rank, of which three have been in a ship of war at sea, will be 12s., exclusive of his ordinary extra allowances. As to half-pay, he will have a certain advantage in attaining the 8s. 6d. rate. This will make no alteration in the principles upon which promotions have hitherto been made, according to which long service has always been duly recognized as giving a fair claim, although not to the exclusion of the selection of younger men.

Before leaving these personal questions there is one other subject to which I must allude. It is a matter which Lord Northbrook and his Colleagues deem to be of the highest importance to the efficiency of the Naval Service—namely, the establishment at the Admiralty of a small but definitely organized Intelligence Department. I believe that successive Boards of Admiralty had felt the want of a systematic mode of collecting foreign intelligence, and the Committee which inquired into the Secretary's Department in 1879 recognized the great importance of the subject. Its importance has, in fact, greatly increased of recent years, and the difficulty of securing the most recent information has increased also. The changes which have been introduced in ships and guns, and in the power of ships to keep the sea, the consequent alteration in the naval value of individual ports, the increased facility of communication and movement, all combine with many other circumstances to render it more than ever necessary for the Board of Admiralty to have every information ready at hand, and available for immediate use in connection with naval operations in all parts of the world. The Intelligence Department of the Army—itsself, by the way, only a creation of some 10 years ago—will no doubt be, as it has been, of immense use for naval purposes; but we have felt that we require, besides, to have the assistance of an officer acquainted with, and able to handle, subjects of a purely naval character. Lord Northbrook has, therefore, appointed an Intelligence Committee, consisting of the Senior Naval Lord, a naval officer appointed for three years for this special service, an officer of Royal Marines attached to the Committee, and a gentleman from the higher Division of the Admiralty Office. The necessary provision for this new Department has been made under the Admiralty Vote. Turning now to the great question of the building and maintenance of ships, I would recall to the Committee the extent of the proposals which I submitted for approval last year. I estimated that we should spend in wages under the Dockyard Vote £504,659 for new construction, and £443,484 for repairs, while under the Contract Vote for Ships and Machinery the expenditure would be £1,031,300, making a total sum of £1,979,443. With this amount we expected to complete 7,143



tons of unarmoured ships, including those which are known as protected ships, and 12,281 tons of iron-clads, or 19,424 tons in all. Now, I am glad to be able to inform the Committee that this result has been nearly attained, and in the case of iron-clad ships exceeded. What we now believe that we shall have accomplished by the end of this month is to have built in the financial year 19,099 tons in all, of which 12,548 will be armoured and 6,551 unarmoured. Although, however, this satisfactory result has been secured, its distribution is somewhat different from that which was intended, because less has been built by contract and more in the Dockyards, the *Benbow*, which, as the Committee is aware, is under construction in a private yard, having been delayed, owing to circumstances which I shall explain when I come to speak of individual ships. These figures prove that we have accomplished on unarmoured ships quite as much work as—indeed, rather more than—we anticipated. Hon. Members, however, who were present during the consideration of Vote 6 last year may remember that there was some discussion as to the value of this mode of computation by tons. By a ton, in this sense, is not meant a ton of displacement, but a unit determined by the proportion between the total ultimate cost of the ship, measured by the labour spent on her, and the weight of the ship in tons; and the weak point of this mode of computation obviously is, that as one of the elements in it—namely, the cost of the ship—is subject to variation and uncertainty, the unit which depends upon that element may also vary in value. The matter could not be more clearly explained than in a passage in the Report of the late Accountant General of the Navy, published with the Navy Accounts in 1881, which passage I would ask leave to quote, although it is somewhat lengthy, as I think it most desirable that the Committee should fully understand the point. Sir Robert Hamilton says—

“The ton as a standard of measurement of proposed constructive work is used to arrive at a certain estimate of the cost of an assumed quantity of work. When a ship is designed the number of tons weight is estimated, and the total labour required in her construction is also estimated. The money value of the labour, divided by the number of tons, gives the cost per ton in labour. This forms the measure of the progress of the ship, and, according to the

amount expended for labour on her, she is said to have had added to her so many tons. But, if the cost has been under or over-estimated, a correction has to be made so as to bring the calculated into harmony with the realized tonnage. In fact, what is called a ton is not, strictly speaking, a ton at all, but merely a convenient expression for money spent or to be spent. It is possible to state what amount of money is spent on labour on a ship, and after the vessel is actually completed to state the actual tons weight of hull constructed; but the figures which represent the tons about to be added to that ship, or which, during her construction, are calculated to have been added, are only approximate.”

The Committee will perceive that the effect of this mode of computing is, that if, as a ship advances towards completion, it becomes apparent, as, unfortunately, it frequently does, that her cost will exceed the estimate originally formed, it follows that what has been called a ton was not really a ton, and that when the ship is completed we shall have built a greater number of so-called tons than are comprised in the total weight of the vessel. Well, Sir, I frankly expressed last year my opinion of this system of calculation, and I confess that the further my experience and investigation of the subject extend, the more reason do I find to avoid ascribing a too scrupulous and definite degree of accuracy to this measure of shipbuilding progress. But I can assure the Committee that, although not mathematically and essentially accurate, it is, at least, perfectly honest. The statements in these estimates of tonnage built in the present year, or expected to be built in the coming year, are made up in the Department by the same persons and on identically the same basis as all the similar statements submitted in past years; and if we are to maintain our power of comparing year with year, it is imperative that the system, however imperfect it may be, should remain unaltered. Any correction that might be called for in the figures for one year would be due to fluctuations in the value of a ton, not only during that year itself, but in previous years, whose figures also would be in turn subject to correction, and so we should have to go back indefinitely. On the whole, although I have thought it right to make these criticisms, my opinion is that the system which has been so long followed may be allowed to continue; and it is the belief of those who administer it, that although it may fall short of theoretical accuracy,



it furnishes a true and equitable representation of the work which from year to year is done in building ships for the Navy. As, therefore, the iron-clad tonnage now estimated to have been added to the Fleet in this year is 12,548 tons, as compared with 11,321 tons which we announced our intention of building, and with 11,321 tons built in the previous year, I think I may claim that the present Board of Admiralty has carried out in this year that process of steadily and gradually raising the armoured strength of the Navy which they have announced as their uniform policy since their accession to Office. With regard to individual ships, the printed programme indicates the progress which we anticipate, and as to many of them I have little of interest to say. In many cases their progress is subject to occasional interruption and hindrance on account of difficulties which arise from new requirements or alterations suggested by the experience or inventive skill of our professional advisers. That such delays are costly, that they are to be lamented, and that prudent administration will carefully guard against them, and when they cannot be resisted will yield to them only with extreme reluctance, I most fully admit; but there are many cases in which we cannot complain of them. It is a matter on which no strict rule can be followed, and of which a broad and practical view should be taken. If it is unwise and wasteful both of time and money to depart unnecessarily from original designs, it would, on the other hand, be the height of folly to shut the door against improvements, or to insist upon a hasty and premature settlement of disputed points in respect either to ships or to their armaments. I make these observations, not because I have any unusual delay to excuse at this time, when, on the contrary, I believe we are rapidly overcoming its main causes, but because we often hear the delay of a ship's completion spoken of as being in itself a crime. Of its evils we are fully sensible, and of the necessity of checking them; but it must not be forgotten that due deliberation, at least, is justifiable in order to complete in the most perfect form each of those huge engines of warfare which our Dockyards produce for the service of the country. Hon. Members will observe that steady progress is being made with the *Admiral* class generally.

The *Collingwood* will very soon be brought to Portsmouth; and without any delay a trial will be made both of her speed and also of the working of her barbette mountings. The knowledge thus gained will be of the greatest use as a guide in the completion of the other vessels of the class; and this is one of the advantages of having on hand two or more ships of similar type. In the case of the *Colossus*, for instance, the delays as to her conning tower and the mode of loading her guns have been serious, and we have therefore decided to advance her and to keep back the sister ship, the *Edinburgh*, in order that our experience in the one ship may obviate the danger of having to do and undo work in the other. The *Colossus* has her new heavy guns on board, and a tedious alteration in her 6-inch armament, arising out of the introduction of the Vavasseur system of mounting, is now settled. These two ships, I would add, give the most excellent promise as regards speed. Similarly, it is proposed to advance the *Impérieuse* before her sister, the *Warspite*, both of which vessels have been launched during the year, and it was intended that the former ship should be completed next year; but this may be somewhat affected by the loss at sea of one of her sets of boilers, which has occurred since the programme was prepared. I have already alluded to the fact that the *Bombow* has been retarded in the hands of the contractor, partly from reasons connected with her building and the manufacture of her armour, and partly in consequence of her novel armament. As I informed the Committee last year, she will carry two heavy steel guns of the Elswick pattern, weighing 110 tons, and discharging a projectile of 1,800 lbs. The details are now settled, so that there will be no further hindrance on this account. So much, Sir, for the vessels named in the programme last year, the progress in which I feel sure the Committee will consider most satisfactory. But it is not only thus that we have been better than our promise; besides these, we have thought it right to lay down and make a certain progress with a new iron-clad ship at Chatham. She is named the *Hero*, and will be almost exactly a second *Conqueror*. The *Conqueror*, which is now completed, has so fully realized the expectations of her designers, that we considered we could not make a more

useful addition to the Navy than by repeating her. This is the only new armoured ship that I have definitely to announce to the Committee on this occasion, although it is our intention later in the coming year to lay down a new iron-clad at Portsmouth, whose exact type is not yet finally settled. I am thus led to the consideration of our proposals for the future. Some of these I have already indicated. The *Colossus* will, we hope, be completed, and also the *Impé-rieuse*; the other armoured vessels will be advanced steadily. I come next to the class of protected ships, of which two are under construction at Chatham. Of these *Merseys*, as they may be called, after the first which was laid down, we propose to build three more—one at Devonport and two at Pembroke. The fact that we contemplate building five of such vessels is a proof of the value, which, on the opinion of our highest professional advisers, we attach to them; and I would point out that ships of this class have this conspicuous merit, that they are distinctly capable of being effectively employed on two alternative uses. They are admirably suited by their size, speed, and other qualities for service as cruisers, and for ordinary peace duties on foreign stations, while, on the other hand, if mounted with heavy armour-piercing guns, it may be, I think, safely claimed for them that they would be in the fullest sense effective battle ships, and would be most formidable aids to our larger iron-clads in a naval engagement. We therefore consider that we could make no proposal more worthy of the support of this Committee than the increase of the number of these most valuable vessels. If hon. Members will now turn to Appendix No. 20 in the Estimates, they will find a list of the new ships which it is proposed to build in private yards, concerning which I should like to say a very few words, and I would first call their attention to the torpedo cruiser to be named the *Scout*, the contract for which has been taken by a Clyde firm. She will be a vessel of 1,430 tons; 220 feet in length, and 34 feet in beam; with a coal capacity of 300 tons, which, in case of necessity, may be filled up to 450 tons, which would enable her to steam at 10 knots speed, 4,600 knots and 7,000 knots respectively; her estimated speed with forced draught will be 16 knots; and she will carry a light armament of guns

and machine guns, but will be chiefly formidable owing to her power in torpedo discharge. She is designed for the employment of the Whitehead torpedo, and, in fact, she represents the cheapest vessel that can be produced for this service with the speed I have named, and with sea-going qualities. The question of constructing such a vessel has been hindered in solution by difficulties regarding the under-water discharge of torpedoes at full speed; and for the settlement of this important question the *Polyphemus* has afforded us the means for the most valuable experiments and investigation, great progress having been made in overcoming the difficulties of the problem. The *Scout* is entirely open and unprotected, and protection would, of course, greatly increase the weight and cost of the vessel. I need hardly dwell upon the two despatch vessels which are to be built on the Tyne.

MR. W. H. SMITH: What will be their size?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I can answer that question, I think; they will have a 1,400-ton displacement. They will be of the class of the *Salamis*, *Lively*, and *Enchantress*; but will be capable, if suitably armed, of being used for the same sort of purpose as the *Scout*. In the list of proposals also appears a torpedo depot ship, which is indicated as a new *Hecla*. The *Hecla*, as the Committee knows, was purchased out of the Vote of Credit in 1878, from a mercantile firm, for whom it had been built, and was converted and fitted as a torpedo and submarine mine depot and factory ship. If a ship is to be built to fulfil these duties the first condition will be that she should have a speed much higher than the *Hecla's*, which is only 12 knots. It is obvious that a vessel not only valuable in herself, but containing so valuable a cargo, and unable from the very condition of things to fight in her own defence, must owe her safety mainly to her speed. The new vessel, if built, would be of the merchant ship type, with her machinery and steering gear protected against light shell and machine guns. She would carry, besides a store of torpedoes, a number of first class torpedo boats—that is, boats of 18 to 20 knots speed, capable of going 1,000 knots with their own fuel—and she would be provided with hydraulic cranes by which to lower these boats at

sea when required. This is a description of a very interesting new departure in shipbuilding; but I wish candidly to state to the Committee that, although we have inserted this item in the programme, we have not yet finally decided to proceed with it; the sum taken is only enough for a commencement, and we do not require to come to a decision until later in the year. There are high naval authorities who attach the greatest importance to such a vessel, who consider that she would, with her power of launching first-class torpedo boats, be a most invaluable auxiliary to a fleet of iron-clads. There are others who fear that, with her vulnerability and with the extreme value of her cargo, she would be a source of danger and anxiety more than equivalent to her usefulness; who doubt the feasibility of lowering boats of the length of first-class torpedo boats in any but exceptionally favourable states of the sea; and who hold that the money she would cost would be far better expended in multiplying torpedo ships of the *Scout* class which I have just described. I have thought it best frankly to indicate the various conflicting opinions which are under the consideration of the Board. I may mention, what I think my hon. Friend (Sir Thomas Brassey) stated earlier in the evening, that money is provided for adding, by contract, a superstructure to the *Cyclops* similar to that which has been placed upon the *Hecaté*; but we have thought it prudent not to proceed with it until the *Hecaté* has been tried at sea, probably with the Reserve Squadron in its summer cruise. The general result of our proposal for the coming year is this. We intend to build of iron-clad ships, 10,500 tons in the Dockyards, and 2,114 by contract; and of unarmoured, 5,555 tons in the Dockyard, and 2,510 by contract; giving a total, armoured and unarmoured, Dockyard and contract, of 20,679 tons. The wages to be spent in the Dockyards on the advancement of ships will be £541,202, and the amount of contract work—including materials and wages—£309,750. The wages to be spent in the Dockyards on repairs will be £419,840. This question of the repairs of Her Majesty's ships, and the best way of conducting and controlling them, is one to which my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty has given much atten-

tion, and he has had in this the valuable assistance of Mr. Barnaby, the Chief Constructor of the Navy, who, by a re-arrangement of the work of his Department, has been brought of recent months into more direct connection than formerly with the work of the Dockyards. At the same time, we are anxious to satisfy ourselves how far the conditions under which we invite contracts from the private trade are such as to secure us the best results. On these two points Lord Northbrook has resolved to invite a small Committee of gentlemen experienced in the general shipbuilding trade of the country to advise the Admiralty, and we anticipate much assistance from them. I do not know that I need detain the Committee by any further remarks on shipbuilding topics; but I cannot leave the subject without saying something as to the questions we have had under our consideration affecting the officers and workmen in the Constructing Department. A year and a-half ago we had received a number of Memorials from classes and individuals in the Dockyards on the subject of their pay and the other conditions of their service, and I undertook that they should have an opportunity afforded of personally stating their case. Nothing could be more satisfactory to the Board than the way in which the views of the men were laid before us; but, to our great regret, circumstances have hindered us in coming to a decision on the cases submitted. The principal circumstance was this—that a Committee, ably presided over by my hon. Friend the Civil Lord, which was engaged in considering an improved organization of the whole Constructors' Department, submitted a Report which recommended, amongst other things, a radical change in the whole status and position of one of the most important classes in the Dockyards—namely, the leading men of shipwrights. When this Report had been duly considered and approved, so far as its own recommendations went, we had further to consider how the changes it proposed would affect other trades and ranks among the workmen; and this has been found so complicated a matter that, although no unnecessary delay has occurred, I am still unable to say that the questions raised have been fully decided. From our present position, I have no doubt that before the



Dockyard Vote is reached the matter so long pending will be concluded. Until the main classes were dealt with, it was obviously undesirable to deal with even minor and collateral cases. I think it right, however, to say that whatever changes my hon. Friend will be able then to announce, a general increase of pay will not be included in them. We were not able to see that there was any case for such an increase when the matter was first taken in hand, and the present condition of the labour market furnishes even less justification. I am sorry that we are thus compelled to intimate a further delay, but I trust it will be short and final. Sir, I fear that I have exhausted the patience of the Committee; but I have yet a few words to say on the subject of armament. My noble Friend the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) made a statement on Monday night of the progress made by his Department in supplying guns for the Navy. The progress made during the past year is, however, not to be measured by the number of guns actually manufactured; while we are engaged in a large re-armament, the advance made towards settlement of patterns and types is the most important matter, and in this I am glad to say an immense stride has been made during this year. I may remind the Committee that four years ago little or nothing had been done in this country in preparing for an alteration of armament. Other countries had been quicker to recognize the necessity, which arose not so much from any advantage of breech-loading over muzzle-loading as from the employment of slow-burning powder, entailing for its due consumption a great length of gun. Breech-loading guns of the old type have no advantage whatever over muzzle-loaders, while the latter have the great merit of simplicity. But guns of the new type are two or three times as long as the old; in one case, the pattern we have adopted has a length of 36 calibres; and it is this which makes breech-loading indispensable. Well, Sir, the Government, shortly after we came into office, recognizing the greatness of the task, and anxious to avoid mistakes, appointed an Ordnance Committee to advise them. This step may have had the immediate effect of causing delay; but the result has abundantly justified

it, because the details of the problem are now being rapidly solved, and we have the confidence which arises from thorough consideration. With regard to the lighter armament, the Committee are aware that there has long been a controversy regarding machine guns, which were originally designed mainly as a weapon against torpedo boats, but have now come into more extended use. Some Navies have adopted machine shell guns, while in our Service a bullet-firing gun has been preferred. We are now able to supplement our machine gun armament by a quick-firing shell gun, which we believe will be a formidable and useful weapon. It will be a breech-loading gun, firing a 6 lb. shell, capable of firing 10 aimed shots a-minute with considerable range, and penetration sufficient to pierce an ordinary ship's side. Of these guns 200 have been ordered for the coming year. The actual position of affairs is this. There are two guns of this kind—the Hodgkiss and the Nordenfält—that are very nearly equal in merit, and the Ordnance Committee have had considerable difficulty in saying which is the better of the two. We have determined to take half of the one and half of the other—as we thought it desirable to have an alternative gun, and to be sure of obtaining a supply—on the condition that the ammunition should be interchangeable. I have now referred to all the points to which I wished to allude, and, thanking the Committee for their patient attention, I beg to move the Vote.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That 56,950 men and boys be employed for the Sea and Coast Guard Services for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, including 12,400 Royal Marines.”—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

MR. A. F. EGERTON said, that at that late period of the night it would be impossible in any detail to criticize the very clear statement of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, or to go into the many very important subjects which had been placed before the Committee. There were one or two points, however, upon which he would venture to make a few remarks to the Committee. In the first place, he wished to say a word with regard to the remarks with which the hon. Member commenced—namely, his

*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*

graceful allusion to the naval services which had been rendered by our seamen and their officers in Egypt. For his own part—and he was sure on the part also of hon. Members sitting on the Opposition side, as well as of hon. Members opposite—he might say that he looked with the greatest admiration on the manner in which these services had been rendered, and that it was with the deepest regret that he had learnt of the loss of three gallant officers. [An hon. MEMBER: No; four.] Yes; that four gallant officers had fallen, albeit, so gloriously, in the performance of their duty. The next point the hon. Gentleman touched on was the question of the good conduct generally of the blue-jackets and Marines during the past year. He (Mr. A. F. Egerton) was sorry that the hon. Member, when he referred to that good conduct this evening, had not remembered to touch upon the subject to which attention had been drawn by the hon. Member for the City of York (Sir Frederick Milner). Probably the hon. Member had forgotten, while he was making his speech, that those remarks had been made by the hon. Member for York.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: I alluded to the prevalence of insubordination.

MR. A. F. EGERTON: The hon. Member did not allude particularly to what fell from the hon. Member for York.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: I answered the hon. Baronet earlier in the Sitting. I made a long speech before introducing the Estimates.

MR. A. F. EGERTON said, that, such being the case, he would pass from the subject, merely observing that what had happened showed the justice of the statement it had been his (Mr. A. F. Egerton's) duty to make some four or five years ago—and a very unpleasant duty it was—in defence of the punishment of the lash. He was sorry to say that he had been compelled to defend the infliction of that punishment on several occasions. He was afraid, however, that no punishment had yet been invented to satisfactorily take its place, and that the punishments which had been substituted, whether or not they had led to excessive hardships, had, at any rate, failed to produce the effects which had been expected of them. The

next subject that the hon. Gentleman had touched upon was the various increases in the rates of pay in certain branches of the Service; and no doubt the Committee on the whole would consider the hon. Gentleman's statement a very satisfactory one. They must take that statement, of course, on the authority of the Board of Admiralty, who must have carefully investigated all the details of the subject. It was absolutely necessary that we should have a good article; and it must be satisfactory to the Committee, who had to pay for it, to know that we were getting that good article. But there was one point with regard to warrant officers upon which he would like a little further explanation. In the time of the late Government there was a question frequently brought forward which the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had recognized as the harbour-ships question. Were the new rates of pay to apply to all the warrant officers, or only to those in sea-going ships, and not to those in harbour ships? He believed in the time of the late Government there was a different rate of pay to warrant officers on harbour services to those in sea-going ships. As to the increase of the lieutenants' pay, the state of the Lieutenants' List had been the crux of every succeeding Board of Admiralty for the last 20 or 30 years. He was happy to say that something had been done to alleviate the hard case of the lieutenants, although, of course, he knew it was impossible that all officers of that class in the Service could expect to reach a higher grade. With regard to the Intelligence Department, he thought his right hon. Friend (Mr. W. H. Smith) might well congratulate himself on the adoption of the new system by the present Board, because, when the right hon. and gallant Gentleman was in Office, he had that subject seriously under his consideration, and he had begun to take steps to create such a Department. He was happy to find that those steps had been followed out, and that the new system would be brought into action by the present Board. At this time of night it was impossible to enter at any length into the shipbuilding programme of the Admiralty. That must be deferred to a future occasion; but there was one point in connection with these Estimates which was rather remarkable, and re-

quired explanation. If the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty would look at pages 191 and 204 of the Estimates, he would find that the latter page showed upwards of £2,000 less than page 204. He could not understand how that discrepancy had arisen, and he thought the two Estimates ought to be prepared from the same basis; but this discrepancy was *prima facie* inexplicable, although, no doubt, the hon. Member might be able to explain it. While on the subject of ship-building, he wished to make some remarks on the difference between the time taken to build an iron-clad in a Royal Dockyard and the time required in a private yard. That was a matter which seemed to him to be of some importance. It had always struck him, as a humble subordinate member of the Board of Admiralty, that the Dockyards took an inordinate time to build an iron-clad. He would not speak of the *Inflexible*, for that was an exceptional case. It took seven or eight years to construct, but it was attacked in a serious manner in the House of Commons, and great delay took place in consequence; but, generally speaking, a ship took, at least, one-third more time to build in a Royal Dockyard than it did in a private yard. He ventured to think, though with the greatest possible respect for the able Professional Department of the Admiralty, that this must be owing, to some extent, to a want of decision in the initiatory stage of the building of an iron-clad. He assumed that, when a private shipbuilder received an order for an iron-clad, he had all his plans cut and dried, and at once proceeded to build the ship as ordered, and his plans were not much interfered with—at any rate, if he was building for a Foreign Power and not for the British Government. But as to the building of an iron-clad in a Royal Dockyard, the hon. Member knew as well as he did what went on. The iron-clad was commenced, and when she had been in progress for about a year-and-a-half certain modifications were introduced by order of the Board and by the advice of the professional advisers, very wisely, no doubt, and the result was that she would be a better ship when she came out of the dock than what she was first intended to be; but still he ventured to think that speed was or ought to be an element of con-

sideration in regard to the building of ships. But, perhaps, it might sometimes be wise not to strive after absolute perfection, as we seemed to do, and that it would be better if ships were turned out in a shorter period than they now were. That was all he had to say at present as to the programme for shipbuilding; but he might have more to say upon it when the Committee came to consider Votes 6 and 10 in detail. There was one other point which was not touched upon by the hon. Gentleman, but with regard to which he should like some explanation. That was the question of the naval cadets. There seemed to have been, at the last examination on board the *Britannia*, a large failure to pass on the part of the cadets; and, in fact, it was alleged that the naval cadets at present were inferior in ability to those of the last two or three years. He should like to know whether there was any truth in that allegation, and if there was any reason to be assigned for this circumstance—whether the *curriculum* was placed higher than it ought to be, or whether the class of naval cadets recently admitted was of an inferior stamp? These were points upon which he wished to address the Committee at this stage of the discussion. He thought, on the whole, that the Committee would be satisfied that the Admiralty were making the best use of their resources. Individually, he should be very glad to see another £500,000 added to the Estimates for shipbuilding, and he did not think the country would object to that additional expenditure; but he thought the programme, as far as it went, would be considered satisfactory by the Committee.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, with reference to the case of the warrant officers, a concession was made to them in 1881, which was before he came into Office, and what he proposed now was to give them the other advantages of which he had spoken. He did not think there was actually any discrepancy between the figures on page 191 and 204.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the real fact was that, if the tons built in 1883 were compared with the tons built in 1884, it might be shown that instead of 11,400 tons, only 9,325 tons had been built. If the figures were compared with a Return issued last year, showing the Estimate



for 1883, it would be found that the advance made was only 9,325 tons, instead of 11,400 tons given in the present Estimates. But it was impossible to go into these matters now, and he thought it would be better to give the Vote now, and arrange for a discussion at a proper time.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he quite agreed with the hon. Member opposite (Mr. A. Egerton) as to the delays in building ships; but he thought the hon. Member was wrong in supposing that the Constructive Department or the Professional Advisers were to blame. In the building of a ship the Naval officers had to be satisfied that it contained all the latest improvements; and it was very likely the Constructive Department would prefer that those officers should be kept away from the ship. With regard to the cadets, he had laid on the Table the other day a Report of the Examiners on the last occasion; and that showed that, although there were one or two points upon which the cadets did not reach the level of ordinary school boys, yet, on the whole, the examinations were satisfactory, and in some respects the Examiners spoke very highly of the performances of the cadets. There was no reason for the implication that the cadets were falling off.

LORD HENRY LENNOX said, he only wished to make a few observations at this hour of the night; but he wished to remark that it was unusual for the Representative of the Admiralty to answer questions of hon. Members, when he knew that there were other Members wishing to speak. He considered—and when the time came he hoped to prove—that these Estimates were most inefficient, and most misleading to the public, as to the strength of our Navy, and as to what was being added to it. So far as he could make out, the Admiralty were going to complete two iron-clads in the year—one of the first class, and one armoured cruiser. The Estimates had only been in the hands of Members six days, and in that time it was difficult to master a document of that kind. Then, as far as he could see, the Government did not intend to lay down more than one first-class iron-clad at Portsmouth, and there was only to be an advance of 375 tons, which was scarcely enough for the preliminary business of laying her

down. Altogether, he considered these Estimates so inefficient, that he should have liked, if he possibly could, to have an opportunity of addressing the Committee upon them at an earlier hour. It was no fault of the hon. Gentleman that he had not had that opportunity, for the hon. Gentleman had applied himself till 11 o'clock to making statements—a most inconvenient plan—and all he could say was that he hoped the hon. Gentleman would undertake, in some such way as he did last year, that an opportunity for discussion should be given. If that were done, then these Estimates would come up again at a no very distant period, and so the House would be able to discuss the policy of the Government. He believed his hon. Friend near him agreed with him on this point.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, with regard to the complaint with which the noble Lord began his remarks, that it was often the most convenient course for the Representative of the Ministry to rise and reply to particular points as they were raised, instead of waiting to answer several questions together. The noble Lord had found fault with the Admiralty for only laying down one iron-clad this year; but the noble Lord had altogether omitted the ship that was begun last year, and which they had not promised. Instead of laying it down at the beginning of the new year, they had laid it down at the end of last year; so that there were really two iron-clads in progress which were not in progress last year. With regard to the resumption of the debate, it was not for him to make any engagement as to Vote 2, for that could only be done by the general agreement of the Committee; but, although he was very sensible of the inconvenience of the proceeding, still it was made compulsory upon the Government, and if the Committee would agree to the Vote, the debate could be resumed at a later day.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the question was, when the discussion would take place. If the Vote was given to-night, then there ought to be an early discussion, as there was last year. It would probably be in the power of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give an engagement to that effect. The subject of the Navy was of far too much importance to be hurried.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER said, there was last year some misunderstanding.

ing as to the course of procedure; and he wished to know under what Vote attention could be called to the position of the naval engineers and engine-room artificers?

THE CHAIRMAN: It can be done upon Vote 1, when it comes on.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer could give some assurance as to the date or the period within which the discussion would be resumed?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): It is impossible to name a date; but I am in a position to say that on an early day, before Whitsuntide, we will take care that the debate shall be resumed. After what has fallen from the Chairman as to Vote 1, I hope the Committee will agree to give the Votes for the men and for boys upon this understanding.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, he hoped the Committee would now assent to the Vote, upon the understanding which had been suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was, no doubt, exceedingly inconvenient that the statement of the Secretary to the Admiralty should have been made to-night, and that no discussion whatever should be taken upon it for, perhaps, a couple of months; but still the necessities of the Public Service seemed to require that the Committee should forego for the present the most useful and important discussion that would have, at some time or other, to be raised. Under these circumstances, and on the understanding suggested by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he thought the Committee ought to give way.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS) thanked the right hon. Gentleman for his extremely fair statement—a statement that was both fair and reasonable.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

(2.) £2,671,800, Wages, &c. to Seamen and Marines.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That a sum, not exceeding £3,531,050, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, viz.:—

## CIVIL SERVICES.

### CLASS I.—PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS.

| Great Britain:—                                                | £      |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Royal Palaces .. ..                                            | 6,000  |
| Marlborough House .. ..                                        | 1,000  |
| Royal Parks and Pleasure Grounds ..                            | 20,000 |
| Houses of Parliament .. ..                                     | 7,000  |
| Beaconsfield Monument .. ..                                    | -      |
| Public Buildings .. ..                                         | 20,000 |
| Public Offices Site .. ..                                      | 5,000  |
| Furniture of Public Offices .. ..                              | 2,000  |
| Revenue Department Buildings ..                                | 50,000 |
| County Court Buildings .. ..                                   | 6,000  |
| Metropolitan Police Courts .. ..                               | 1,500  |
| Sheriff Court Houses, Scotland ..                              | 3,000  |
| New Courts of Justice, &c. ..                                  | 5,000  |
| Surveys of the United Kingdom ..                               | 50,000 |
| Science and Art Department Buildings                           | 4,000  |
| British Museum Buildings .. ..                                 | 2,000  |
| Natural History Museum .. ..                                   | 1,000  |
| Harbours, &c. under Board of Trade                             | 1,500  |
| Rates on Government Property (Great Britain and Ireland) .. .. | 75,000 |
| Metropolitan Fire Brigade .. ..                                | 2,500  |
| Disturnpiked and Main Roads (England and Wales) .. ..          | 20,000 |
| Disturnpiked Roads (Scotland) ..                               | 5,000  |

#### Ireland:—

|                                      |        |
|--------------------------------------|--------|
| Public Buildings .. ..               | 30,000 |
| Royal University Buildings .. ..     | 500    |
| Science and Art Buildings, Dublin .. | 500    |

#### Abroad:—

|                                      |       |
|--------------------------------------|-------|
| Lighthouses Abroad .. ..             | 2,000 |
| Diplomatic and Consular Buildings .. | 8,000 |

### CLASS II.—SALARIES AND EXPENSES OF CIVIL DEPARTMENTS.

| England:—                                                    | £      |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| House of Lords, Offices .. ..                                | 6,000  |
| House of Commons, Offices .. ..                              | 6,000  |
| Treasury, including Parliamentary Counsel .. ..              | 10,000 |
| Home Office and Subordinate Departments .. ..                | 15,000 |
| Foreign Office .. ..                                         | 10,000 |
| Colonial Office .. ..                                        | 6,000  |
| Privy Council Office and Subordinate Departments .. ..       | 4,000  |
| Privy Seal Office .. ..                                      | 250    |
| Board of Trade and Subordinate Departments .. ..             | 25,000 |
| Bankruptcy Department of the Board of Trade .. ..            | 500    |
| Charity Commission (including Endowed Schools Department) .. | 6,000  |
| Civil Service Commission .. ..                               | 7,000  |
| Exchequer and Audit Department ..                            | 9,000  |
| Friendly Societies, Registry .. ..                           | 1,500  |
| Land Commission for England .. ..                            | 4,000  |
| Local Government Board .. ..                                 | 50,000 |
| Lunacy Commission .. ..                                      | 2,500  |
| Mint (including Coinage) .. ..                               | 20,000 |
| National Debt Office .. ..                                   | 2,500  |
| Patent Office .. ..                                          | 5,000  |
| Paymaster General's Office .. ..                             | 4,500  |
| Public Works Loan Commission ..                              | 1,500  |

|                                             |        |
|---------------------------------------------|--------|
|                                             | £      |
| Record Office .. ..                         | 4,000  |
| Registrar General's Office .. ..            | 8,000  |
| Stationery Office and Printing .. ..        | 90,000 |
| Woods, Forests, &c. Office of .. ..         | 4,000  |
| Works and Public Buildings, Office of .. .. | 8,000  |
| Mercantile Marine Fund, Grant in Aid .. ..  | -      |
| Secret Service .. ..                        | 8,000  |

## Scotland:—

|                                   |       |
|-----------------------------------|-------|
| Exchequer and other Offices .. .. | 500   |
| Fishery Board .. ..               | 2,500 |
| Lunacy Commission .. ..           | 1,000 |
| Registrar General's Office .. ..  | 1,000 |
| Board of Supervision .. ..        | 3,000 |

## Ireland:—

|                                                |        |
|------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Lord Lieutenant's Household .. ..              | 1,000  |
| Chief Secretary's Office .. ..                 | 6,500  |
| Charitable Donations and Bequests Office .. .. | 300    |
| Local Government Board .. ..                   | 10,000 |
| Public Works Office .. ..                      | 10,000 |
| Record Office .. ..                            | 1,000  |
| Registrar General's Office .. ..               | 3,000  |
| Valuation and Boundary Survey .. ..            | 6,000  |

## CLASS III.—LAW AND JUSTICE.

## England:—

|                                                          |         |
|----------------------------------------------------------|---------|
|                                                          | £       |
| Law Charges .. ..                                        | 17,000  |
| Public Prosecutor's Office .. ..                         | 600     |
| Criminal Prosecutions .. ..                              | 34,000  |
| Supreme Court of Judicature .. ..                        | 70,000  |
| Wreck Commission .. ..                                   | 2,500   |
| County Courts .. ..                                      | 20,000  |
| Land Registry .. ..                                      | 1,000   |
| Revising Barristers, England .. ..                       | -       |
| Police Courts (London and Sheerness) .. ..               | 2,000   |
| Metropolitan Police .. ..                                | 100,000 |
| Rewards to Police .. ..                                  | -       |
| County and Borough Police, Great Britain .. ..           | 1,000   |
| Convict Establishments in England and the Colonies .. .. | 90,000  |
| Prisons, England .. ..                                   | 60,000  |
| Reformatory and Industrial Schools, Great Britain .. ..  | 70,000  |
| Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum .. ..                  | 5,000   |

## Scotland:—

|                                              |        |
|----------------------------------------------|--------|
| Lord Advocate and Criminal Proceedings .. .. | 10,000 |
| Courts of Law and Justice .. ..              | 5,000  |
| Register House Departments .. ..             | 6,000  |
| Prisons, Scotland .. ..                      | 15,000 |

## Ireland:—

|                                                            |         |
|------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| Law Charges and Criminal Prosecutions .. ..                | 20,000  |
| Supreme Court of Judicature .. ..                          | 15,000  |
| Court of Bankruptcy .. ..                                  | 1,500   |
| Admiralty Court Registry .. ..                             | 200     |
| Registry of Deeds .. ..                                    | 3,000   |
| Registry of Judgments .. ..                                | 500     |
| Land Commission .. ..                                      | 20,000  |
| County Court Officers, &c. .. ..                           | 15,000  |
| Dublin Metropolitan Police (including Police Courts) .. .. | 30,000  |
| Constabulary .. ..                                         | 250,000 |
| Prisons, Ireland .. ..                                     | 30,000  |
| Reformatory and Industrial Schools .. ..                   | 25,000  |
| Dundrum Criminal Lunatic Asylum .. ..                      | 1,500   |

## CLASS IV.—EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART.

## England:—

|                                              |         |
|----------------------------------------------|---------|
|                                              | £       |
| Public Education .. ..                       | 550,000 |
| Science and Art Department .. ..             | 60,000  |
| British Museum .. ..                         | 25,000  |
| Ashburnham Manuscripts .. ..                 | -       |
| National Gallery .. ..                       | 2,000   |
| National Portrait Gallery .. ..              | 600     |
| Learned Societies, &c. .. ..                 | 3,500   |
| London University .. ..                      | 2,000   |
| University Colleges, Wales .. ..             | 2,000   |
| Deep Sea Exploring Expedition (Report) .. .. | 1,000   |
| Transit of Venus, 1882 .. ..                 | 100     |

## Scotland:—

|                                   |         |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| Public Education .. ..            | 110,000 |
| Universities, &c. .. ..           | 3,500   |
| National Gallery .. ..            | 400     |
| Historical Portrait Gallery .. .. | -       |

## Ireland:—

|                                     |         |
|-------------------------------------|---------|
| Public Education .. ..              | 130,000 |
| Teachers' Pension Office .. ..      | 500     |
| Endowed Schools Commissioners .. .. | 200     |
| National Gallery .. ..              | 300     |
| Queen's Colleges .. ..              | 2,000   |
| Royal Irish Academy .. ..           | 600     |

## CLASS V.—FOREIGN AND COLONIAL SERVICES.

|                                        |        |
|----------------------------------------|--------|
|                                        | £      |
| Diplomatic Services .. ..              | 60,000 |
| Consular Services .. ..                | 60,000 |
| Suppression of the Slave Trade .. ..   | 3,000  |
| Tonnage Bounties, &c. .. ..            | 2,000  |
| Suez Canal (British Directors) .. ..   | 400    |
| Colonies, Grants in Aid .. ..          | 5,000  |
| South Africa and St. Helena .. ..      | 1,000  |
| Subsidies to Telegraph Companies .. .. | 9,000  |
| Cyprus, Grant in Aid .. ..             | -      |
| Fortune Bay Fishery Claims .. ..       | -      |

## CLASS VI.—NON-EFFECTIVE AND CHARITABLE SERVICES.

|                                                                    |         |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
|                                                                    | £       |
| Superannuation and Retired Allowances .. ..                        | 120,000 |
| Merchant Seamen's Fund Pensions, &c. .. ..                         | 1,000   |
| Pauper Lunatics, England .. ..                                     | -       |
| Pauper Lunatics, Scotland .. ..                                    | -       |
| Pauper Lunatics, Ireland .. ..                                     | 50,000  |
| Hospitals and Infirmaries, Ireland .. ..                           | 4,000   |
| Friendly Societies Deficiency .. ..                                | -       |
| Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Great Britain .. .. | 500     |
| Miscellaneous Charitable and other Allowances, Ireland .. ..       | 600     |
| Commutation of Annuities .. ..                                     | -       |
| Cochrane's Deposits .. ..                                          | -       |

## CLASS VII.—MISCELLANEOUS.

|                                |            |
|--------------------------------|------------|
|                                | £          |
| Temporary Commissions .. ..    | 5,000      |
| Miscellaneous Expenses .. ..   | 2,500      |
| Total for Civil Services .. .. | £2,841,050 |



## REVENUE DEPARTMENTS.

|                                    | £          |
|------------------------------------|------------|
| Customs .. .. .                    | 100,000    |
| Inland Revenue .. .. .             | 100,000    |
| Post Office .. .. .                | 100,000    |
| Post Office Packet Service .. .. . | 120,000    |
| Post Office Telegraphs .. .. .     | 270,000    |
| Total for Revenue Departments      | £690,000   |
| Grand Total ..                     | £3,531,050 |

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH said, that after the engagement which had just been made in the case of the Navy Estimates, and the similar engagement made a few days ago in the case of the Army Estimates, there ought to be some engagement entered into by the Government now that the Civil Service Estimates should be brought on within the same period of time—namely, before Whitsuntide. It was very inconvenient that these Votes on Account for all the great Services of the State should be brought on at the very latest possible moment which would fulfil the requirements of the law. He really did not know whether the Public Service had not now arrived at such a point that some shortening of the process by which the Ways and Means Bill passed through Parliament might not be advantageously made. Everybody must see that though the practice of the House was founded upon the most careful anxiety to secure the proper discharge of its financial duty to the country, yet the time required to carry out all the Forms of the House was so considerable that the House was placed in a most ridiculous position sometimes, and had to vote millions of money in this way without any opportunity for inquiry or consideration. If the Government desired to take a Vote on Account for two months, which he thought was rather a long period—though, no doubt, if a Vote for that period was not granted a second would have to be asked for—he thought that some pledge should be given that Committee of Supply should be resumed on the Civil Service Estimates on some comparatively early day. He would remind his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer that there was no opportunity for bringing forward questions of a general character which was at all analogous to the opportunity afforded by Supply.

MR. HEALY wished to remind the Committee that the time was now nearly half-past 1 o'clock in the morning. He thought the Government had had enough of All-night Sitzings for one week, without asking them on Thursday to renew such distressing experiences. He and his Friends had a series of discussions and complaints to bring forward on various Irish Votes; and, of course, such matters might lead to a very long discussion. He would, therefore, ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it was at all a reasonable thing to begin, at half-past 1 in the morning, to take a Vote of this kind, which involved an expenditure of £3,500,000, and travelled over all the various classes of the Estimates? If a Tory Government were in Office and were to propose to do such a thing there would be the most indignant protests from the Liberals. If the Government wanted the money some arrangement should be made whereby a pledge should be given to the Irish Members that they would have some reasonable opportunity of discussing Irish matters—such, for instance, as the question which was raised this afternoon in regard to the Queen's College at Cork. The Irish Members also wished to have an opportunity of debating the instructions issued by the National Board in Ireland; and they wanted, further, to discuss the operations under the Land Act, and the suppression of public meetings by the police. All these matters were pertinent to the Vote now asked for. Of course, they were quite prepared for some statement on behalf of the Government that they really required the money; but the Committee should not be asked to vote it without an opportunity for discussing these things. It was absurd and preposterous to expect them to discuss them with any satisfaction at this hour of the morning; and he hoped to hear from the Government some statement as to the way in which they proposed to afford facilities for bringing on these subjects.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he rose to move that the Vote be reduced by the sum of £500, that being the amount charged for certain Irish electoral statistics which had been ordered by the House of Lords. On the 7th of February the Earl of Limerick moved in the House of Lords for certain statistics showing the number of lands, tene-

ments, and hereditaments in Ireland in each county or borough, and the number of inhabited houses in each county, city, or borough in Ireland, and showing also the different classes of rating. The main object of the Return—indeed, the only point about it—lay in the desire that it should show the different classes of rating of the various properties. The granting of that Return was opposed by Lord Carlingford on the part of the Government, and the reason which that noble Lord gave for opposing it was that the officers who would be charged with the preparation of the work in Ireland were engaged in other important duties, and could not undertake the work satisfactorily. Lord Carlingford stated that the Return could not be compiled for two months, and that the carrying of the Motion would be highly inconvenient. Lord Limerick, nevertheless, persisted in taking a Division, and succeeded in defeating Her Majesty's Government by five votes. Under these circumstances, a Vote for the cost of preparing these Returns had been presented by the Government in the Estimates laid before the Committee. He (Mr. Arthur Arnold) would only state very briefly the objections which, as it appeared to him, this House ought to entertain against granting such a Vote. They had to bear in mind that in this House there were 103 Members from Ireland; and although this question of the extension of the franchise in Ireland had been a very prominent subject for the last year or two, no Motion whatever had been made for electoral statistics of this sort in this House by any Member representing an Irish constituency. Last year there was on the Paper an elaborate Motion for a Return of electoral statistics; but not a single Irish Member proposed an Amendment on that Motion, with the view of getting what the Earl of Limerick asked for in the House of Lords. He thought the Irish Members, in their own self-defence, ought to protest against proceedings which so palpably condemned their own conduct; for was it to be supposed, if these Returns were really required, that every one of 103 Irish Members would have failed to make a Motion on the subject? But the main reason why he would impress on the Committee that the item for covering the cost of these Returns should not be granted was that

the Return asked for was positively and entirely useless. It was useless for the reason that since Lord Beaconsfield most wisely and justly resolved to have the Act of 1867 upon a rating qualification, without any regard whatever to the amount of the rating or the assessment, there had not been a single Motion made in this House for a Return of electoral statistics based upon this sub-division into rating qualifications. Why was that so? Because such a Return would have been entirely useless. The Act of 1876 established the principle that a rated dwelling of any rateable value would confer the franchise; and, therefore, from that time forth, such Returns as Lord Limerick had obtained were of no value whatever. No doubt, before 1876, it was not unfrequent to have Returns moved for in this House which would show the different rating values; but since that time there had been no such Returns moved for, and none presented, a fact which showed that there was no desire on the part of any single Member of this House—English, Scotch, or Irish—to obtain any Return of the kind. He would not say a word as to the question of privilege involved in what appeared to be the initiation by the House of Lords of a Money Vote; and he would not dwell on the reproach conveyed by this Return upon the Irish Members of this House, who seemed to be treated as though they had neglected their duty to their constituents. But he based his opposition to this item in the Vote mainly and entirely upon the absolute uselessness and worthlessness of the Return which had been ordered by the other House. He asked every Member to do his duty to his constituents by not consenting to waste the public money. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the reduction of the Vote.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
 "That a sum, not exceeding £3,530,550, be granted to Her Majesty, on account, for or towards defraying the Charge for the following Civil Services and Revenue Departments for the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."—(Mr. Arthur Arnold.)

Mr. PLUNKET desired to say a word or two on the most extraordinary Motion which had just been made. When he first heard of the proposal, he could not think it was quite serious, nor, indeed, until he saw the hon. Gentleman rise to support it. He would notice some of the

arguments which the hon. Gentleman had brought forward. In the first place, the hon. Member said it would be a reproach to the Irish Members to pass this item in the Vote, because they had taken no earlier action in the matter.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: I said they had taken no action.

MR. PLUNKET repeated, that they were charged with taking no earlier action. He would like to say, upon that point, that the Irish Members had no idea whatever, until they saw it introduced in the Government Bill, that the Ministry intended to propose the extension of the household franchise to all the counties and boroughs in Ireland; and, under these circumstances, it would have been absurd to base a demand for a Parliamentary Return upon an abstract question of franchise. What was the hon. Gentleman's other objection? It was that there was no necessity for this Return at all. The hon. Gentleman had stated that there never had been a suggestion made that such a Return should be moved for since the Reform Bill of 1867 or 1868. But the hon. Gentleman had forgotten that several Returns on the subject had been provided to the two Houses of Parliament; and, therefore, that argument, even if it were true, came to nothing; though, as a matter of fact, it was wholly inaccurate, for Returns had been moved for by Mr. Pim, the late Member for Dublin, as well as by other Members. Now, the present Return had been ordered by the House of Lords; and it was intended to procure some information which many hon. Members of this House considered would be of the utmost importance in the debates which were about to take place on Reform. He refused to say, by anticipation, whether the policy of the Government was right or wrong in regard to the adoption of this sweeping measure of household franchise; but it was clear that they could not debate it unless they knew what the real character of the Reform was likely to be, and what practical result it would produce in Ireland. It was a great sign of weakness, in the case of the hon. Member, that he should try, by a Motion of this kind, in an empty House, at half-past 1 o'clock in the morning, to deprive hon. Members of the opportunity which might be afforded them by the granting of this Return. He did not like to use the

word "unfair;" but it was clearly most unusual to do such a thing of so serious a character.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: Why did you not move for the Return yourself, here?

MR. PLUNKET: Because there was no necessity. It was moved for and obtained almost on the first day of the Session in the other House. How was the Motion met when it was made by the Earl of Limerick? The Government resisted it; but the only ground on which they opposed it was that, at the time it was moved for, it would entail some further work on certain officials in Ireland, who at that moment would be unable to perform it. But that was nearly two months ago. No doubt, the desire was to procure the Return in less than two months. It would have been very valuable if it could have been laid before Parliament before the second reading of the Franchise Bill was brought on; but it was absolutely essential that they should have it for the purpose of further debate on the measure in Committee. Unless they had it, they would be acting in the dark—not knowing where they were going. The only difficulty which caused objection to the granting of the Return in the House of Lords had now disappeared. It was stated, at the time the Motion was made, that the officials concerned were busily engaged, and that the preparation of the Return would interfere with their other business; and it was said—"You cannot have it for two months." But that ground of objection had now passed away, and the heavy engagement of the officials no longer existed. It would, therefore, be possible, according to the very terms of the statement which Lord Carlingford then made, to have the Return completed now; and it was a monstrous thing that, after Parliament had ordered a Return of this kind, a Motion of this sort should be brought forward, and based on the most flimsy arguments ever heard, for no other purpose than to deprive the House of Commons of information which was absolutely vital to the fair discussion of this important question. He trusted that the Government would not support the Motion which had just been made.

MR. TREVELYAN said, no one in the House would accuse him of support-



ing this Vote because the Return would be such as to induce this or the other House to view with disfavour the Bill extending the franchise to the counties. The Government were undoubtedly, as the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) said they ought to be, content with the statistics they had already got; but it by no means followed that they should look too narrowly at the request of the other House for fresh statistics. It was not quite the case, as his hon. Friend (Mr. Arthur Arnold) said, that statistics of this sort had not been in question since Lord Beaconsfield extended household suffrage to boroughs. The Return which the House of Lords asked for was, in fact, the continuance of a Return that was granted to Mr. Pim, the late Member for Dublin. That Return was examined, and examined with some interest, by the Members of the present Government with reference to the Franchise Bill which was now before the House. Mr. Ball Green was requested by them to make an approximate Return of the ratings in the Irish counties—they did not require more than an approximate Return, because they believed in the principle of household suffrage which was laid down by Lord Beaconsfield. The Return which Mr. Ball Green made dealt with a good many of the most representative counties in Ireland, and it was of a nature to fully justify them; but the House of Lords preferred to have a more comprehensive set of statistics, from which, however, they could not gather results that the Government could not gather from their exceptionally correct Return; but, out of courtesy to the Upper House, hon. Gentlemen ought not to refuse this money. It was for the Upper House to say what information they wanted in order to decide upon a Bill which would, he hoped, at no long period be presented to them. Those of them who were in Parliament in 1866 could not but remember very vividly the enormous number of Returns that were asked for, even in the House of Commons, before a very moderate extension of the franchise was granted. The House of Commons had been content with the Return which was moved by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold), one of the most comprehensive and, at the same time, concise Returns relating to the sub-

ject that was ever laid before the House of Commons; but, at the same time, if the Upper House, in its wisdom, desired to have statistics in a more complete and comprehensive form than the Government had obtained, the House of Commons would do ill to refuse to vote the necessary money. It would be a decided act of discourtesy by this House towards the other House that a Return which this House asked for and obtained not very many years back should be refused to the Upper House now. The reasons they would give for refusing the money would be quite inadequate; and he, as one of the very oldest friends of the franchise question in the House of Commons, should be sorry to see the Bill extending the franchise to counties go to the Upper House, coupled with a distinct refusal to grant to the Upper House the convenience of a Return which the House of Commons asked for since household suffrage came into operation.

MR. HEALY said, it was a fortunate thing that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) had spoken at an hour of the morning when the Press could not report his words; because what would Lord Carlingford think to-morrow if he were to read the right hon. Gentleman's speech? When did the Government get this additional light on the question? When did their minds become open to the necessity of the Return? Lord Carlingford's speech, in "another place," was as strong in opposition to the Return as the Chief Secretary's speech was in favour of it. The right hon. Gentleman said they ought not to refuse the Return, because it would be discourteous to the Upper House to do so. Was there ever such an argument? They were not to refuse any Amendments made to the Franchise Bill, because it would be discourteous to the Upper House. Was that the argument of the right hon. Gentleman? No; of course not; that would not exactly suit the convenience of the Government. If a proposition were carried in the House of Lords, in spite of Lord Granville and the Members of the Government in that House, it would be found, when the proposal came down to the House of Commons, that the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was willing to support it by speech and vote. That

thoroughly illustrated the character of the Gentleman they had to come in contact with in dealing with Irish affairs. The right hon. Gentleman absolutely ran counter to Lord Carlingford on this question; he tore up every argument that noble Lord made, and threw to the wind the whole case on which the Government rested. He could not but blush for the right hon. Gentleman in his position. He (Mr. Healy) cared little whether the Return was presented or not. If the statistics were to be prepared for Ireland, let similar ones be prepared for England. [An hon. MEMBER: We do not want them.] Exactly so. Neither did the Irish; but they were forced down their throats. Why should they not be forced down the throats of the English? Because the House of Lords believed there was a majority in Ireland unfavourable to the extension of the franchise to the Irish counties. What compensation was to be obtained for the presentation of this Return? He was at a loss to know by what means they could be able to give their Lordships a rebuff for the absurd Return they had asked for, except by voting for the Motion. He was only sorry the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was so inconsistent as not to defeat in the House of Commons what his own Cabinet Ministers and his official superiors had endeavoured to defeat in the House of Lords.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, there was a large number of Irish Members, some of whom were Conservatives, in the House of Commons. If this Return was necessary, why did not an Irish Member in this House propose it? If, when a Liberal Government was in power, the Conservatives were to go to the House of Lords, and, in defiance of the Liberals in that House, obtain a Vote, and if the Members of the House of Commons were then to be told by the Liberal Government that the Vote was not to be refused, because it would be discourteous to the Upper House, what, in the name of Heaven, was the use of having a Liberal Government? The Government were perpetually knocking under to the Conservatives in this House; and now they were prepared to knock under to the Conservatives in the House of Lords. Lord Carlingford strongly opposed the Return, and said it would be months before it could be obtained.

*Mr. Healy*

Everyone could understand why the Return was asked for in the House of Lords. It was for the purpose of delaying the Franchise Bill, because if, when the Bill went to the Upper House, the Return had not been presented, their Lordships would say—"But we have not got this Return; we must wait;" and they would make it an excuse for not passing the Bill, or for throwing out that portion of it which related to Ireland. He hoped the Government would show a little backbone, and would oppose the Return. [*Cries of "Divide!"*] It was all very well to cry "Divide!" but it was not right hon. Members should have to go down on their knees whenever the question of voting away the money of the taxpayer came up. There were a few Gentlemen calling themselves Radicals, and hailing from some Scotch borough or county, who were always ready to go down on their knees to the House of Lords and vote money away whenever they were asked. He had always protested against the practice, and he should continue to do so.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he joined with his hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) in congratulating the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary on the versatility of his abilities. The arguments which were brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman in favour of the Return were of a most flimsy and trivial character. Why had not the Government put their foot down, and declared that, if it rested with them, every occupier of a house in Ireland as well as in England should have a vote? He was surprised at the Conservative Party taking up this position. Had the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) carefully studied the writings and speeches of Lord Beaconsfield, he would have known that that statesman gave up the idea that the voting was to be regulated by differential rating. The House of Lords insisted upon this Return for the purpose, as was pointed out by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), of delay. What good could the Return do? It could not be ready for months, so Lord Carlingford said. [An hon. MEMBER: Two months.] Well, two months were months. He presumed that the Government had not been audacious enough to order the Re-

turn to be prepared without, first of all, having obtained sanction of the House of Commons. If the Return could not be obtained for two months, three or four months ago, it could not be obtained in less than two months now, even if money were voted to-night. The second reading of the Franchise Bill was put down for Monday next. He did not imagine it would be passed that night, because he had the greatest confidence in the unexhaustible power of speaking against time which hon. Gentlemen on the Conservative Benches possessed. If the second reading of the Franchise Bill were passed in the House of Commons, even within a week or two, what would they want with this Return? The principle would have been affirmed, and this Assembly would have declared its opinion long before the Return could be presented. The House of Commons ought not to be put in the position of waiting the pleasure of the House of Lords until they got a Return which could be of no real value to them.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) might have been a little more communicative by explaining to the House why the House of Lords wanted this Return. There was, perhaps, something in what the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) said—namely, that it would be, in some degree, discourteous to the House of Lords to refuse to grant the money for the preparation of the Return. He (Mr. Illingworth) thought that, upon the whole, they had better allow the Vote to pass. If there was any information contained in the Return which their Lordships could avail themselves of, let them do it. He thought the Return would prove very strong evidence in favour of extending household suffrage to Ireland, because the more humiliating the Return was as to the miserable ratings which prevailed in Ireland the more conclusive was the case that they required a revolution of affairs in that country. Perhaps it would not be desirable to furnish the House of Lords with any frivolous excuse for obstructing or defeating the Reform Bill; and, therefore, if their Lordships could get any comfort from the Return, the House of Commons would act wisely in granting it.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, they had heard something about discourtesy which might be shown to the House of Lords if this Return were refused. Were the House of Lords so very careful to be courteous to the House of Commons? Did the House of Lords show a very great desire to be courteous to the House of Commons with reference to measures upon which the Government felt strongly, and which were passed through the Lower House by large majorities, but which were most unceremoniously kicked out by their Lordships? Take, for instance, the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. That was a measure which the Government believed to be of much importance, a large measure of policy with regard to Ireland, and it was passed by a considerable majority in the House of Commons. The courtesy of the House of Lords was conclusively shown by the vigorous manner in which they kicked that Bill out. Had it come to this—that the Conservative minority in the House of Commons, when they could not get what they desired, called in the aid of their big brother the House of Lords, where the Conservative Party were dominant? They would have to be discourteous to the House of Lords. The House of Lords was very discourteous to the House of Commons. The House of Lords was hostile to measures that the majority of the House of Commons believed to be just and necessary both for Ireland and for England. It was notorious that the House of Lords was in flagrant opposition to the views of the majority of the House of Commons, especially with regard to matters relating to Ireland. Upon the very next opportunity the House of Lords would be discourteous to the House of Commons; and yet, forsooth, the Commons were to deal with them in a polite style! The House of Lords refused the House of Commons Acts of Parliament, and the House of Commons must refuse them this Return. He did not understand the propriety, or the decency, or the necessity for the course recommended by the Government. He thought it rather paltry on the part of the Government and on the part of the House of Commons to show this delicacy with regard to the other House of Parliament. The House of Lords wanted this Return simply and solely to furnish itself with



ammunition to fetter the House of Commons in its action. He did not understand at all why they were to bow courteously to the House of Lords, and hand over what they wanted for the purpose of striking at the majority in that House, and for the purpose of striking at the Government itself. For his own part, he liked to deal with an enemy as an enemy, and with a friend as a friend. In this matter the House of Lords was neither a friend to the Government nor to the House of Commons; and he failed to see any good reason for acting in the manner proposed by the Government on this occasion.

MR. WEST said, it was perfectly open to them to object to the Return being made. He wished to show every proper courtesy to the House of Lords when it was consistent with his duty to the taxpayer; but this was a question of an expense of £500 to the taxpayers of the country for a useless Return.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 43; Noes 85: Majority 42.—(Div. List. No. 48.)

Original Question again proposed.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS) said, with reference to the question as to whether the Government would give a similar pledge with regard to the Navy Estimates to that given in the case of the Army Estimates, it would be their duty to give a day for discussion during the period indicated in the case of the latter Estimates. The hon. Member for Monaghan (MR. HEALY) had asked him whether the Government could give some further time for the consideration of the Civil Service Vote on Account, with regard to which he said there were some six or seven important questions to be discussed. The practice, as long as he had sat in that House, had been not to take any debate on a Vote on Account with reference to matters of current expenditure, on the understanding that it did not cover any new charge, as any such question must be discussed on the Estimates themselves. If it were the case that every detail of the current expenditure could be discussed upon a Vote on Account, it would be obviously

impossible to carry on the Business of the House; and, therefore, all that the Government could do was, with great respect, to resist such a proposal, and to ask the Committee to carry out in the present instance the former practice of the House.

MR. SEXTON said, the right hon. Gentleman had deprecated what he described as the pernicious practice of discussing upon Votes on Account questions which arose upon the Estimates themselves. If this were a pernicious practice, he would remind the Committee that it was a practice initiated by the present Government. Irish Members objected to the custom of supplanting and setting aside the regular Constitutional discussion of the Estimates by the mean and furtive method of asking for a Vote on Account, and relegating that discussion to a period when no real discussion could be taken—namely, to the month of July or August. He wished to point out that the Government were asking for two-thirds of £1,000,000 in connection with the Public Service in Ireland at half-past 2 o'clock in the morning. What answer was it to him, when he said that several important questions with reference to Ireland were involved, to reply that those questions could not be considered because the Vote on Account covered no new charge? The salary of the Chief Secretary was no new charge. It was the same that was paid to his Predecessors 10 or 12 years ago, no doubt; but if they had cause to find fault with the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman within the next six months, what answer was it to them to say that the charge was an old one? It was an answer of a most shallow character. Altogether there were nine or ten Votes on which he thought it desirable to bring forward a discussion as to the policy of Her Majesty's Government, although he did not think it would be necessary to have a separate, or a very long debate, on them. All he desired to say could be very well brought within the limits and compass of a single debate—at a Morning Sitting, for instance. At any rate, it was very unreasonable to ask for two-thirds of £1,000,000 at 20 minutes after 2 o'clock in the morning. He held that the settled and recognized charges for

*Mr. T. D. Sullivan*

the Government in Ireland involved payments which the Irish Members, in the performance of their public duty, felt bound to call in question. He would press on the Government the desirability of giving them an opportunity for the consideration of the policy Constitutionally involved in the Vote of this sum of money. If the Government refused this reasonable concession, he knew very well what public feeling and public sentiment would declare about it in Ireland, and what the opinion of hon. Members sitting near him would be on the matter.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS.-BEACH said, he agreed with what had fallen from the Chancellor of the Exchequer a few moments ago—namely, that if all matters connected with the Civil Service Estimates were to be discussed on these Votes on Account they would never get to the end of the Session. He, however, did think that one observation of the hon. Member who had just sat down, with regard to the manner in which the present Government had substituted Votes on Account for regular Supply, was perfectly justified. No doubt, it was justifiable that the Government should ask for a Vote on Account with which to commence the financial year; but he did not think it right that they should ask for repeated Votes on Account as they had done. The promise of the Prime Minister would not be redeemed merely by putting down Civil Service Estimates, and by a night's discussion on such Motions as could be then brought forward before going into Committee. What he understood the Chancellor of the Exchequer to mean was that a full night should be given to a discussion of the Estimates in Committee of Supply itself before asking for a fresh Vote on Account. As to what the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had said, if he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) might venture to make a suggestion, it would be this—it was not for him to say whether the hon. Member, and those who agreed with him, were or were not justified in wishing to discuss this Vote on Account; but if it were agreed to do so, might it not be possible to discuss the matter on Report, if the Report were the first Order to-morrow? That would cause no delay in including the Vote in the Ways and Means Bill.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that, having looked at the Paper for to-morrow, he found it would be absolutely impossible.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH : Why ?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Because there are such a number of Questions on the Paper.

MR. HEALY : Is this not as important as the other Questions ?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH : There is a Morning Sitting.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): But it is occupied.

An hon. MEMBER : It is an arrangement with the Government.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that the Morning Sitting to-morrow was for the Cattle Diseases Bill, and other subjects that were down on the Paper; and there would be nothing to be gained by putting the matter off until then. What he rose to say was that they should fulfil literally the promises they had given just now—namely, that there should be one full day for the discussion of the Estimates after Easter.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he would suggest that the Government should give Saturday for the discussion of this particular question. If they did that, hon. Members who did not wish to attend could stay away, and Members who felt a particular interest in certain Votes could come and have an opportunity of discussing them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had spoken as if these Votes on Account were things that were desirable, and that the House did not need any opportunity of discussing them; but every genuine and Constitutional Liberal amongst them would say that it ought to be rendered difficult for the Government to carry such Votes. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that if they discussed all these questions there would be no time to consider them adequately. So that it came to this—a Bill was presented to them, and they were told—"You have no time to discuss these things; you must pay the money without looking into them." They were told that the money must be voted at once, so that the matter might be settled, and that the



discussion on the Vote could be taken at the time the Government had fixed; but it would be found that the time that suited the Government was the end of the Session, when hon. Members had neither the patience nor the temper for these debates. It came to this—that at the beginning of the Session it was too early to discuss these matters, and at the end of the Session it was too late, so that an end was put to discussion altogether. He sincerely hoped that the House would resist this sort of principle and this sort of practice.

MR. COURTNEY said, that the hon. Member (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), following in the wake of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), had forgotten the extreme stringency of the financial rule which required such proceedings as the Government now proposed. The hon. Member knew perfectly well that at the beginning of the year no Department had the money to go on with, for the reason that all that was in hand on the 31st of March had to be paid back into the Exchequer. It was necessary to begin the year anew; and, therefore, at the beginning of the New Year it was essential that they should have a Vote on Account; and it was absurd to say that this practice was introduced now for the first time, for, as a matter of fact, it had been in existence for 20 years. Before the contention of the hon. Member was conceded, they would have to consider the small space of time during which these Votes could be given. They must be given in time to pass the different sums of money before the 31st of March; and it would be impossible, with that duty before them, to conceive the House of Commons entering with any detail upon an examination of the different items which were comprised in a Vote on Account. That would be, in principle, to carry on the discussion on Votes of Supply for 10 days or a fortnight—it would be impossible. He agreed that it was not right to go on multiplying Votes on Account, and that it was right to impress on the Government the desirability of avoiding that practice. The present Government, however, had not been singular in the course they had taken as to Votes on Account. [Mr. WARTON: They have—very.] He (Mr. Courtney) was afraid the hon. and learned Member was not aware of the deeds of the last Govern-

ment—that they had endeavoured to get a Vote on Account for three months instead of two, and that they had come for a second Vote within three weeks of receiving the first. A third Vote on Account was unusual, he admitted. The Committee must remember the limited number of days they had for the discussion of Supply. Hon. Members must have some regard to proportion. If they would appropriate their time in some ratio to the work to be done, they might avoid three Votes on Account; but if they were to have three nights on the first class, it was, he maintained, impossible to avoid repeated Votes on Account. It would be impossible to take the discussion on Saturday, as had been proposed, in time to get the Votes included in the Ways and Means Bill. To-morrow would be the latest date for the Report, if there were a Sitting on Saturday. The Report would be taken to-morrow, the First Reading of the Ways and Means Bill on Saturday, the Second Reading on Monday, the Committee stage on Tuesday, and the Third Reading on Wednesday, together with the First Reading in the House of Lords. The House of Lords would be asked to sit on Wednesday—an unusual day for them to meet—the three remaining stages would be passed on Thursday, and the Royal Assent would be received on Friday.

MR. HEALY said, the hon. Member declared it was impossible for them to discuss these subjects in detail, because they would not have time to do it. Why would they not have time? Why could they not do in an orderly and methodical manner that which they were now doing piecemeal? What was the most important work of this House? Was it not to discuss the £60,000,000 of expenditure? They did not scruple to spend 30 days in passing Coercion Acts; but they begrudged the time necessary to discuss the policy of Her Majesty's Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that five or six questions could not be discussed on Votes on Account, otherwise it would render the taking of those Votes impossible. And so said he (Mr. Healy). These Votes on Account should be rendered impossible—they were unconstitutional—things of modern growth. It did not convince him to say—"If you discuss Votes on Account you will render them impos-

*Mr. Justin M'Carthy*



sible"—let them be impossible. To that he should agree with all his heart. What was the House of Commons? It was an Assembly representing the people; and to his mind it was much more necessary for them to discuss, in the interest of the taxpayer, how this £3,500,000 was to be spent, than for them to discuss the second reading of the Cattle Diseases Bill. There had grown up, on the part of Ministers, a feeling the very reverse of that which had made the liberties of the country the expression. It used to be said that money was everything; but now the Government wanted them to vote it as a matter of course. The people were represented here as a check upon the Crown; the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the other Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench were engaged in spending the money of the people in the interest of the Crown; therefore, the Committee had a perfect right to look upon them with suspicion. He denied the right of the Government to put a pistol at the heads of hon. Members when they asked for this money. In former times games of this kind were received in a very different manner; and though the Sovereign, on this occasion, was represented by a very polite Minister, he saw no reason why the Committee should be led away by him. If the Chief Secretary did not make it the desire of his life—

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out that the hon. Member is wandering away from the Question before the Committee.

MR. HEALY said, the Question, or part of it, was the salary of the Chief Secretary; therefore he was entitled to discuss the right hon. Gentleman's dealings with Ireland. They began this discussion upon a different matter; and he should very much like to know whether, in voting this £3,500,000, it was the ruling of the Chair that they could only discuss one part of the expenditure involved, because otherwise he should discuss the action of the Chief Secretary in bringing about this debate. He had been endeavouring to point out that if Irish grievances were met as English grievances were, there would be no difficulty in the matter, and to show that the Chief Secretary's only anxiety was to bowl over the Irish Members in defence of the particular class of whom he was

champion. The bent of the right hon. Gentleman's mind seemed to be to justify everything done by his subordinates—it seemed to go to his soul to admit that anything which the Executive had done in Ireland was wrong; and even his literary skill was strained to the utmost in the endeavour to conceal the fact that the allegations made by the Irish Members were true. Was that the spirit which the right hon. Gentleman addressed to English questions? No; because English Members would not tolerate it. When, however, he had a majority at his back, he thought he could deal with Irishmen and Irish questions as he liked. [*Cries of "Order!"*] What was the point of Order? He very much regretted that the Government did not see their way to giving some time for the discussion of this subject. He and his hon. Friends were not in any unreasonable mood; but they thought that that hour of the morning—half-past 3—was not the time for going into the subject. There was one subject they were specially anxious to discuss, and that was the Queen's College, Cork. The Cork papers went to press at 3 o'clock, and not a word could appear of what now took place in this House. The Business of this House was to deal with the grievances of the people, and it was for that purpose the people sent Representatives here; but what good could be done by going into this question at this hour? He put it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he would deal with an English question in this way; and he must ask the Government to give some further time, and at an earlier hour, for this discussion. They were not in an unreasonable mood unless driven to the wall, and then they could fight as well as anybody else.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, it was obvious that the Report of these Votes must be taken some time tomorrow. In the ordinary way the Report would be put down for an Evening Sitting; but why should not the Government having promised to take the Cattle Disease Bill as the second Order of the Day, put down the Report third? There were no Notices as Amendments to the Report of Supply, and there was no reason to suppose that any would be put down. The Irish Members were anxious to discuss the Votes

on the Report; and he could not suppose that the Bills which the Government seemed disposed to put down after the Cattle Bill—namely, the Sunday Closing Bill and the Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill—were of such importance as Supply. It seemed to him that if the Government wished to obtain this Vote, and to give the Irish Members an opportunity of discussing what they wished to consider, they would put down the Report of Supply after the Cattle Bill.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, hon. Members would have the fullest opportunity for discussing these matters when the real Vote was taken; and if they would trust him he would do his utmost to insure their having an opportunity of discussing the particular points to which attention had been called. He could not say more than that. As to the suggestion of the right hon. Baronet, the matter stood thus—After the Cattle Disease Bill they intended to take the Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill, and the Revision of Juries (Dublin) Bill next. So far as the Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill was concerned, the Government were willing to put that down third; but as they wished to accommodate themselves to the feeling of the House, it was really a question for hon. Members on the other side to decide, by saying which they would prefer to take first. They were prepared to put the Report of Supply second; and that, he hoped, would give hon. Members a full opportunity of discussing it.

Mr. SEXTON said, that, considering the circumstances, the last statement of the right hon. Gentleman went further in the direction of reasonableness than his first statement; but it was of importance to Members to know at what stage of the Session they would be able to discuss the question. He would not ask for a date; but perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would indicate the week.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, it would be premature to do that now; but he would do his utmost to arrange for the Vote so to come on that hon. Members should have a full opportunity of discussion.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*

Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

*Considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the Service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, the sum of £10,132,850 be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*, at Two of the clock.

Committee to sit again *To-morrow*.

#### MOTIONS.

—o—

##### OYSTER AND MUSSEL FISHERIES PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JOHN HOLMS, Bill to confirm an Order made by the Board of Trade, under "The Sea Fisheries Act, 1868," relating to Ramsholt, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JOHN HOLMS and Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 142.]

##### LIFE LEASEHOLDERS ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHARLES ROSS, Bill to enable holders of houses and cottages on leases for lives to purchase the fee simple of their property, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHARLES ROSS, Sir EDMUND LECHMERE, and Mr. PULESTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 143.]

House adjourned at Three o'clock.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday, 21st March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS.—*First Reading*—City of Norwich (Household Heath) Provisional Order\* (35); Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order\* (36).  
*Select Committee*—Greek Marriages\* (26), *nominated*.

#### PRIVATE BILLS.

*Ordered*, That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after *Friday the 20th day of June* next:

That no Bill originating in this House authorizing any inclosure of lands under special report of the Land Commissioners for England, or confirming any scheme of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, shall be read

a first time after *Friday the 25th day of April* next:

That no Bill originating in this House confirming any provisional order or provisional certificate shall be read a first time after *Friday the 25th day of April* next:

That no Bill brought from the House of Commons authorising any inclosure of lands under special report of the Land Commissioners for England, or confirming any scheme of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, shall be read a second time after *Friday the 27th day of June* next:

That no Bill brought from the House of Commons confirming any provisional order or provisional certificate shall be read a second time after *Friday the 27th day of June* next:

That when a Bill shall have passed this House with Amendments these orders shall not apply to any new Bill sent up from the House of Commons which the Chairman of Committees shall report to the House is substantially the same as the Bill so amended:

Ordered, That the said orders be *printed and published*, and affixed on the doors of this House and Westminster Hall. (No. 37.)

#### LONDON, REIGATE, AND BRIGHTON RAILWAY BILL.—MOTION.

EARL CADOGAN, in moving that the Examiners' Certificate on this Bill be referred back to the Standing Orders Committee, said, that he might mention that a large number of Petitions had been presented asking their Lordships to suspend the Standing Orders with reference to this Bill. For his own part, he wished to say that he would not have been a party to any such Motion. He felt very strongly that it was their duty to uphold the authority of the Standing Orders Committee; and he had, therefore, limited his Motion to requesting the House to refer the Examiners' Certificate back to the Committee. He was not speaking on the merits of the Bill, nor on the fact that the Bill was of some importance and interest to a very large community. It was a Bill, as their Lordships were aware, for the connection by an independent railway of the important termini of Northern lines between London, Reigate, and Brighton. He did not think, however, that the mere fact of the Bill being of great importance would excuse any Member of that House in coming forward to request that the Standing Orders should be displaced; but in this case he thought that there had been some misunderstanding on the point raised by the Standing Orders Committee, and on that ground only he would ask that the certificate be referred back. The Bill

had failed to satisfy the Committee on six points; but the first four might be omitted, as they were not insisted upon by the Committee; the chief point was the definition of two children under 12 years as equivalent to one statute adult being used. This had led to the number of persons who would be displaced being stated at 111 less than the actual number. It had, undoubtedly, been an error to use this expression in a Bill of this sort to which it did not apply. The Bill had, however, been amended in that respect, and the amendment had been made before Parliament assembled. The Bill, after having passed the Standing Orders Committee of the House of Commons, had been rejected by the Standing Orders Committee of their Lordships' House on what appeared to him the very insufficient ground that a technical error appeared to have been committed by the Referencer. He now only asked their Lordships to refer the Bill back to be considered by the same Standing Orders Committee as had considered it before. A similar Motion to that which he now made had been adopted in the case of the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Bill of 1866, and also in that of the South London Tramways Bill of 1881.

*Moved*, "That the Examiners' Certificate be referred back to the Standing Orders Committee."—(*The Earl Cadogan*.)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, he regretted that the noble Earl had thought fit to bring that case again under the consideration of the House. Nothing could be more important than that proper attention should be paid to the proceedings of the Standing Orders Committee, consisting, as it did, of 40 Peers. The decision of the Committee on that matter was unanimously come to, after two considerations, by all the Members who were present. It was worthy of notice that the Bill had passed the Standing Orders Committee of the House of Commons, and the error had been discovered by their Lordships' Committee. The point was of considerable importance. They had had a discussion in the House, the other day, in regard to the dwellings of the poor, and as to the number of persons who were displaced by railway and other works, and it was essential that accurate



Returns should be furnished by the promoters of Private Bills. In this instance an erroneous Return of the persons to be displaced had been made; and although it was said that it had been corrected, it was necessary, if the evils of over-crowding were to be guarded against, that the Standing Orders of the House should be properly upheld.

THE EARL OF MORLEY said, he attached as much importance as any of their Lordships to the necessity of adhering to the Rules regulating Private Business; but, as he understood, one of the functions of the Standing Orders Committee was to allow Bills, where errors had been made of a technical character, and which were not injurious to public or private interests, to be heard on their merits in spite of those technical errors. Though himself a Member of the Committee, he was not able to be present on the day when the decision was given; but he believed that the error which had been made was not of sufficient importance to prevent the Bill being heard on its merits, and that no charge of *mala fides* could be substantiated against the Referencers. No doubt, the promoters were to blame for the manner in which they had scheduled the persons who would be displaced under the provisions of the Bill, and there was no excuse for the mistake; but the mistake had been corrected before the Session opened, and the difference of the numbers in the original and in the amended Schedule was not great. It was stated that all persons within the limits of deviation should have been scheduled as persons to be displaced; but this was not in accordance with precedent, and he cited a number of Bills promoted in the present Session, with the object of showing that although in two cases three houses were taken within the limits of deviation, no persons were returned as displaced, while in a third case 19 houses were taken, but only 26 persons were displaced. He, therefore, ventured to say that the error that had been committed was not a material one, and was of no great public or private interest. If the error was corrected at the time no *mala fides* existed, and he thought the promoters had acted entirely according to all precedent. The Committee, therefore, might reconsider their decision.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he could not support

the Motion. He did not see how the proposal which had been made could be carried out, because its object was to refer the Bill back to the Standing Orders Committee. If their Lordships referred the Bill back to the Standing Orders Committee no new evidence could be adduced. All that could be done was to produce the evidence that had already been taken. As the Committee had heard all the evidence of those persons whose conduct was impugned in the matter, he could not understand why they were to be expected to alter the decision which they had come to on a previous occasion. This circumstance might happen. If the Bill were again referred back to the Standing Orders Committee, all the Members of the Committee who were not present on the first occasion might attend and outvote those who had attended at the first hearing, and who had listened to the whole of the evidence. There were numbers of people opposed to this measure who had abstained from taking further steps because they understood that by the decision of the Standing Orders Committee the scheme was at an end. It would be unfair and unjust to them to refer the matter back. He thought it would be very unwise to alter the decision of the Standing Orders Committee unless very strong grounds existed for doing so.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN, as one of the Members of the Standing Orders Committee on the occasion referred to, said, he would like to say a few words. He had no doubt the Bill was rejected mainly because the promoters of the Bill failed to comply with the Standing Order No. 38. He might say for himself that he could not leave out of his mind the fact that their Lordships had attached in the present Session very great importance to this Standing Order. Commissions had been appointed to inquire into the houses of the poor, and the point that had been specially brought forward in connection with this matter was the character of the Returns under discussion. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) the other evening moved that in every case of a Private Bill these Returns should be presented to the House. As to the non-compliance of the promoters of this Bill with the Standing Order, he had no doubt whatever. Would the

House consider for a moment what it was the promoters actually did? They were directed in the Standing Order of the House to make a Return of the number of persons whom they would probably displace. Nothing could be more simple or more clear. It was perfectly well known to Parliamentary agents. What had been the course taken in this case? The person referred to was the Parliamentary agent, whose name was on the back of the Bill. Instead of complying with their Lordships' Standing Order, he went to another Statute, which they found was the Passenger Statute, and he picked out of that a definition of the character described as "statute adults." When the agent was asked to return the number of the persons displaced, he replied that he would displace a certain number of "statute adults." If the examiner had not been sufficiently careful to look at the term "statute adult," and to point out to the Parliamentary agent that the Return was incorrect, it would have come before their Lordships' House. The case, he thought, was perfectly clear, and no one could dispute that it was an infringement of a Standing Order of importance. What had been the course taken by the noble Earl? The Committee heard all the evidence fully, and the noble Earl asked which of the noble Lords present would move that this Standing Order be suspended. No one responded, although there were seven or eight noble Lords present, and the whole matter fell to the ground. The noble Lord opposite was a Member of the Committee, but was not present, and, having failed to hear the evidence, now sought to reverse the unanimous decision of the Committee.

EARL CADOGAN said, his information was obtained from the shorthand-writer's notes.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, their Lordships would be creating a most inconvenient precedent.

VISCOUNT BURY said, he was convinced, from his experience with railway matters, that they would be creating a very inconvenient precedent if they adopted the suggestion of his noble Friend (Earl Cadogan). Unquestionably the Standing Order had been infringed. It was said that the mistake that had been made did not justify the Standing Orders Committee in rejecting the Bill.

The Committee had come to a unanimous decision on that point; and the House was now asked, upon necessarily incomplete information, to reverse that decision. If such a course were adopted, Railway Companies and others would never be certain as to when their opposition and their vigilance could be relaxed. He hoped the Motion would not be pressed.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he could not agree that this was a case in which they were asked to act on imperfect information. He thought the information in the possession of the House was of such a nature as not only to afford them no justification for overruling the decision of the Committee, but to show that the decision of the Committee was perfectly right, and that it would be entirely wrong to reverse it.

EARL CADOGAN said, he did not ask the House to overrule the decision of the Committee. He asked that the House should refer back this Report to the same Standing Orders Committee.

On Question? *Resolved in the negative.*

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he thought that sending back the Report was a reversal, if not in form, yet in substance. It seemed to him that what was done by the promoters of this Bill was absolutely inexcusable. The Standing Order was explicit; it required that the Return should state the number of houses to be pulled down, and the number of persons, so far as ascertainable, to be displaced. The person who sent in the Return either wilfully or accidentally looked up some other Act of Parliament, and based his Return according to an imaginary definition in that Act. This was a wilful and perverse departure from the Standing Order. But he also thought that the spirit and intention of the Order had been departed from in another point, not less important. That Standing Order required that in the case of a Bill by which power was sought to take 15 houses or more occupied by persons of the labouring class, the promoters should deposit a statement of the number, description, and situation of such houses—that was to say, of all the houses to take which power was sought—and also the number of persons to be displaced. He did not see how the object of such an Order could be satisfied, without stating the number of



persons who might be displaced by any possible exercise of the powers sought to be obtained by the Bill. What had been done was not to give, or pretend to give, the number of persons inhabiting the 902 houses, but to give the number of persons inhabiting some indefinite part of those houses, which, according to the present ideas of the engineer or promoters of the Bill, they at present contemplated taking. But they asked for power to take all the houses; and they would not be bound, if they obtained that power, to adhere to the present ideas of the engineer, which rested in probable intention only, and did not depend on any matter of fact, capable of being ascertained at the present time. The information given in the Return was, therefore, nugatory. He hoped that the Standing Orders Committee would never be satisfied with anything less than a Return showing the whole number of persons occupying all the houses which a Bill sought power to take.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, with some diffidence, ventured to take a different view of the meaning of the Standing Order from the Lord Chancellor. He (the Earl of Kimberley) contended that what the Order contemplated was that there should be a statement of the number of persons which the Railway Company promoting the Bill thought would probably be displaced. It was extremely improbable that all the houses within the limits of deviation would be taken. In submitting a Return of the number of "statute adults"—a phrase perfectly well understood—instead of the persons to be displaced, he did not think there could have been any intention to deceive, otherwise they would have gone a step farther; and it seemed to him, therefore, that it would not be very unreasonable to allow a project of considerable magnitude from being heard upon the merits. The other House had, in this case, dispensed with compliance with this Standing Order, and he thought it would be well if they did the same.

#### SUNDAY OPENING OF NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND GALLERIES.

##### RESOLUTION.

LORD THURLOW, in rising to move—

"That in the opinion of this House, the time has now come to afford to the working

classes of London the opportunity of visiting, on Sunday afternoons, such of the national collections of books, natural history objects, and of works of art of an elevating character, as may from time to time be sanctioned for Sunday opening by the President in Council, and thus give to the working classes of London opportunities for recreation and instruction equal to those enjoyed by the working classes of Birmingham, Manchester, Middlesboro', Newcastle-on-Tyne, Wigan, Stoke-on-Trent, Dublin, &c.,"

said, he had been induced by two considerations to again bring this matter before the House—first, because he felt that at a moment when the question of the improvement of the condition of the poor of London filled so large a place in their Lordships' minds they might not be unwilling to consider one way, at any rate, by which it was possible to do something to render life more enjoyable to them, and to take one step in the direction of their ennoblement and happiness; secondly, because he was not satisfied with the side issue which had been allowed to intervene, and on which the vote of last year had been in reality taken. It would be remembered that this question was last year laid before the House by the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Dunraven), and that it was met by an Amendment from the noble and philanthropic Earl opposite (the Earl of Shaftesbury), whose whole life had been spent in endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the working classes, and whose name was never mentioned without honour either inside or outside the House. That Amendment was practically an entirely different proposal. The noble Earl proposed to the House a Resolution that the National Institutions referred to should be kept open later on week-day evenings instead of being opened on Sunday afternoons. He did not suppose that any noble Lord would be found to vote against such a Resolution taken by itself. It was, therefore, very natural that, urged as it was with all the energy, all the eloquence, all the weight and authority of the noble Lord, that Resolution was accepted and the original Resolution displaced; but he repeated that that so-called Amendment raised in reality a false issue upon which the vote was taken. Last year there was a reason, which now no longer existed, why their Lordships were not unwilling to be led away from the original Resolution. In the other House of

*The Lord Chancellor*



Parliament, the year before, the question was brought forward by a well-known representative Member of Parliament (Mr. George Howard), and was supported by a Member hardly less generally recognized as representing the feelings and the views of the working classes (Mr. Burt). Unfortunately, however, it was opposed by another Member of the same class (Mr. Broadhurst), who produced and pinned his faith to certain fallacious statistics, compiled, or rather concocted, by a well-known sectarian society. These statistics were accepted as authentic, and guided Members' votes. But no sooner was the result of the Division known than special meetings were held, he believed, in every working men's club and trade society in London to protest against and repudiate Mr. Broadhurst and his figures. A mass meeting of delegates was held in St. James's Hall; but it was too late, as the harm was done. One trade society in London, the Amalgamated Millers, was returned as still faithful to Mr. Broadhurst's cause, but they now wrote to repudiate such a ridiculous position. He would not dwell on these circumstances—those who wished to know the whole facts of the incident would find them recorded by the noble Earl on the Cross Benches in the pages of *The Nineteenth Century* for this month—but it was of the utmost importance that he should explain in very few words how those statistics were compiled in order that noble Lords might be able to place a proper value upon them. It would only be necessary for him to explain the first line of the statistics with its formidable total of 28,000 votes. It took credit for 28,000 votes on behalf of the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders. What that really represented was the votes of the chairman and the secretary, for they had canvassed the various branches of the Society. Some declared that they were never consulted at all, and those that were consulted reported that they were consulted on the week-day evening question, and especially on the Sunday labour question, and very indirectly, if at all, on the Sunday afternoon question. Not content, however, with counting these 28,000 votes in a mass, later on they counted about two-thirds of them once and even twice over again as members of other workmen's clubs, Odd

Fellows or temperance societies. But the National Sunday League had adopted a different mode of arriving at the views of these societies and their branches. The National Sunday League was a Society entirely composed of working men, and supported by their contributions for the purpose of advocating this cause by all Constitutional means. They had addressed every working men's club and tradesociety in England individually, requesting them to hold special meetings to consider the subject, and to inform them in reply—first, how many members their branch had; secondly, how many attended the meeting; and thirdly, how many voted for and how many against Sunday opening, with the following results:—The Barrow-in-Furness branch No. 1 of the Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders consisted of 300 members, and they unanimously voted for Sunday opening. Of the South Shields branch of the same Society 180 were for and 13 against. Of the Newhaven branch, of only 12 members, 10 were present, and they were all for. Newark branch counted 27 members, all for. Greenwich, 165 members, all for. And so on, with little or no variation. As a gross result they had of the Boilermakers' Society 2,739 for and only 25 against, and as regarded the workmen's clubs in London, 80 pronounced for Sunday opening and only one against. And of trade societies, 163 were for and 15 against it. Having thus satisfied himself of the views of the working men themselves on this point, he had next endeavoured to arrive at the prevailing opinion held generally on the subject, and it so happened that in the newspapers a remarkable unanimity of opinion prevailed. Excepting one or two Sabbatarian newspapers, every newspaper in London was on his side, and, so far as he could gather, the same might be said of the country newspapers throughout England. He had not, however, been satisfied with this. It had occurred to him that the police magistrates of London might be good judges of whether his proposal was likely to benefit the masses or not, and to conduce to their morality and sobriety. The magistrates were the men who tried the Monday morning cases—the results of Sunday drinking—in the London Police Courts. There were 25 police magistrates in London. He had consulted them all, and only three pronounced

against Sunday opening. One London magistrate wrote to him as follows:—

"I am, and always have been, in favour of opening Museums on Sundays. I am satisfied that religion, instead of being injured, would be benefited by the reform, and that public morality and sobriety would be greatly enhanced."

Another London magistrate wrote—

"A working man once put it to me in this way—'If we could go to the Picture Galleries on Sundays we should like to take our wives and children, and in that case we should like to see them better dressed, and to do that we should have to give up drink; it would do us good all round.'"

Next he consulted the clergy of London as to whether they considered Sunday opening inimical to true religion. He knew that he had many supporters among the clergy, but he was not prepared for so much enthusiasm from them in this cause. Many, of course, who had not very specially considered the subject, opposed it almost instinctively; but he had received from the London clergy nearly 400 replies in favour of Sunday opening, and he had on his side a very large majority of those working in the poorest and most congested districts. Some gave the most extraordinary reasons for opposing. One wrote—

"Public Libraries are of no use to the poor, who, when they want to read a book, prefer to buy it."

On the other hand, a high dignitary of the Church wrote—

"Sunday opening would be a great boon to the working classes, and would tend decidedly to refine and elevate them, and predispose them to the higher influences of religion."

These were the words of one of the ornaments of the Church of England, and they did him honour. Another clergyman wrote that he was in charge of a parish containing 10,000 artisans, who all wished for the change, and many clergymen urged it "on purely religious grounds." He had received the last figures published by those opposing Sunday opening, showing, according to them, the numbers of the London clergy for and against. Those figures might be correct, and there might be no "overlapping." It was natural that those of the clergy who approved Sunday opening should by preference address him, and that those against it should address his opponents. But the figures proved conclusively what he had

merely suspected before—namely, that the London clergy were very equally divided on the subject. Considering that many who had not specially considered the matter might not unreasonably instinctively vote against the change, and bearing in mind the undoubted influence and opposition of the Bishops, he could not but regard the fact that the clergy of London were equally divided on this question as a highly favourable sign. He had consulted the custodians of the wealth of London—the bankers—who were assuredly not likely to embrace rashly any innovation of a revolutionary character likely to unhinge society or sap the foundations of Church and State. Well, 70 per cent of the bankers declared for the change as conducive to law and order and the best interests of society. Last of all, he had consulted the large employers of labour in London, a body many thousand strong, to whom it was all-important to keep their workmen happy and contented. He had endeavoured to consult every employer of 100 hands and upwards, and he found that they were in favour of Sunday opening in the proportion of four to one. He had received communications from employers representing over 90,000 workmen. A large proportion of his correspondents consulted their hands before replying. One, for example, wrote as follows:—

"We have taken the opportunity of ascertaining the views of our men, with the following result:—Out of 107 men paid in our factory 97 were in favour of opening the Museums on Sundays, two objected on religious grounds, and eight objected without stating any reason."

The noble Earl last year rested his cause on the demand of an intelligent minority at any rate. He was not content to do so. He demanded the change in the name of an overwhelming majority of 90 per cent. Nearly all the evidence which he had accumulated pointed in one direction. He had consulted every representative class, and always with the same result. He would not fall back upon former arguments, which were as yet unanswered and were unanswerable. He preferred to rest his proposal on the wants of the poor and working classes themselves. There was not much their Lordships could do for them, but this thing they could do and easily. There certainly never was a time when it was more necessary to ele-

vate the masses, and there never was a time when that fact was more appreciated by both sides of the House. Their Lordships proved that by sinking all Party feelings the other evening in considering the Resolution of the noble Marquess opposite for a Royal Commission to inquire into the dwellings of the poor. This was a kindred subject, and he appealed to the noble Marquess to treat it in the same manner. This had to do with the minds of working men, and if their minds were improved their feelings of self-respect would be raised. The noble Marquess admitted in his writings and speeches that not the least difficulty was to raise the standard of their minds above callousness to squalor. He knew of no better way of doing that than by opening wide the doors of our great National Institutions on Sunday afternoons, and by increasing their number, even as the number of public-houses in London was annually increased. He asked their Lordships to look at the composition of the newly appointed Royal Commission, appointed at the instance of the noble Marquess. On it, very properly, their Lordships would find many names familiar to all as veterans in the cause of the improvement of the poor, and among them many of the staunchest and oldest advocates of Sunday opening—Cardinal Manning, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Lyulph Stanley, and others. He appealed to the noble Earl opposite to remember the high authority on which we had the instruction that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath. He asked the noble Earl whether he had not seen, as he had himself seen, every Sunday afternoon in London, groups of working men loitering about the dismal streets in the rain and chilling fog peculiar to our climate waiting till the well-warmed and brilliantly lighted-up palaces opened their doors by Act of Parliament after Church hours to receive them, and to intercept their wages, paid the night before, from providing for the wants of their wives and children? The contemplation of such things going on year after year in London, as he had seen it, and tried to bring it home to their Lordships now for seven years, was enough to make one almost despair of the future in this evergrowing City; and this was not all, for it was only here in London, where, for many reasons, it was most required,

that nothing was done and no remedy applied. Other great towns had taken the lead—Manchester, Birmingham, Dublin, &c.—and London only sat with folded hands. He would tell them the result at Manchester, for it was typical. The last, the 21st, Report of the Council of the City of Manchester on the working of the Public Free Libraries, stated—

“There has again been an increased use made of the Libraries on Sundays, in the reference libraries the average of books consulted being 267 a-day, against 251 last year. In the branches 9,428 volumes have been used by 9,214 readers, and 51,815 volumes have been issued to boys in the four boys’ rooms. The total number of persons who have entered the Libraries on Sundays has been 215,000, or 4,200 on each Sunday.”

These figures showed an increase of 14,400 on 1882, and of 63,537 on 1881. The Returns from Birmingham were equally satisfactory. Would anyone tell him this had done harm, or that this bore out the profound remark to which he had adverted, that “Libraries are of no use to the poor, who always prefer to buy their books?” He would tell them what the Chief Constable of Manchester wrote to him on the subject, with permission to use it in their Lordships’ House—

“There can be no doubt, to my mind, of the beneficial effect of the opening of such places on Sunday afternoons. Our figures show that the number of visitors steadily increase. The Sundays of December 30 and January 6 were wet, and I do not hesitate to say that a very large proportion of the 6,625 persons who visited the Art Gallery on those two days would have found their way to the public-house. Shut up your public-houses on Sundays, save for one hour in the middle of the day, to enable the working man to obtain his dinner beer, and open every class of elevating Exhibition, and you will do more to increase morality and sobriety and prevent misery than by any other agency. The poor people have nowhere to go to, and must either remain, in too many cases, in a most depressing home, or frequent the comfortable public-houses. Provide the necessary counter attraction, and you will see that the longer it is open and the more widely it becomes known, the greater will be the attendance, and the work of the police, as regards Sunday drinking, will diminish accordingly.”

The experience at Manchester dated from 1878, and the official statistics of crime in that place showed that it had decreased since the date of Sunday opening by about one-third—from 4,625 offences in 1878 to 3,218 in 1883. What questions, then, remained for consideration? None that he knew, of ex-



cept the *modus operandi* and its effect on the increase of Sunday labour. Various suggestions had been made, practical and otherwise—among others, that Jews, who keep their Sabbath on Saturday, should be engaged for Sunday labour. His own opinion was that no real difficulty would occur. In the case of Stoke-on-Trent, volunteers had done the work satisfactorily for two years, headed by the Mayor and Town Council, taking the task of supervision in rotation. It was the old story—where there was a will there was a way. Manchester, Birmingham, &c., had found out the way, and so should London. Then, as to encouragement of Sunday labour. The noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Dunraven) had pointed out, in his excellent *Nineteenth Century* article, that there were no signs to show that the working classes could not take care of themselves in these matters. On page 75 of the little primrose-coloured book which he held in his hand, and which he would commend to noble Lords opposite, written by one of the best known of the hard-working London clergy, their Lordships would find the case very clearly put—

“As for compulsory labour, there need be no such thing in England. Men who dictate to their masters, not only the wages they will have, but the number of hours a-day they will work, are quite equal to deciding the number of days in a week and the exact extent to which they will consent to work for the good of others on Sunday or on any other day.”

And he would give their Lordships the opinion of another London clergyman on this point, the greatest authority in London—he meant the Rev. Septimus Hansard, Rector of Bethnal Green. He wrote to him, with leave to quote his words, as follows:—

“When the working classes could not take care of themselves, I was a determined opponent of opening Museums on Sundays or of any relaxations of Sunday strictness by law. I am speaking of 35 years ago, when I first came to be a clergyman among the poor of London. I feared the greed of employers and the weakness of the working class. Between the two I feared the Day of Rest might be lost. But I have lived to see, thank God, the working classes assert their own. By trade societies and trades unions they can well protect themselves from any attempt of employers to trespass on Sunday rest. The working classes have the whole thing in their own hands, and they can crush any attempt made by anyone to go beyond the programme of the Sunday League and the Sunday Society.”

*Lord Thurlow*

He would not take up their Lordships' time by quoting more opinions on this point, though it was for no lack of materials. He thought he had said enough to prove his case. As regarded the wording of his Resolution, he had inserted the President in Council as the sanctioning authority as being the one most able and likely to influence such Governing Bodies as the Trustees of the British Museum and National Gallery, who could not long resist the popular pressure that would be put upon them, and also because the Lord President had charge of education, and he considered this an educational question; but he was quite willing, if desired, to substitute the Home Secretary or any other preferred authority of equal rank and weight and responsibility to Parliament and to the country. Then he earnestly desired to assure the right rev. Bench that he moved that Resolution in no feeling of hostility towards religion or themselves or their high calling. In doing so, he was supported, he knew, by hundreds—he believed by many thousands—of their clergy, and was only acting as their mouthpiece. That the subject he ventured once more to bring forward before their Lordships would receive careful consideration he felt sure; it was not a Party one, it appealed to the individual conscience of all men. Finally, he would protest against the Amendment of the noble Earl opposite. He appealed to him to allow the Division to be taken on the merits of the case, and not on a side issue. There was a practical inconvenience in the course the noble Earl proposed to those who, like himself, favoured week-day evening opening as well as Sunday afternoon opening. If the noble Earl would not allow the question to stand on its merits, they must, of course, vote against his Amendment and their consciences; but a Vote thus taken on a side issue could not be regarded as conclusive or satisfactory. Besides, the Amendment of the noble Earl did not meet the case. Working men rose at 5 or 6 in the morning and worked till 5, 6, and sometimes 7 in the evening. They had then to walk home, probably a mile or more, clean themselves a little, and have their supper, which was their only domestic meal. Rest was what they required after that. Would any of their Lordships, after such a day, take the trouble

to change their clothes and start again on a weary walk some two or more miles, say, to the British Museum, which they could not reach before 9 o'clock at the earliest? Would not the body and the brain be too fatigued to take a pleasure in beautiful things then, at all events to the same extent as on an otherwise idle Sunday afternoon? And how about the wives and children who were to benefit so much by Sunday opening? How would they benefit by week-day evening opening? There were the additional difficulties to overcome of extra night labour, expense and danger of lighting, and the like. In conclusion, he must express the hope that the noble Earl would give him his lists of supporters as he had given him his, chapter and verse. He claimed the support of an overwhelming majority of working men themselves, of their employers, of the magistrates of London, of nearly 400 of the London clergy, and of the custodians of the wealth of London. What could the noble Earl set against that great body of public opinion? He asked the noble Earl to let them hear it, and he asked the House to decide between them. He begged to move the Resolution that stood in his name.

*Moved*, "That in the opinion of this House, the time has now come to afford to the working classes of London the opportunity of visiting, on Sunday afternoons, such of the national collections of books, natural history objects, and of works of art of an elevating character, as may from time to time be sanctioned for Sunday opening by the President, in Council, and thus give to the working classes of London opportunities for recreation and instruction equal to those enjoyed by the working classes of Birmingham, Manchester, Middlesboro', Newcastle-on-Tyne, Wigan, Stoke-on-Trent, Dublin, &c."—(*The Lord Thurlow*.)

VISCOUNT POWERSCOURT said, that in Dublin for many years past the Botanical Gardens had been open on Sundays, and the result had been that, while on week-days the visitors were counted by the hundred, on Sundays they were counted by the thousand. It was the same with the National Gallery. There were one or two objections in the way of the Amendment of the noble Earl. He had been talking the other day with the Director of the National Gallery on the subject, who had given his reasons, which presumably were shared by the Trustees, against the opening of the Gallery in the evening as proposed.

There was the risk of fire and the great injury caused to pictures by gas. A third objection was that if the gas were by any accident to be suddenly extinguished when the Galleries were crowded, the scene of confusion among the people would be terrible, and the pictures would be certain to be injured in the attempt of the people to get out. In the present state of electric lighting the risk would be even greater. He would, therefore, support the Motion of the noble Lord.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY, in rising to move, as an Amendment—

"That, inasmuch as a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Institutions have reported, on the 27th of March 1860, that such institutions as the British Museum and the National Gallery should be opened on week-day evenings to the public between the hours of seven and ten in the evening at least three days in the week, this House is of opinion that the time has arrived when this recommendation should be carried out,"

said, that the noble Lord who had moved the Resolution had told them that its great object was the elevation of the working classes. If he believed the proposal of the noble Lord would have that effect he would not merely go so far, but much further. He did not believe, however, that the opening of Museums on Sundays would tend to the moral elevation of the working classes, but rather the reverse, and he was, therefore, opposed to the proposition. It was very difficult to find any new arguments whatever on either side of this question, which had been altogether exhausted, and all that could be done was to adduce facts and figures; and he would now confine himself to showing, by facts and figures, that the great mass of the working people, instead of being in favour of Sunday opening, as proposed, were opposed to it. He would first state that no trouble had been taken that year to obtain Petitions; they rested on the numerous and largely signed Petitions of former years. Some had been volunteered, and especially one from Glasgow, presented the day before, which stated—he would quote the exact words—"That the Petitioners represented 40 trade societies in Glasgow and the neighbourhood." He must, however, repeat the evidence of last year, which showed that 2,412 trade unions, friendly societies, working men's clubs, institutes, and other organizations,



with 501,075 members, heartily approved the Amendment proposed by Mr. Broadhurst in the House of Commons in 1882, and by himself in the House of Lords in 1883. Now, on this point a word must be said. An objection had been taken, and had been again repeated in an article by a noble Lord in *The Nineteenth Century*, that the true issue was not fairly put before the societies; that they were simply asked whether they would approve an increase of Sunday labour generally, and that no reference was made to the fact that the increase would be only in the case of Galleries and Museums. That statement was the reverse of accurate. The very form of the Circular gave a contradiction to the assertion. The Amendment was as follows:—

“That in the opinion of this House it is undesirable that Parliament should further promote the employment of Sunday labour by authorizing the opening of the national museums and galleries which are now closed on that day, but that such museums and galleries should be opened between the hours of 6 and 10 p.m. on at least three evenings in each week.”

And on the very same paper beneath it was printed the form in which the assent or dissent should be given. Three copies were sent to every association, and every one who signed knew the Amendment as clearly as their Lordships knew that the Lord Chancellor was then sitting on the Woolsack. Again, it had been urged that the secretaries had signed the papers in their individual and not in their official capacities. Now on this head there had been great care taken. The secretaries representing the 501,705 all signed in their official capacity. Those who signed in their individual capacity represented 175,408 members, but had not been included because they said that although they had no doubt of the feelings of the members, it was a rule of their associations not to discuss political subjects. The greatest care had been taken to ascertain whether there was any change of opinion; the highest authorities had been consulted; and he could not do better than read the statement at the head of the new edition—

“In order to make this list as accurate as possible, the compilers several months ago went to the very heavy expense of sending a marked copy to each of the 2,335 organizations in the first edition, calling attention to the particulars

of each society, and requesting to be informed of any inaccuracies. The great care taken is proved by the fact that only about 28 corrections were made, several only of which related to the figures, the other corrections relating to the names. These corrections, with the addition of 77 more societies, are made in the present edition, and the document is the most conclusive proof ever issued of the views of the working classes on this question.”

He had received reports, and he believed that the noble Lord had referred to them, from 34 firms and societies in London, which had expressed an opinion in favour of the noble Lord's Motion. To some of the lists the numbers of the workpeople were appended, to others not so. The total numbers, as stated, were 2,348; possibly, had all the numbers been given they might have reached double that amount. Now he received, with the greatest respect, any expression of opinion from such bodies of the working classes; but he must on that occasion be allowed to read a portion of a letter received from Mr. Chubb, the distinguished manufacturer of locks and safes. That gentleman had been asked to obtain the sentiments of his people. This was the course he took—

“It was suggested to me (so he wrote) that I should obtain the opinion of the workpeople and staff in the employ of my firm on the question of the Sunday opening of Museums, &c. I have done this to-day by ballot; and as it is a test case and records the perfectly free opinion of a number of intelligent, hardworking, London workpeople, I thought it would not be uninteresting to your Lordship to know the result. A few men being ill or absent in the country could not vote, but all who could vote did so with the following result:—In favour of opening, 47; against, 181.”

Now, it was his own firm belief that had the same course been taken in all the workshops the issue would have been the same; and noble Lords on the Government side of the House could not object to the ballot, which they had so often asserted to be the only means whereby a man would have the opportunity and the courage to speak the truth. Here he would observe that the noble Lord, speaking at a meeting in Piccadilly on the subject, said that if everything else failed an appeal must be made, sooner or later, to the constituencies. Well, he could assure the noble Lord that that was the very thing that he desired. A *plébiscite* on that subject he was satisfied would give such an overwhelming majority against the noble Lord's Motion as would settle the



question for at least 50 years to come. But to state evidence from another class—the ministers of religion, Church of England, Methodists, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Presbyterians—the returns were not all of them come in, but this was the result. In the Metropolitan district, within the four mile circle, the total number of votes was 533, of which there were—for opening on Sunday, 56; and against it, 477. In other towns such as Manchester, Birmingham, &c., the total vote was 147, of which there were—for opening on Sunday, 22; against it, 125. Thus the grand total was 732 votes, of which there were—for opening on the Lord's Day, 83; and against it, 649. That was the case so far as related to facts and figures. There were, however, other considerations arising out of the consequences of such a vote as that before them. Were the proposition good in itself, he should feel that his argument derived from evil results would be somewhat weakened. But he and his Friends maintained that the proposition was far otherwise, and that thus they might insist on these evil results. That was not the place for theological discussion. He would simply state as a motive of his action and that of most of his Friends, that they believed and maintained the Divine and perpetual obligation of the Lord's Day. They might consider, then, the enormous amount of increased labour, were the vote carried into effect, that would be thrown on the officers of the Museums and Galleries, for whom substitutes could not be provided, and on the already overworked drivers of omnibuses, cabs, and tramcars. That multitudes would throng to these Exhibitions was possible, but then they would consist of easy, comfortable people, who could go to them on any other day. But would they attract any of the frequenters of the gin-palace and the pot-house, for whose amelioration the Motion of the noble Lord was proposed? He believed not one. The noble Lord said his great object was to elevate the working classes, and no one would doubt that that was his motive; but if the noble Lord would take a walk with him through some of the slums of London either on a weekday or on a Sunday he would show him a sight of the sort of men and women to be seen there, and he would ask him whether he really believed that the

opening of Museums and Galleries on Sunday would transform those persons into lovers of science and art, and would induce them to leave the joys of the gin-palace in order to spend their time in looking at statues and pictures? For himself, he did not believe that one of them would do so; and even if they did, the result might not be exactly what was desired. The evidence, indeed, given by a former secretary of the Sunday League before a Committee of the House of Commons was very remarkable on that head. In stating his reasons why public-houses should not be closed on the Lord's Day, he observed that the people going to hear the bands—in Battersea Park, for instance—would require refreshment after their labours; the same would occur, no doubt, with pictures and statues. In that way visitors would be decanted simply from one gin-palace into another. The noble Lord had gone through a number of cases in which the opening of Museums and Galleries on Sunday had been successful; but he had carefully abstained from stating the number of cases in which it had failed, and in which those Institutions had been shut up. He did not mention the strongest instance, perhaps, of all—the town of Nottingham. How was it that that town, having one of the finest Galleries and everything that could attract the people's attention, contained a population more resolute than that of any other part of the Kingdom against the opening of Museums and Art Galleries on Sunday? Only last year, many thousands of working men of Nottingham petitioned the Town Council on no account whatever to allow those places to be opened on the Lord's Day. But supposing the noble Lord's Motion were carried, he asked, would matters stop there? Why should not, on the same principle, every place of public amusement be open? Why not the theatre? The theatre had often been urged as a noble vehicle of public instruction, and it would be urged again, and probably with effect. It was no answer to reply that the theatre was for profit, but the Museums gratis. If the benefit of such opening were sound and extensive, it was not the worse or the less legitimate because it was paid for. Here, too, what a fearful increase of Sunday toil of the actors and servants of the play-

house, who were worked almost beyond endurance during six days of the week. But he wished to call particular attention to the special dangers that would follow the public sanction of additional labour on the Lord's Day. He had in that House, and elsewhere, often said, that even those who were skilled workmen could not always protect themselves. Let there come a time when there were thousands wanting employment, and when only hundreds could be employed, then, depend upon it, if employers were to say—"You must work on Sundays as on other days, or else turn out," they would find thousands of people who would succumb to that condition. In September, 1882, the following statements appeared in the newspapers, confirming his statement in a most remarkable manner; he had not seen them himself until a few days ago:—

"The manager of Landore Steel Works has offered an advance of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on their present wages, provided they consent to keep the furnaces on Sunday. This arrangement the men have refused to accede to."—[*Cambria Daily Leader*, September 2, 1882.]

"The men employed at Dr. Siemens's Steel Works are out on strike, in order to resist Sunday labour, which the employers contend is necessary to enable them to compete with Continental manufacturers."—[*Evening Standard*, September 14, 1882.]

"About 1,000 men employed at the Landore Steel Works stopped out on Monday pending the settlement of the difference between themselves and the Company, who have offered the men an advance of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in the melting department, provided the men keep up the lights on Sunday."—[*Cambria Daily Leader*, September 5, 1882.]

"The Directors are said to be firm as to the introduction of Sunday work, which they regarded as very desirable in the interests of the men themselves, and would lead to cheapening the production, so that the Company would be able to compete with other producers."—[*Swansea paper*, September 5, 1882.]

"The melters on strike at Siemens's Steel Works, Landore, decided at a large meeting yesterday to resume work at the employers' terms—namely, an advance of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to keep the furnaces going on Sundays."—[*Daily News*, September 16, 1882.]

This advance, their Lordships would observe, did not exceed 6d. a-week on wages of 20s.; but the inducement was not there. It lay in the fact that the men were locked out, that they were threatened with dismissal from their labour altogether unless they complied with the orders of their employers; and they obeyed rather than submit to

famine and starvation. Such would ever be the case, he affirmed, in times of very keen competition, extending even to working on the seventh day for no additional wages at all. This was the true and just fear of all the working men, and much would that fear and that danger be intensified were the sanction of public authority given by a vote that night to increase labour on the day specially assigned to repose and cessation from toil. The noble Lord who had moved the Resolution had stated in a meeting held on Tuesday night in Princes's Hall, Piccadilly, that they had to fight an insidious and inaccessible foe, the prejudice which put on the garb of religion. The words were strong; nevertheless he was not ashamed to own that, having a very solemn and deep religious feeling on the question himself, he was desirous that every one should possess the day for public and private worship and for all the endearments and enjoyments of domestic life. And considering the special interests of the working men, he did not hesitate to say that, so long as God gave him breath, he would never cease to exhort them to hold fast to this Day of Rest as the great charter of their physical and moral rights, and the great safeguard of their private and social liberty.

#### Amendment moved,

To leave out all the words after ("That") and insert ("inasmuch as a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Institutions have reported, on the 27th of March, 1860, that such institutions as the British Museum and the National Gallery should be opened on week-day evenings to the public between the hours of seven and ten in the evening at least three days in the week, this House is of opinion that the time has arrived when this recommendation should be carried out.")—(*The Earl of Shaftesbury*.)

THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER said, the difficulty in which the supporters of the Motion found themselves was due to the form which the opposition to the Motion had taken. Those who supported the Motion yielded to no one in their desire to preserve Sunday as a day of rest. If he thought the sanctity or the proper religious or due observance of the Lord's Day would be tampered with, or in any way affected by such a movement as that with which he was connected, he would have nothing whatever to do with it, or with the Sunday Society of which he had the honour to be

*The Earl of Shaftesbury*



President for the coming year. The noble Earl (the Earl of Shaftesbury) and the supporters of the movement differed with regard to the definition of the word "rest" in this question. He and his Friends maintained that it was quite compatible with the character of the Lord's Day that the people should be provided with intellectual recreation and amusement on that day. They did not consider such recreation to be incompatible with "rest," or that it interfered in any way with the Lord's Day. The supporters of this movement were consistent in this, that they wished to extend the benefits which were conferred by the opening of Hampton Court and Kew Gardens, still further, by the opening of the British Museum, the National History Museum, Kensington, the National Gallery, and other similar Institutions. They were also consistent in thinking that such recreation and amusement was perfectly innocent in its character, and as it was productive of a considerable amount of intellectual enjoyment and advantage to those who participated in it, they could not see how such a movement could do harm to anyone. The noble Earl would be perfectly consistent, and those who were acting with him would be consistent, in objecting to the opening of Kew Gardens and Hampton Court; but he ventured to say that if they did so, opinion out-of-doors would become so strong as to make a movement of the kind, which, on their part, was perfectly consistent, impossible. But it might be said,—“How could a line be drawn between the opening of places of a lower description, such as music-halls, to say nothing of theatres?” But they were not such fools as to suppose that public opinion would for a moment support this. The supporters of the movement for the opening of Museums and other places of amusement on Sundays, were in favour of providing the working classes with a high-class intellectual recreation; but, surely no one in his senses could agree to the opening on the same day of dancing saloons and music-halls. He had been lately connected with a Committee, instituted a short time ago to make inquiries with regard to the occupation and the manner of life of young men employed in the London warehouses. According to the numbers of the last Census, there were 200,000

persons between the ages of 15 and 25; many of these men were married, but there was no classification with regard to that number. But at all events there was, and must be, a very large class who were clerks and shop-assistants. He did not for a moment believe that the lowest class of persons referred to by the noble Earl—those who went to the gin-palaces and other low public-houses—would think of going to such places of amusement as the British Museum. There was a large class of young men, shop-assistants and clerks, whose lodgings were exceedingly uncomfortable, and when a Sunday afternoon was wet they had no resource for any recreation. Some people said they ought to sit still and read their Bibles. But they all knew how impossible that was. A person could not go on reading his Bible all day; and after going to church in the morning some sort of recreation was required in the afternoon. If our streets on Sundays, were like those of Paris and some other Continental cities, the case would be different; but when they considered the gloom of London streets on Sundays they could not recommend a walk through them on that day as a very charming recreation. As to the Parks, those were in many cases too distant to be reached by the women of a family. The higher class of work-people, who would not go to the public-house, had no club. All that remained to them were the temptations on the pavements—and those, alas! were too many in the streets of the Metropolis. By opening Museums for innocent amusement and recreation the need of those classes to whom he had referred would be met, at least to a certain extent. He saw the Episcopal Bench largely represented on that occasion; but there was an eminent divine, Dean Stanley, whose name was always received with respect, who was a former President of the Sunday Society. Dean Stanley, in one of his addresses, said—

“The English Sunday, therefore, as I define it, is, on the one hand, a day of rest from ordinary work, is a day of disengagement from ordinary dissipations; and, on the other hand, is a day devoted to the opportunities of improving our hearts and minds, whether by direct religious worship, or by those occupations and recreations which, though not directly religious, have a tendency to raise and strengthen our general tone, and do not tend to overburden the already heavily-tasked energies of the working population of this country. These



are the aspects in which the Christian Sunday in England as an institution is worth preserving."

He was convinced that the opening of Museums would do no possible harm, might do much good, and must do some good, and he, therefore, had much pleasure in supporting the Motion.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET said, that his views were opposed both to the Motion and the Amendment. With regard to the latter, an experiment tried on the Saturday evening had not been successful. Naturally enough the working men, after working all day, would not feel inclined to wash and dress themselves and start off at 8 o'clock in the evening to the Museum. As to the proposal contained in the Motion, he had come to the conclusion that the working people themselves were against the opening of Museums on Sundays. He was also influenced by the fact that it would entail a great deal of labour on the staffs of the various establishments which it was proposed to open, while facilities would be given for the introduction of explosives or any dangerous matter, leading, perhaps, to very serious consequences. He would, therefore, vote against the Motion.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that, although he did not, of course, speak on behalf of the Government, he spoke, after inquiry, as one acting for, and for the time connected with, some of the Institutions which were affected by the Motion before the House; and, being responsible in that way, he could assure the noble Duke that the difficulties which he apprehended were utterly insignificant. There was, indeed, no difficulty of the kind whatever. He found, after inquiry, that there was in the Institutions referred to, and among their staffs, no feeling whatever against the proposition. On the contrary, their feeling was quite the other way. He spoke of those Institutions for which he was responsible; and he could answer for it that there would be absolutely no difficulty in throwing open the South Kensington and Bethnal Green Museums and the Edinburgh and Dublin Museums on Sunday afternoons from 2 to 6 o'clock. He thought the only feeling of the staffs, which he entirely shared himself, was a feeling that the proposed change would make these Institutions of greater advantage to large classes of their fellow-

countrymen. He took an estimate which had been given to him as to the amount of labour required, and he found that the number of employes of all kinds that would be required, including police, was at South Kensington 22, and at Bethnal Green about 13, and that was the amount of labour they were told was to stand in their way when they desired to make these Institutions available for the good of hundreds and thousands of people in London. What was to be seen on a Sunday afternoon in the neighbourhood of Bethnal Green? A vast population lounging about at their doors. They were, of course, enjoying a cessation from labour, and that, he admitted, was the first want of the labouring man. But they suffered under a terrible want of the means of passing those hours free from labour in the absence of any source of innocent and improving amusement; and all the while there was a Museum supported by the State, and paid for out of the taxes, shut up in the midst of that idle, dull population, passing their Sunday afternoon in the way he had indicated. As to the few people who would be, as he had said, detailed to look after those Institutions on Sunday afternoon for a small remuneration, he could not imagine many better ways for them to spend Sunday afternoon. He thought there could hardly be a more unselfish and Christian way of doing so than in providing for the amusement and happiness of an enormous number of their fellow-countrymen. These would not be the only Institutions in which Sunday labour was permitted. He believed, for instance, that the Sunday labour in Sunday schools was enormous. It was all very well to say that it was done from an excellent motive; but he could not draw any distinction in point of motive between those who were required to labour in Sunday schools and those who would give their time in Bethnal Green Museum if their Lordships and the other House of Parliament would only allow them to give it. A great deal had been said in the House and outside it as to the amount of the demand on the part of the working classes for this Sunday opening. He confessed that he agreed with his noble Friend on the Cross Benches, when he said in his article in *The Nineteenth Century*, that that question had been put by the over zeal of the Lord's Day Rest Association

in the most unfair and misleading way to the working men of the City of London. But, irrespective of that, what right had they to expect a very ardent demand on the part of the working men for these means of higher intellectual amusement and cultivation? Remarks had been made upon the degradation of the working classes, and the idea of many of them availing themselves of this opportunity had been ridiculed. He denied that they were degraded; but if they were, he wished to know when they were to have a chance given them of elevating themselves and acquiring a taste in this direction? The very absence of that taste was a strong reason for giving them the opportunity that was now asked. It had been said that a *plébiscite* had been taken, and that the result was unfavourable to this proposition. If that were so, which he much questioned, they must wait patiently until the popular judgment grew more enlightened. But that House, at all events, was independent of *plébiscites*; and he hoped such an opinion would be given on the Resolution of his noble Friend to-night as would help the coming of that day, which he would hail with the greatest pleasure, when they would be able to make the Sunday rest and freedom far more valuable to great classes of their fellow-countrymen by the opening of these Institutions during a part of the day.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY said, he had no idea of placing religion and the social good of the people in opposition to one another; he protested that it was an entire mistake to imagine that the clergy were ready to sacrifice the social good of the people to religion. It was in no such spirit that he and those who now sat on the same Bench with him became clergymen. They had become so with the hope of labouring for the good of the people in every possible way, and in the best manner they were capable of. This question ought not to be considered as a small concession on the part of religion. It was no small question, at any rate; and he fully admitted that those against whom he should vote that night were as anxious for the highest good of the people as it was possible to be. It was said that these Galleries belonged to the people, and that they paid for them; and, if so, it was surely a matter of some importance

to consider what the majority wished. They were all joint partners in these Galleries, and they must certainly have the highest consideration for those who had the least time at their disposal. But surely it was, nevertheless, a question for the majority. He believed that the opinion of working men was ascertained, and he did not believe they were so desirous to see their Lordships open these doors. Mr. Broadhurst, whose speech was the occasion of that demonstration to which the noble Lord had referred, spoke, as he said, entirely in the interests of the working men. He had most feelingly painted the one holiday the working man had in the year, and entreated them not to take it away. Then, again, ought they not to take into consideration the fact that since the year 1881 there had been 783 Petitions addressed to their Lordships' House against the proposition now before the House, and that those 783 Petitions had contained no less than 161,000 names; that, too, in last year alone, there were 208 Petitions, representing 70,000 names; whereas, on the other side, there were but 528 names contained in 12 Petitions since 1881, and last year but 522 names against 70,000? Surely, these were very important figures, and were of value here. Then, again, between the years 1872-82 there were 388 Petitions to the other House, representing 524,000 names, against the proposition, and only 158 Petitions, with 80,000 names, in favour of it. Surely those figures were overwhelming; or, if they were not to count heads in that manner, surely it was a very important matter that the House of Representatives had so very strongly declared itself against the proposition. An appeal had been made to *Cæsar Operarius*, and he had decided on the other side. An appeal had also been made to the clergy of London. He knew there were 1,300 clergy in London, and if 400 represented the number of those in favour of this proposition, then two-thirds of the clergy in London were against it; and he found that if they took the clergyman of the Church of England alone within the four mile radius of London, they would get 251 clergymen against the Sunday opening for 50 in favour of it. But they must not only take the clergy of the Church of England in a question like this; they must take the ministers in the Metho-

dist, Congregational, and other denominations. They there found 226 ministers of four denominations who were against this Sunday opening to only six in favour of it, and that was a very small proportion indeed. Similarly, in the six towns named in support of the Motion, it proved that there was, as nearly as possible, seven-eighths of the clergy against it. It was said that the proposal was only of a permissive character, and that no one would be compelled to visit Museums and Galleries on Sundays if they were open. It was true that no one would be compelled to enter them; but the fact that they were open would compel great numbers to convey others there. In the British Museum and others, containing the treasures of the world and of time, skilled guardians would have to attend. The work could not be done by volunteers. Then it must be remembered that refreshments would have to be supplied. The visitors to Galleries on Sundays would either be a great multitude or not. If they would not be many in number, it was of no use making the change; if they would be a great multitude, *bona fide* travellers in the streets would be created, and this implied large traffic and trade. With these would come the chief, the only, compulsion known in England—the necessity of living, and of competing in order to live. It was said that the proposed change would promote temperance; if it should do so, it would be a moral miracle, for all other crowds who assembled in places of amusement emulated the army of Xerxes, and drank up rivers of intoxicating fluids. A Lincoln working man had told him that he was himself in favour of Sunday opening, but that if the working men were polled, there would be a great majority against the proposal. In the opinion of the same informant, the people who chiefly required elevating were the very last of all who would seek or could be raised by Museums and Picture Galleries. Much more powerful agencies would scarcely save them. The supporters of the proposal asked why Galleries should not be opened, when Kew Gardens and the grounds of Hampton Court Palace were open to the public on Sundays? In his opinion, the cases were not parallel. Gardens, trees, flowers, covered walks among them, were the very things which indoor people needed to see on

Sunday afternoons, and every increase of their opportunities of outdoor recreation was desirable.

VISCOUNT POWERSCOURT: I beg to point out that the Picture Galleries at Hampton Court are open on Sunday.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: Well, to his mind, the Gardens were the preferable recreation grounds for the people. What he wished to see was the general opening of Galleries in the evening on week-days. He believed that if by opening Galleries on Sunday they caused the labour and traffic and trade which would certainly be required to produce this indoor recreation, they would soon see an end to all, both outdoor and indoor, recreation on Sunday. The working classes held that the Christianity of this land alone upheld the principle of six days' work and one day's rest, and they revered Sunday accordingly. They were convinced that the system prevailing on the Continent would gain a footing here were it not for the religion of England. The little that would be gained by the acceptance of the proposed change would be far outweighed by the loss of rest that it would entail. He believed, therefore, that it would be an unwise piece of legislation. Sunday rest, said Von Humboldt, was at the basis of national greatness. If the change were made we should still keep Sunday, but in a very partial and uneven manner. Part of the population would be merry—too merry, he feared, on Sunday—but the condition of many would be very hard. By giving approval to this proposal their Lordships would declare that the past history of England in regard to the observance of Sunday had been a mistake. That was a declaration which he was not prepared to make. He would always strongly support schemes for the improvement of the homes of the people, for providing them with evening Galleries and Parks, and for the diminution of their hours of labour; but he must oppose a proposal which would immediately take away from many their rest on Sunday afternoons, and shortly result in taking it away from all.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE observed that the noble Earl who had moved the Amendment represented a large section of the Church of England, who had always been opposed to the harmless change now contemplated. He



regretted exceedingly that the Bench of Bishops did not take a more enlightened view of so rational and useful a measure. But for the influence exercised by them on the clergy the change would have been agreed to long ago. It should be borne in mind that the proposal was not a new one; it was already carried out in many towns where these Institutions were not under the control of the Government, and no proof had been adduced from the experience in those places which would justify them in having any apprehension as to what would follow on the adoption of the principle in London. With reference to the point made by the noble Earl, who said that the Amendment moved by Mr. Broadhurst in "another place" had the support of 500,000 people, he would only say that it was always very difficult to refute statements based on statistics which one had not thoroughly investigated. After the Motion in the House of Commons in 1882, a proposition was laid before delegates from all parts of London as to the desirability of opening the Museums, and it was requested that those against it should vote also, and the result was that the large majority were found to be in favour of the change. At that meeting, which was held in December of that year, 23 working men's clubs, having 8,439 members; 28 trade societies, containing 19,537 members; the London Trades' Council, representing 15,480 persons; and 10 miscellaneous labour organizations, having 1,976 members; making a total of 61 societies, comprising 45,482 members, had sent delegates to vote in favour of Sunday opening; whereas only one working men's club, having 210 members, and one trades society, having 326 members, making a total of two societies, containing 536 members, had authorized their delegates to vote against the question. He did not deny that a large portion of the English people were opposed to the Resolution of the noble Lord. But, on the other hand, there was a large number of rational persons who desired to have an opportunity of visiting Museums and Picture Galleries on Sunday. Was it right to deny them that opportunity, because a large number were opposed to it? There was something ungenerous on their Lordships' part in opposing the Resolution. Their Lordships could enjoy their amusements and recreations on

Sundays, and do without restriction a great deal which the lower classes of the population could not do. There had been great stretches of opinion among the higher classes of late years with regard to Sunday observance, and the sentiment would extend in the course of time to the lower classes. He regretted that the noble Duke (the Duke of Somerset)—a Trustee of the British Museum—should have resisted a Resolution which on two former occasions he had supported, saying that it was ridiculous to prevent people from visiting Museums on Sunday when they were at liberty to visit not only Kew, but Hampton Court, where they could see the beauties of the Reign of Charles II. He hoped their Lordships would consider seriously what the question was before they divided. It was whether they should give a higher class of recreation to large classes of the people.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD said, that the noble Earl had told their Lordships that the Bishops had influenced the clergy against this proposal. He could assure the noble Earl that no such attempts had been made by the Bishops. No doubt, the Bishops had, from time to time, endeavoured to ascertain the opinion of the clergy and laity in their dioceses on a matter which had been much discussed, not only by the clergy, but by the laity also. But the statement which the noble Earl had made was, if he might be permitted to say so, absolutely without foundation. There was one point of view which had not been taken in the course of the debate to which he wished to refer. There were many of their Lordships who, whatever course might be taken with regard to the question, would still deprecate the expression of an opinion on the part of that House. No expression of opinion, no legislation, was wanted. A Museum might be opened on Sunday by the Trustees without any Resolution on the part of their Lordships. It appeared to him that the object in proposing the Resolution was not limited to a desire to open those Institutions; it was rather to produce a strong feeling in favour of altering the character of Sunday itself. What was wished was that it might be said that the House of Lords was in favour of altering the character of our English Sunday. Since the last generation very much more of the Continental

Sunday had become known among us than was formerly the case. It was said that the English Sunday was dull. Men who went to Paris saw Galleries and Museums open on the Sunday, shops displaying their goods, theatres open, and now and then a political election, a military review, or a horse race. There was on Sunday every form of amusement in a country which made amusement the chief object of life. Men said that these things were bright and pleasant, and that Sunday in London had no brightness and was dull. But in Paris and those cities which were said to be so bright there was much labour on the Sunday too. In England there had been from generation to generation a feeling about the Sunday which did not exist in any other country in Europe, and that feeling he wished to continue. It was wonderful to see on six days of the week the tide of business which flowed through our streets; but it was still more wonderful on one day of the week to see the hush which came upon all that business. It was much for men on one day of the week to be able to know something of a higher life and to rise, if they would, above the week's toil and labour. He wished to keep that privilege intact. It had not been created by Act of Parliament; it could not be enforced—though it might be protected—by law; it had its root in the traditional feeling of the nation; it was set in the heart of the people; he would venture to say it was to them the gift of God. Because he believed that the effect of this Resolution would be to weaken that feeling, he prayed their Lordships to reject it.

LORD WALSINGHAM said, that he had listened with the utmost attention to the arguments which had been adduced in favour of the two alternative propositions before their Lordships; but no less to the objections which had been urged against them. It seemed to him that that class of objections which related to the increased hours of labour which would be imposed upon the employés at Museums applied with almost equal force to both propositions. When the Lord Privy Seal spoke of the satisfaction which those who had to undergo the additional labour imposed by the opening of Museums and Galleries on Sundays would derive from the consciousness that they were performing

an unselfish duty, he appeared to assume more than the facts of the case would warrant. He would certainly vote against the original proposition; and, thinking it almost impossible to exaggerate the danger that would be incurred by admitting crowds of people into a building containing valuable collections in glass cases with the present system of electric lighting, he hoped also to have an opportunity of voting against the Amendment.

LORD BRAYE said, he thought the proposition was one which, if once sanctioned, might develop itself into the complete effacement of the English Sunday. Europe presented three methods of keeping Sunday. In the first place, they had their own method, based on Catholic law and in accordance with Catholic principles; secondly, they had the Scotch method, wholly Protestant or Sabbatarian; and, lastly, the Revolutionary method, which had penetrated more or less since the great Revolution into every Continental nation. He would ask them to consider whether it was wise to take any steps which might introduce the latter state of things into our own country?

On Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Motion?"

Their Lordships *divided*:—Contents 38; Not-Contents 46: Majority 8.

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*Resolved in the negative.*

*Moved to resolve—*

“That inasmuch as a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Institutions have reported, on the 27th of March 1860, that such institutions as the British Museum and the National Gallery should be opened on week-day evenings to the public between the hours of seven and ten in the evening at least three days in the week, this House is of opinion that the time has arrived when this recommendation should be carried out.”—(*The Earl of Shaftesbury.*)

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY wished, before the next Question was put, to appeal to his noble Friend (the Earl of Shaftesbury), under the peculiar circumstances of the time, not to press his Amendment, which had now become the Main Question. The authorities of the British Museum were, he believed, very anxious that this particular measure should not at this time be taken. There were reasons which were very obvious, but which it was not necessary nor desirable to dwell upon; but he felt sure that almost everyone in their Lordships' House would support what he said.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY said, that in response to the appeal he would not press his Amendment.

On Question? *Resolved in the negative.*

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## GREEK MARRIAGES BILL.

Select Committee on: The Lords following were named of the Committee:

|               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| E. Milltown.  | L. Penzance.  |
| L. Balfour.   | L. Sandhurst. |
| L. Stratford. |               |

The Committee to meet on *Monday* next at Twelve o'clock, and to appoint their own Chairman.

House adjourned at Eight o'clock, to *Monday* next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 21st March, 1884.*

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee—Resolutions [March 20] reported.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—Resolution [March 20] reported.

PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—First Reading—Electric Lighting Provisional Order\* [145]; Army (Annual)\* [144]; Superannuation\* [146].

Second Reading—Contagious Diseases (Animals) [120].

Committee—Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) [124], debate adjourned.

Committee—Report—Consolidated Fund (No. 1).\* Considered as amended—Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment [129].

Third Reading—Dublin Museum of Science and Art\* [59], and passed.

## QUESTIONS.

## ACCIDENTS IN MINES—REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. ARNOLD MORLEY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can inform the House when the Royal Commissioners on Accidents in Mines, who were appointed on the 12th of February, 1879, and who, in the year 1881, presented a preliminary Report, may be expected to present another and final Report on their investigations, which have now extended over a period of more than five years?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, there had been a great deal of delay in the issue of the final Report referred to by the hon. Member, but for which good reason could be shown, it being due to the introduction, within the



last few months, of a large number of safety lamps possessing features of novelty. He was, however, informed by the Secretary to the Commission that a draft Report had been prepared, but that it, as well as many other matters, would require careful discussion and consideration; but he hoped the Report would be presented before the end of the Session.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BELFAST  
WORKHOUSE—CASE OF — HIGGINS.

MR. DEASY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to the Reports of the Belfast Board of Guardians of the 11th and 4th instant, in which was disclosed the heartless treatment of a woman named Higgins, who, though her son was in the infirmary on the point of death, was denied admission to the workhouse on two separate occasions, until he had become unconscious; whether, in pursuance of the Act of Parliament, which provides that the workhouse master shall send for the immediate relatives in cases of urgent necessity like this, the Belfast workhouse master did so act in this case; or, if it is true that he delegated his functions to a pauper to take charge of the gate, and did this pauper actually refer to the book in which the names of dangerous cases are recorded; whether there is a Resolution on the workhouse books in force, prohibiting the employment of pauper labour in all positions of trust; and, will any further steps be taken by the Local Government Board to prevent a recurrence of such gross mismanagement?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that the Local Government Board had inquired into this matter. It was true the person referred to was twice refused admission; but the Guardians stated that the pauper assistant of the gatekeeper, in refusing the application, did so on his own responsibility, and did not refer the matter to the gatekeeper, as he should have done. The Guardians had removed this pauper assistant, and had taken such steps, by cautioning him, as would make the gatekeeper in future discharge his own duty. The workhouse regulations required the Master, in a case of dangerous sickness, to send for any relation or friend of the sick person, residing within a reasonable distance,

whom the sick person might desire to see. In this case, the sick man did not ask that his mother should be sent for; and the father, who was in an adjoining ward, was allowed to visit his son every day, and was with him when he died. The Local Government Board were not aware that there was a resolution on the workhouse books prohibiting the employment of pauper labour in all positions of trust; in fact, the employment of the pauper assistant by the gatekeeper was recognized by the Guardians.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ENNIS-  
CRONE (CO. SLIGO) MAGISTRATES—  
INEQUALITY OF SENTENCES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, since the 30th of March last year, the Justices of the Enniscrone (county Sligo) Petty Sessions have had before them five summonses against Mr. Patrick Maughan, day-car proprietor, and the same number of complaints against Mr. H. R. Blakeney, day-car proprietor, for having more passengers on the cars than they were registered to carry; whether Mr. Maughan, on the five complaints against him, was fined £4 2s. 1d., whilst Mr. Blakeney, on the five complaints against him, was fined only 10s. 6d.; whether, on the first summons heard on the 31st March, 1883, Mr. Henn, R.M., fined the defendants one penny each, but, on a subsequent occasion, last year, fined Mr. Maughan a guinea, and, since then, on the 23rd of last month, fined Mr. Blakeney only half a crown; whether Mr. Blakeney is the deputy county surveyor; and, what is the explanation of the difference between the penalties inflicted on the two defendants by the same magistrates?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he was not able to go fully into this case; but he believed that the amounts of the fines referred to were correct, but the two persons had not committed a similar number of offences. Where the cases were similar, both defendants were fined in the same amount, except that, in one case, Maughan's fine was put at a guinea at his own request, in order that he might appeal. It was correctly stated in the Question that Mr. Blakeney was the deputy county surveyor.

ARMY—THE ROYAL MILITARY  
ASYLUM, CHELSEA, AND THE ROYAL  
HIBERNIAN MILITARY SCHOOL—  
SALARIES OF HEAD MASTERS.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Secretary of State for War, If he has inquired further into the matter of head schoolmasters' salaries as between Chelsea Royal Military Asylum and the Royal Hibernian Military School, with a view to their equalisation; and, whether he would also reconsider the inequalities existing between those of the junior masters?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I have made further inquiries; and I intend to make such alterations as, I think, will be satisfactory to the hon. Member and to the persons referred to.

PRIVATE LUNATIC ASYLUMS—  
"WELDON *v.* WINSLOW."

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to the case of "*Weldon v. Winslow*," as reported in *The Times* of the 19th instant, as follows:—

"Mr. Baron Huddleston in giving judgment after commenting upon what he said was the astonishing fact that with an order and a statement signed by paupers, and two certificates signed by men whose only qualification need be the possession of diplomas and the fact that they were not related to the keeper of an asylum to which a patient was to be sent, anybody might be shut up in a private asylum. . . . He regretted to think that the Plaintiff could have no redress for the serious inconveniences to which she had been put, but being clearly of opinion that such was the case he must hold that she must be non-suited;"

whether he is aware that it transpired at the trial that a sum of £550 a-year was to be paid to the proprietor as long as the patient remained in the asylum; and, whether, since numerous cases of a similar and even worse kind have from time to time been reported, he proposes to make any change in the Law under which asylums are kept for private gain?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, it is a question of great interest and importance. I see that the hon. Member, at the end of his Question, seems to suggest that there have been numerous cases of a similar, and even worse, kind from time to time. I do not believe that this is the case. The matter was very carefully investigated

by a Select Committee in 1878, and it was established beyond doubt or possibility. The inquiry was especially made as to the point whether there was any possibility existing by which a person could be unduly deprived of his liberty by means of false allegations of lunacy; and the Committee reported that, although the present system was not free from risks which might, perhaps, be lessened by amendments of the existing law, yet the cases which had been brought before them of alleged *malæ fides* or serious abuses had not been substantiated. That was true of these asylums then, and it has been true of them since, so far as I know. But I am not prepared to say that the present system does not require amendment. My hon. Friend the Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) has had a Bill before the House for this purpose; and that Bill contained a provision—which, although not very strongly supported, has always recommended itself to my mind—that there should be the authority of a magistrate before a committal is made to a private lunatic asylum, and that it should not depend solely or merely on certificates. The hon. Member (Mr. W. J. Corbet) concludes his Question by asking whether the Government propose to make any change in the law on the subject? All I can say is, I should be very glad to make a change on this and many other subjects; but I am sorry to say, and the House knows it as well as I do, that it is absolutely impossible for the Government—or, so far as I can see, for anybody else—to pass any Bill on any subject.

MR. MAO IVER: Will the Government put aside some of their controversial measures in order to bring in a Bill dealing with this subject?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have not yet been able to discover what is the subject which is not controversial.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF  
GUARDIANS AT ANNAKISSY, MAL-  
LOW—INTIMIDATION BY A LAND-  
LORD.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a notice in the following terms, served on Patrick Cotter and other tenants on the property of Mr. Hamilton, at

Annakissy, near Mallow, with respect to the pending election of Poor Law Guardian for that division:—

"Ballyfree, Glenealy, county Wicklow,  
"11th March 1884.

"Patrick Cotter,—Mr. Hamilton hopes and expects you will vote for John Buckley, as Poor Law Guardian. I will expect to hear that you will do so. Your friend, R. Smyth Dickson.

"Mr. Hamilton and I have requested Mr. Roche to let us know you vote; "

whether Mr. Dickson is the landlord's agent, and Mr. Roche the sub-agent; whether he is aware that some of the tenants so noticed owe arrears of rent, and are thus in the power of the landlord, and that Patrick Cotter has declared that, in consequence of the notice, he will be obliged, against his will, to vote for Mr. Buckley; whether steps will be taken to prosecute, under the Intimidation Clause of the Crimes Act, the persons responsible for suggesting, writing, serving, or enforcing the notice; whether the Mr. Roche who is charged with seeing that the tenants obey the direction of the landlord was a Sub-Commissioner under the Land Act, and, as a Justice of the Peace, signed a protest against the dismissal of Lord Rossmore; and, what notice will be taken of his conduct? In putting the Question I may say, with regard to the shortness of the Notice, that I put it on the Paper immediately that I got the letter, and on the last day on which it could have any effect.

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am sorry that I had not time to get information on this subject. Indeed, the hon. Member (Mr. O'Brien) himself recognizes the shortness of the Notice. It is impossible to get an answer by telegraph; and it would not be very satisfactory if I got it. However, I will do my best to take any retrospective action in the matter, if action should be required. I will answer the Question if he repeats it on a future occasion.

MR. O'BRIEN: I will repeat the Question on Tuesday.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (SCOTLAND) BILL—A MINISTER FOR SCOTLAND.

MR. BUCHANAN rose to put the following Question, which stood on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell):—

*Mr. O'Brien*

"To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, since the Scotch Members are generally agreed so far as to wish to see a Bill establishing a Minister for Scotland, he will give Notice of the introduction of such a Bill before Easter, in the hope that it may be read a first time unopposed, and printed?"

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON: Sir, I rise to a point of Order. I wish to know whether it is competent for an hon. Member to convey, in a Question, the comparative collective opinion of a large body of Members with whom, so far as I know, he has had no consultation? Certainly, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Buchanan) has not asked me for my opinion. I do not say that I am against the proposed Bill; but I object altogether to any hon. Member coming forward without authority, and putting a Question, and having the advantage that may accrue from its being supposed that he is conveying the opinion of all the Scotch Members.

MR. BUCHANAN: Does the hon. and gallant Gentleman object to the Question which I propose to ask on behalf of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell)?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I think I can remove the difficulty.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON: I ask for the ruling of the Chair on a point of Order.

MR. SPEAKER: On the point of Order, I am bound to say that Questions which involve matters of argument, or statements of opinion, are irregular. It was impossible to know, when this Question was put upon the Paper, whether it was an accurate version of the facts or not; but since my attention has been called by the hon. and gallant Member for East Aberdeenshire (Sir Alexander Gordon) to the circumstance that the statement contained in the Question is not founded upon fact, I should say that, so far, the Question is irregular in point of form.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I think, Sir, the statement you have made is a confirmation of what I was saying.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: I rise to Order. I understand you, Sir, to rule that the Question, in its present form, cannot be put.

MR. SPEAKER: I rule that so far as this Question is based upon a statement of fact, that it is the general expression of the wishes of the Scotch Members, it



is irregular; the rest of the Question may be put.

MR. BUCHANAN: I am quite ready, on behalf of my hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), to withdraw that part of the Question which is objected to, and which you, Sir, have ruled to be irregular.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Learning, both behind me and in front of me, that part of the Question is objected to, and that there is the opposition of the hon. Baronet (Sir Herbert Maxwell) to be reckoned upon, I assume that a considerable difference of opinion prevails. Of course, that is a material element in the consideration of the course which the Government will take. I was going to give a much more favourable answer to the Question than I am afraid I now can give in view of the strong opposition to the Bill which I have witnessed. All I can say is, that the Bill is ready; the draft of it is in print; and I hope the Bill itself will be introduced before Easter, and that it will not be so strongly opposed, after all, as now seems likely to be the case.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON: After the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State, I wish, with the permission of the House, to make a personal explanation. I have not said that I am opposed to the measure at all. I only objected, as a question of Order, to a statement being made in a Question which involves an expression of opinion which, as far as I know, is contrary to the fact. My own Questions have been frequently objected to on that ground, and I claim that the same course ought to be pursued in regard to all Members.

#### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS—THE CLERK TO THE ROSCREA UNION.

MR. MAYNE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that the clerk of the Roscrea Union, acting as returning officer, refuses to permit the National candidates to be present at the examination of the voting papers at elections for Poor Law Guardians in his union, giving no reason to them for his so doing, but merely a point blank refusal; whether, in accordance with Article 20 of the Local Government Board's Circular, dated 16th January, 1863, which directs

that clerks of Unions, before excluding either candidates or their proposers from the examination of the voting papers, should be prepared to show some urgent reason for taking a step "which, generally speaking, would seem to be unnecessary and unreasonable," this gentleman has furnished the Local Government Board with any urgent or sufficient reason for his so excluding the National candidates; and, whether, in the absence of any such urgent reason for their exclusion, the Local Government Board will direct this returning officer to admit such of the candidates and their proposers as desire it to be present at the examination of the voting papers at the present and future elections?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that he had not yet been able to get an answer to his inquiries on this subject.

MR. MAYNE: I will repeat the Question on Monday.

#### ARTIZANS' AND LABOURERS' DWELLINGS—THE COMMISSIONERS OF WOODS, FORESTS, AND LAND REVENUE.

MR. BRYCE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the fact that the land belonging to the Crown on the south side of Little Pulteney Street, Wardour Street, Soho, or a portion of it, has been recently leased by the Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, with a view to the erection of Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings to a Mr. John Rees, of 24, Little Pulteney Street; and, whether Mr. Rees is the same person who was, in April and May last, twice summoned at the Marlborough Street Police Court for the unsanitary condition of some of his houses, and was on both occasions ordered to execute certain repairs, and to pay the costs of the summons, he being at the time a member of the Vestry of the parish of Saint James', Westminster, the parish in which the houses referred to were situate?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the land in question has been leased as stated, the transaction having been practically completed some six weeks since. Conditions were, however, imposed, with a view to securing proper sanitary arrangements, requiring that the building should be properly erected and maintained, and

the observance of these covenants will be carefully enforced. I believe it is true that Mr. Rees was summoned as described; but the houses then in question are not the property of the Crown, and the officers of the Crown were not aware that any complaint had been made against Mr. Rees in respect of those, or any other houses. He has, indeed, been a Crown tenant for many years, and has helped the office in redeeming the character of Crown property let on expiring leases. Mr. Rees has explained that he was summoned for the default of the tenants who were in possession, when he purchased the property, as yearly tenants, whom he could not evict. There was yet another summons this month in respect of these houses, of which my hon. Friend does not seem aware; but Mr. Rees says this was, in fact, obtained at his own instigation as a means of clearing the property, and that he was acting in relation to it in concert with the Sanitary Inspector and the Vestry Clerk.

#### JAMAICA—THE FRANCHISE COMMISSION.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Report of the Commissioners on the Franchise in Jamaica has reached the Colonial Office; whether any protest against the Report has been made by any Member of the Commission; and, whether the Report and the protest will be laid upon the Table of the House?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, that the Report of the Commission had reached the Colonial Office; that it had been accompanied by a protest against a portion of it—namely, the portion which recommended an educational test; and that both the Report and the protest would be laid upon the Table, but not immediately, in order to afford the Secretary of State an opportunity of considering them before coming to a decision upon the matter.

#### ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE EASTER VOLUNTEER REVIEW.

LORD HENRY LENNOX asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is true that, at the last Volunteer Review which took place at Portsmouth, in 1882, the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers were refused permission to assist in manning Her Majesty's gunboats,

which were ordered to take part in that sham fight; and, whether a similar request, recently made by the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers with regard to the forthcoming Review at Portsmouth, has been refused; and, if so, if he will explain the reason?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, in anticipation of the Volunteer Review in 1882, the London Brigade of the Naval Artillery Volunteers applied to be allowed to take part in any naval evolutions that might be carried out in conjunction with the Land Forces; but they were informed that it was not intended that there should be any naval evolutions. Subsequently, on the eve of the Review, the War Office asked for the assistance of the Navy, which was granted to a limited extent. The Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers have again this year made a request to be employed; but we have received no intimation from the War Office that the Navy will be invited to co-operate in the Review.

#### TOWNS IMPROVEMENT (IRELAND) ACT—ELECTION OF TOWN COMMISSIONERS FOR ENNIS.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why the Local Government Board Order for an election of Town Commissioners for Ennis has not been sent down, although the local preliminary requirements have been completed?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Local Government Board, in compliance with the application made to them for carrying out the Towns Improvement Act, made the usual Order on the subject, which was duly published in *The Dublin Gazette* of last Tuesday. I have no doubt that by this time it has reached Ennis.

#### EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—THE BATTLE OF EL TEB—COLONEL BURNABY.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the following incident in the Battle of El Teb, as narrated by three separate witnesses—

"Colonel Burnaby did good work with a double-barrelled gun and slugs, finishing ten men with twenty cartridges" (*Times*, March 3rd).

"With the double-barrelled fowling piece he (Colonel Burnaby) carries, he knocks over the Arabs who assail him" (*Standard*, March 3rd).

"Colonel Burnaby's massive form was the first I saw over the parapet, firing with a double-barrelled gun into the little cluster of rebels" (*Central News* telegram in *Observer*, March 2nd); and, whether he will ascertain whether these statements are correct; and, if correct, if he will state to the House whether he proposes to take any action in the matter?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I have not received any official information as to the circumstances of the employment of Colonel Burnaby with General Graham's Force; and, in the absence of such official information, I do not think that I am called upon to express any opinion as to the alleged acts of that officer. I may, however, add that, even assuming that the newspaper accounts of the matter are accurate, I am not aware that Colonel Burnaby did anything contrary to the usages of war. I do not, therefore, propose to take any further steps in the matter.

MR. BUCHANAN: Will the noble Lord state what was the exact position which Colonel Burnaby held in General Graham's Force?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have very little doubt that when the official despatches from General Graham come home, the circumstances of the employment of Colonel Burnaby will be mentioned.

#### PARLIAMENT—QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS—REPLIES OF THE CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND.

MR. GRAY: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland a Question in relation to the report of a reply of his appearing in *The Times* of this morning to the Question asked by the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. W. J. Corbet). The Question was—

"To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant for Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that while the Convent National schools are, according to Sir P. J. Keenan, the Resident Commissioner of National Education, 'remarkable for their efficiency in secular teaching, and especially so for their moral and religious results,' the nuns who teach in them are deprived of the advantages of the increase accorded to classified teachers; and, whether he will inquire into the matter with a view to removing this irregularity?"

In reply to that Question, the right hon. Gentleman was understood to say that he

would not give a definite answer without further communication with Sir Patrick Keenan. The report of the right hon. Gentleman's reply in *The Times*, however, is of a totally different character, and conveys the impression that there is no hope of redress for a grievance which is felt very strongly in Ireland. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether the answer in *The Times* was supplied by him or not; and, whether he can explain the difference in the reply as given in the House and the reply published in that newspaper?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, when the hon. Member spoke to me in the Lobby with regard to this matter, I was confused, as I did not remember the exact circumstances. The fact of the matter is, I mislaid the paper on which I had written my reply, which I intended to read to the hon. Member for Wicklow; but I remembered the gist of it, and the substance of the reply as given in the paper and the substance of what was said are practically the same. It is a fact that a week—a few days—ago I answered that this matter had been considered, and it had been decided that the nuns must accept the disadvantage of not being classified. That was the answer I gave a few days ago; but then the hon. Member (Mr. W. J. Corbet) asks another Question, in which he quotes a very strong passage from Sir Patrick Keenan, and upon it I answered that the Government were going to make further inquiries. I think he will find that is what appears in *The Times*. I mislaid the paper that I intended to read to the House, and, forgetting the exact words, I answered the substance of them, and said that the matter was answered a week ago; but that, in consequence of the quotation made in the Question of the hon. Member, I intended to refer to Dublin for a further Report, and that I intended to wait until I heard from Sir Patrick Keenan.

MR. W. J. CORBET: I understood the right hon. Gentleman distinctly to say that he was waiting for a further Report from Sir Patrick Keenan, without any reference whatever to anything else.

MR. TREVELYAN: I acknowledge that the reply in *The Times* is not verbatim of what I said; but it is the substance of it.



Mr. GRAY: Does the right hon. Gentleman say that the report in *The Times* was supplied by him?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Yes; the hon. Gentleman drives me rather hard. In consequence of the very large number of Questions that I have to answer, I find it convenient to have the replies in manuscript, and I send them to *The Times*. In this case I mislaid the written answer, and I gave an extempore answer, which was in substance the same—namely, that I would defer coming to a final judgment in the matter until I had Sir Patrick Keenan's letter.

#### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)— GENERAL GORDON.

Mr. BOURKE: I wish to ask the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has received any further information with reference to the state of Berber, General Gordon, or to the position at Khartoum, which he can communicate to the House?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No, Sir. As far as I am aware, no further official information has been received since my reply of yesterday, either as to the condition of things at Khartoum or at Berber, or on the road between them.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: Has telegraphic communication been restored between Khartoum and Cairo?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No, Sir; not that I am aware of.

#### EGYPT—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

##### NOTICE OF QUESTION.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I beg to give Notice that I propose, on Monday next, to ask the noble Marquess when he will be prepared to make the statement with regard to the general policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt which some time ago he promised to make?

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Mr. GIBSON said, he wished to put a Question to the noble Marquess with regard to the Order of Business for that evening. At the Sitting of the House last evening, it was arranged that the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill should stand the first Order of the Day,

and that the Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill should be the second Order of the Day, the third Order being the Revision of Jurors' and Voters' Lists (Dublin County) Bill. That was the understood position of things when he left the House at half-past 2 o'clock. To his great surprise that morning, he found that the position of the second and third Orders of the Day had been transposed, and that now the Irish Bill had precedence of the Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill. A great number of those who were interested in the Irish measure, having relied on the arrangement entered into last night, were not present that evening, as they had been led to believe that there was no chance of its coming on for discussion. He wished to know how this alteration had come to be made?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that the alteration was the result of a fresh arrangement that had been entered into at a late hour of the night, or rather of that morning, when great difficulty was experienced with regard to obtaining the necessary Votes in Supply. He did not recollect the exact circumstances under which the alteration was made in the subsequent Orders of the Day; but he believed that the reason for the alteration was, that it was expected that the discussion on the Report of Supply would occupy so much time that it was regarded as useless to put down the Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill in a prominent place for that afternoon. He understood that the arrangement had been made with the assent of those occupying the Front Bench opposite.

Mr. GIBSON asked at what hour the arrangement was made? He had been in the House until half-past 2 that morning, when he understood that the Irish Bill would be the third Order of the Day. If the Bill came on for discussion that afternoon, would the noble Marquess support the Motion for the adjournment of the discussion on the Motion for going into Committee on the Bill?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that the arrangement had been come to shortly before 3 o'clock in the morning, and no objection was made to it on the part of anyone.

Mr. GIBSON: The right hon. Gentleman waited until I had left the House

before proposing the new arrangement.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): With the very greatest respect for the right hon. and learned Member, he was not in our minds at all when we proposed the new arrangement.

MR. ONSLOW asked, whether the Government would not proceed that afternoon with the Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill under any circumstances?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that, inasmuch as hon. Members had had Notice by their Papers which they had received that morning that the Elections (Hours of Poll) Bill stood next after the Irish Bill for that afternoon, he could not undertake not to proceed with the former Bill if it were reached.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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#### CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)

BILL.—[BILL 120.]

(*Mr. Dodson.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [18th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

MR. KENNY said, that he did not intend to detain the House for many minutes in renewing this debate. When he was interrupted by the closing of the debate on the previous occasion he was about to say that, in his opinion, foot-and-mouth disease was mainly, if not wholly, introduced into this country by foreign animals, and that, as they formed but a small percentage of the meat supply of this Kingdom, they were not worth the injury which they brought in the shape of disease. It was true that the number of live animals which were imported into England had increased by 240 per cent; but the quantity of dead meat imported had similarly increased; and, therefore, the country need not look with any apprehension to the restrictions of the importation of foreign live animals. He was in favour of the slaughter of all animals at the port of embarkation, as well as their exclusion from importation where disease existed.

He considered that, so long as live animals were imported from foreign countries affected by foot-and-mouth disease, so long would foot-and-mouth disease spread in England, and, spreading in England, it would be certain to spread to Ireland. But, however much he might be in favour of this Bill as regarded England, the Irish farmer had no guarantee that it would not be used against the exportation of Irish cattle to England. Already that trade had been arbitrarily interfered with. Now, it was admitted by the Members speaking on the Opposition side of the House that this foot-and-mouth disease was introduced into Ireland from England; but only the other day he saw a letter in *The Pall Mall Gazette* stating that it was introduced to the South of England through Irish cattle bought at the Bristol Cattle Market. Now, when they found such a statement coming from such a quarter, the Irish Members could not but have some reasonable apprehension on the subject, unless some guarantee were given that arbitrary and vexatious restrictions would not be placed on the shipment of Irish cattle. It was very well known that foot-and-mouth disease was introduced into Ireland on the last occasion by Lord Carbery's bull; but, when questioned on the matter, the Chief Secretary, with the ingenuity which was peculiarly his own, endeavoured to evade the point by stating that foot-and-mouth disease broke out simultaneously in two parts of Dublin. Now, there was no reason why this should not happen if the men who came into contact with Lord Carbery's bull at the North Wall also came into contact with other cattle. He would not depend in this matter on the Irish Privy Council. The Privy Council of Ireland was altogether under the influence of the Lord Lieutenant; and of course the Lord Lieutenant would do whatever the English Government, of which he was a Member, required of him. He was also opposed to the Bill because it gave a maximum of inconvenience with a minimum of protection and security. The importation of diseased animals from Europe and America to England, and its propagation in Ireland, was likely to continue, notwithstanding the present Bill, so long as the Privy Council acted in the manner it had previously done on this question. He



hoped, before the debate closed, to have some assurance from the Government that provisions would be introduced into the Bill to secure fair and equal treatment to the farmers of Ireland, otherwise he should be compelled to oppose the Bill at every stage.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, that as he represented the largest cattle breeding district in Scotland, he wished to express, in a few words, his opinion on the Bill. He was in a position to say that there was a great difference between the breeding and feeding interests. The importance of the interests of the breeder he would illustrate by the prices obtained at a sale by one farmer in Aberdeenshire—Mr. Wilkin, of Waterside. This farmer's herd became so large that he had to draft from it 40 animals—not the prime cattle—of which 34 were sold at a price of £2,177, or an average of £64 a-piece. Seven heifers, two years old, brought £77 each; and 10 yearling heifers obtained no less than £11 14s. each, and four bulls £46 each. This showed how considerable was the breeding industry of the country and what a large amount of capital that one man must have invested, the whole of which might be injured, if not destroyed, by any careless admission of foot-and-mouth disease. On the same day there was another sale, at which 160 cattle realized £4,707. The farmers thought they were entitled to such legislation as would enable them to carry on their business with a certain amount of security. The Bill, as the Government brought it into the other House, gave very great satisfaction to the breeders he was speaking of. There was only one change that they asked for—that the two years' duration of the Bill should be changed into a five years' duration, the former being too short a period for the operation of the measure to be felt. Of course, they would be glad to accept some of the Amendments made by the Lords, if the Government chose to agree to them; but they did not regard them as necessary, and they considered the Bill as originally framed by the Government a fair answer to the demand made by the House last July, when the Government was beaten on this question. The difference between the Bill as originally introduced and as it stood now was one of opinion, and it could not be reduced to fact. It was so

slight that it was very little more than the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. It depended entirely upon the mind that carried out the measure. It appeared to him that if one Government viewed the introduction of cattle from abroad with too great favour, no Bill would compel them to exercise their power to the full extent that the agricultural interest demanded. On the other hand, a Government which was opposed to the importation of foreign cattle at all would not improbably go to the opposite extreme. The difference, as he had said, was really one of opinion, and not one of fact; and it was not worth contending about. Therefore, rather than endanger the Bill, he should certainly give it his hearty support.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he had listened with interest to the speeches made by Members from Ireland. He quite agreed that nothing should be done to prohibit the introduction of store cattle from that country. [Mr. KENNY: Any stock?] Yes; any stock; but he was speaking now especially on the subject of store cattle. If the Bill had contained any such prohibition he should have been very much disposed to agree with the objections which the hon. Member had raised to it, because he came from a part of the country where the importation of store stock from Ireland did operate for the benefit of the farmers, though, unfortunately, these cattle were often suffering from foot-and-mouth disease to a very great extent. This Bill referred only to the importation of stock from foreign countries, and Ireland was at least as much interested in securing freedom from disease imported from abroad as England or Scotland. He trusted, therefore, that if Irish Members received from the Government the assurances they sought, they would, at any rate, be satisfied that the cattle trade of their country would be in no danger from the provisions of the Bill. There was one point on which he should very much like to see the cattle trade between Ireland and England improved—namely, in the condition of the ships on which they were carried. He could very well remember, when he was connected with the Irish Administration, how very bad the condition of those vessels often became, and how difficult it was to insure the proper carrying out of measures to keep them



as clean as they ought to be. If the Irish and English Privy Council, either together or separately, could insist upon the adequate enforcement of regulations dealing with this question, they would confer an unmitigated blessing both upon Ireland and upon England. With respect to the general provisions of this Bill, he believed that Members who represented agricultural constituencies ought to place on record their decided opinion that the Bill, as it was proposed to be amended by Her Majesty's Government, would not be satisfactory to the agricultural interest. It was very true, as had just been remarked, that a great deal depended upon the mind of the Ministry. He should very much like to get at the mind of the Government on the question. Last summer they laid down very distinctly and definitely their opinions against the Resolution which was then proposed by his hon. Friend (Mr. Chaplin); and later on the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, addressing his constituents at Scarborough, adopted the same tone. But at the very commencement of the Session they suddenly changed their opinions, and announced that they were about to introduce a Bill on the subject. That conversion was so very sudden that he confessed he had never been able to view it with the child-like confidence with which it was hailed by hon. Members who sat opposite. Its very suddenness justified a suspicion as to its depth and reality. Last year the Vice President of the Council told the House that the main principle of the Act of 1878 was compulsory slaughter at the port of landing, subject to two exceptions—first, that the Privy Council had power absolutely to prohibit importation from infected countries; and, secondly, to suspend compulsory slaughter in the case of countries exceptionally free from disease. Then the right hon. Gentleman had argued that it was impossible for the Government, consistently with the law, to carry out the Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, and that if it was possible to do so, it could not be done without seriously diminishing the meat supply of the country. But, in spite of these arguments, his hon. Friend's Resolution was carried. Summer and autumn passed, and the Government did nothing. The Session began, and no notice of the subject was taken in the Queen's Speech,

and then his hon. Friend gave Notice of an Amendment to the Address, which, if carried, would have placed the Government in a very awkward position. Then, at last, the Government promised to introduce a Bill, of which the Prime Minister said that it would considerably enlarge the powers of the Privy Council, and that there would be no cause for complaint of those powers being too limited. His hon. and gallant Friend the Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote), and his hon. Friend the Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), who had supported his hon. Friend's Resolution, expressed their conviction that the Government intended really to give effect to that Resolution. But what followed? The Bill was introduced in "another place," and was received with general dissatisfaction by the agricultural interest as quite insufficient to carry out the Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), of which the House of Commons had approved. In one respect, indeed, the Bill actually weakened the existing law. It was, however, amended in a manner which would render its main provisions satisfactory; but the Government had expressed their intention not to accept the Amendments. He was quite sure that, if that intention was adhered to, the hopes which had been entertained by the agricultural classes would be changed into bitter disappointment. He could not agree with the hon. and gallant Member opposite (Sir Alexander Gordon) as to the smallness of the difference between the Bill as introduced and as amended. They ought to have had some statement from the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster of the reasons why the Bill should be restored to its original shape. What were the objections to the Bill as it now stood? They might be divided into three classes. First, there were those which proceeded from salesmen and butchers, especially those connected with Deptford Market, who were pecuniarily interested in the maintenance of the present order of things, as to which he would only say that Parliament ought not to allow their interests, important as they were, to weigh against considerations of general public good. Secondly, there were those which originated with a class of politicians so ardent in their support of

the theory of Free Trade, that anything which was proposed by the Representatives of agricultural interests was suspected by them as tending towards a return to Protection. The hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) and the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) might be said to represent this class of objectors. But it had had been admitted by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster that all the agricultural interest asked for was protection from disease. Thirdly, there were the objections of the inhabitants of London and other large towns, who had been taught to believe that the meat supply of the Kingdom would be materially lessened and its price enhanced by any such measure as this now before the House. These opinions had been expressed by the right hon. Member for Bradford, who had told the House how much meat would thus be prevented from coming into the Metropolis. But the right hon. Gentleman had forgotten what had been effectually proved by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire—that the diminution of importation did not necessarily produce any such result. The hon. Member for Herefordshire (Mr. Duckham) had also, by elaborate statistics, conclusively shown how little there was in that argument. During 1868 and the latter part of 1867 the country was comparatively free from cattle disease. In 1868 511,000 head of cattle, swine, and sheep, and 1,096,000 cwt. of dead meat were imported. During the three preceding and three subsequent years to 1868, the average annual importation of cattle, sheep, and swine was 1,070,000 head, and of dead meat 1,814,000 cwt. In 1868 the declared value of imported dead and live meat was £5,500,000. The average value during the six years to which he had referred was £8,800,000, or an excess over 1868 of £3,300,000. Yet the price of meat in 1868 was lower than during those six years. During the year 1883, when foot-and-mouth disease was rife in this country, there were 1,624,000 head of animals imported, the average for the previous four years having been 1,347,000. The total declared value of live animals and dead meat imported in 1883 was £28,181,000, the average for the preceding four years was £23,225,000; yet there was no reduction in 1883 in the price of meat as compared with its

price in the preceding four years. Thus it was clear that prices did not depend upon the amount of meat and cattle imported; and the reason was that this, in any case, formed a very small part of the total supply. Everybody knew that the price of corn in this country was now settled by the harvests abroad, because so much more of our total corn supply came from abroad than was produced at home; and in the same way, the proportion of our total meat supply which came from abroad being very much less than that produced at home, any rise or fall in the supply of meat from abroad in no way governed the price of meat in this country. If, by legislation or administration, or both combined, this country could be kept free from the ravages of foot-and-mouth disease, as it was in 1867-8, the increase of the home production would be so rapid as utterly to keep down any possibility of a large increase in the price of meat by a diminution of the supply from abroad. The figures he had quoted conclusively showed that there was no real foundation for depriving the country of the benefit of that Bill. There was a real difference between the Bill as it now stood and as it was originally introduced. The Government proposed that it should be necessary for the Privy Council to be satisfied by the actual landing of cattle that they were affected by foot-and-mouth disease before they would prohibit importation. In other words, they were prepared to run the gravest possible risk of postponing prohibition until after the disease had been introduced. The view on the other side was that the Government ought to be satisfied by inquiry that animals in foreign countries were healthy, and that proper regulations were enforced there to prevent the spread of disease, before allowing their importation. The latter was the only effective means of preventing the importation of disease. In point of fact, the original Bill was no real extension of the existing law. In the spring of last year the Government satisfied themselves, as they ought to have done before, that France was infected with disease, and they prohibited importation from that country. If the Government had a mind to be satisfied that disease existed in the United States, as the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had admitted that it did exist there, they might pursue precisely

the same course now with respect to the United States. It was the duty of the Government to explain to the House what use there was in submitting to stringent regulations at home if the Bill was to be restored to its original form. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair) had told them it was not fair to suggest the prohibition of importation from abroad, unless they were also prepared to submit to stringent restrictions at home; but what he was afraid of was that, unless such measures were taken as would go as far as possible to prevent the importation of disease from abroad, it would be impossible any longer to maintain those stringent regulations which had done so much to stamp out disease in the country. He hoped that the Bill, in its present shape, would soon pass through its remaining stages, and that the House would take steps to secure that it should carry into effect the just and necessary demands of the great agricultural interest of this country, and should be a *bond fide* redemption of the pledge which, at the commencement of the Session, the Government gave in spirit, if not in letter, to the House of Commons.

MR. DUCKHAM said, he refrained from addressing the House last Tuesday in the hope that he might thus assist in the passing of the second reading that day. It was not now his intention to go into the clauses of the Bill—they must be considered in Committee; but he wished to destroy the effect of a good deal of misrepresentation which had been made to the public. He felt that the public were not aware how closely identified their interest, as consumers, was with the health of the flocks and herds of the country. As a farmer, he felt grateful to the present Parliament for the security which had been given to the capital of the farmers of the country by the Hares and Rabbits Act, and by the Agricultural Holdings Act; but he thought that now farmers had a right to ask Parliament to complete that security by giving them the most complete and perfect arrangement for the importation of live animals into this country, in order that the health of their flocks and herds might be maintained and guarded from that insidious and contagious disease from which they had so long suffered. They had to compete

with all the world in the produce of the soil; and it was felt by himself and other agriculturists to be a monstrous thing that they should be unnecessarily handicapped in that competition by disease. They felt they had a right to demand that they should be guarded from loss through the importation of diseased stock; and they felt that this could, to a very great extent, be done by wise, judicious, and sound legislation. When the Act of 1878 was put into operation it soon freed the country from foot-and-mouth disease; pleuro-pneumonia had lingered up to the present time; but it was now almost extinct. The provisions of that Act were felt to be sufficient for the purpose in view; but, as applied, they had not been sufficient to guard the flocks and herds from foot-and-mouth disease. Now, they had been asked repeatedly to prove how the disease had got out of the Deptford and other foreign live stock markets in the United Kingdom. When it was considered that there were some 2,000 men in connection with the Deptford Market passing to and fro—from Deptford to the Islington and other markets, surely it was no matter for surprise that the disease should be conveyed there from the foreign markets, and from thence to the outlying markets. Upon no less authority than that of Professor Brown, they had it that the disease was so conveyed to the different markets in 1880. In 1881, there were landed in Great Britain 143 cargoes of cattle suffering from foot-and-mouth disease; in 1882, there were 66 such cargoes landed, and last year 97 similar cargoes were landed. At the same time, the farmers of the country were harassed by every kind of annoying restriction — fairs and markets closed, infected areas declared, the movement of stock prohibited. It was most disheartening to the farmers of the country to know that whilst they were abiding by such harassing regulations as those he had described, there was a flood of disease flowing into the country from abroad. He was sorry that when the Bill was introduced in "another place," the Lord President of the Council said it was curious that agriculturists should now raise this cry. But the cry had been a long one, and the suffering of agriculture had been long and severe. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edin-



burgh (Sir Lyon Playfair) said the disease had become acclimatized, and the right hon. Gentleman appeared to think that the only possible way of getting rid of the disease was to slaughter all the animals in the Kingdom suffering from the disease, and to prohibit for four years all animals coming into the country. He (Mr. Duckham) felt that such a theory was wrong. The experience in the county—Herefordshire—which he had the honour to represent showed that by stringent regulations, such as drawing a cordon round infected areas and preventing animals going out of, or passing through, the extension of the disease could be guarded against. Herefordshire suffered to a most serious extent in 1872. The numbers of animals infected were—35,000 cattle, 108,000 sheep, and about 8,000 pigs, imposing a loss on the county of upwards of £155,000. It suffered severely again in 1875. But the county had been free ever since, except when the disease had been brought in. It had then been clearly traceable; and by the regulations that he had mentioned—namely, by maintaining a stringent cordon round the infected area, they had prevented the spread of the disease in every instance. He felt that they could not ask for too stringent, too decided regulations; in order to prevent the re-introduction of the disease. In 1883, the disease was landed in London, Portsmouth, Southampton, Grimsby, Hartlepool, Hull, Sunderland, and Liverpool. Under such a system it could be no matter for surprise that the disease should have become so general. Surely, the most stringent regulations that possibly could be enforced ought to be enforced to prevent the introduction of the disease amongst our stock. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had quoted his (Mr. Duckham's) figures as regarded the effects of the disease in England; but there was another country that was very deeply affected by the severity of the disease. In January, 1883, the bull that was sent across from Westmoreland to Dublin, in a perfectly healthy condition, contracted the disease, and in six weeks' 12 counties in Ireland were infected, and they were not perfectly healthy yet. A small lot of cattle was sent in February from Dublin to Scotland. On the 7th of February those cattle were sold in Edinburgh Market;

*Mr. Duckham*

they were divided into two lots; and each lot was diseased. Such was the rapidity with which the disease spread that, by the 24th March, 16 counties in Scotland were affected by the disease. Now, these examples showed how the disease could be spread by one animal, yet animals suffering from the disease had been imported into the country by thousands. If such a system were to be continued, he was persuaded that the capital which ought to be invested in the cultivation and stocking of the land of the country, and which he had hoped to have seen increased, from the increased security now given for capital, would be driven to other countries, and much of the land of the nation would run waste and barren. He should certainly support the Bill as amended, and he hoped the Government would reconsider the decision which they arrived at when the Bill was introduced, and not think of rendering it less effective than it would be in its present form.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT said, he thought that the answer of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) to the case for the consumer, which was carefully put by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), was complete and decisive. He would, therefore, not go over that ground again. He wished to say one word on the question of Ireland. The hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny) had stated that because there were no provisions in the Bill which would protect Ireland against the importation of disease from England, and which would prevent that country from being harassed, he should vote against the Bill. He would point out to the hon. Member that the Bill would protect the United Kingdom, including Ireland, against the importation of disease from abroad, and that it should on that account have the hearty and cordial support of Irish Members. There was, perhaps, no more important question than that Ireland should be free from disease, and that cattle from Ireland should be free to come into this country without restriction. In his own part of the country, and in many parts of the South of England, they had been compelled to take protective measures against animals which had come from Ireland and been landed at the port of Bristol, and came from that country in a diseased condition. These animals had come to

the South of England, and had spread disease far and wide. He did not say that diseased cattle were sent from Ireland to this country; but the fact remained that when they were landed they were found to be diseased. The fact was, the vessels in which they were brought over were not fit for the work. He did not know whether any of the hon. Members from Ireland had travelled in them; but he had done so in former days, and was in a position to state, from personal experience, that then the condition of some of these vessels was perfectly disgraceful, and he believed it was just the same now. If hon. Members coming from Ireland would insist upon these vessels being properly cleaned whenever cattle were placed upon them, they would be doing good service. We should then have a clean bill of health, and Irish cattle might come into this country, without let or hindrance. He was aware that in Ireland there had been no example of the disease for years before the present outbreak, a fact which afforded *prima facie* evidence that it could not be a spontaneous disease in that country. It had been imported into Ireland on this occasion from England, no doubt; but it had been imported into England from abroad, and that was why they were anxious to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophe. They could tell the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) that this Bill was one of those measures which was creating far more excitement throughout the country than he was, perhaps, aware of. Let him give an instance of this. After the Resolution of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire was passed last year, he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) went down to his own part of the country, where he met some farmers returning from market, who told him that of all the work to be done during the Session, the carrying out of that Resolution was the most important. But what did the Government do? Did they take any steps in the matter? No, not one; but they absolutely spoke upon every occasion possible against the Motion of his hon. Friend. Now, in a half-hearted manner they had come down to the House with this Bill, because the pressure upon them was so great, and because they knew and felt that if the Motion of the hon. Member

for Mid Lincolnshire had been introduced into the House upon the discussion of the Queen's Speech, and as an Amendment to the Address, they would have been beaten. They took the matter to heart, therefore, and brought in this Bill. They, however, brought it in in "another place," and the Bill was amended in "another place." When the Bill came to this House, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster got up and stated—he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) did not know whether it was to damage the House of Peers or to damage the country as to the importation of stock—that he preferred the Bill as originally introduced. Of one thing he was certain, and that was that if there was anything that would damage the Government more than another in the country it would be the suggested departure by the Government from the Bill as it was amended in the House of Lords. He ventured to appeal to all those who had the interests of agriculture at heart to insist upon the alteration in the Bill made in the House of Lords being retained.

COLONEL KINGSCOTE said, he agreed with the hon. and gallant Baronet (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) that amongst the most important work done by the House last Session was the passing of the Resolution of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). He (Colonel Kingscote) was extremely sorry to think that the Government could not now accept the Bill as it had come down from the House of Lords. In his opinion nothing short of that measure would give security to the British farmer. He thought the House ought not to leave it to the Privy Council to take measures to prevent the importation of diseased cattle from abroad. If they wished to do any good they must give the Department statutory powers. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair) had pointed out that 75 per cent of the meat supply of the country was home grown; but he (Colonel Kingscote) would like to see the farmers obtaining facilities, by keeping the possibility of disease from their flocks and herds, for growing 100 per cent. He contended that it was better both for the farmer and the consumer that mutton and beef should be grown at home, than that the country

should look to a foreign supply. Without statutory powers for the prohibition of animals from infected countries there would be no stimulus to foreign countries to check disease, and that was a very important consideration in connection with the subject. He desired to impress on the Government that nothing short of the Bill as amended would accomplish the end which they had in view, and satisfy the farmers in any part of the United Kingdom.

Mr. ECROYD, representing as he did a large constituency of consumers, thought he could best fulfil his duty to them by supporting the Bill in the shape in which it came down from the House of Lords. It was in the interest of consumers to have a plentiful supply of wholesome and cheap food. Not only had the price of butchers' meat been raised by the disease which had been introduced and re-introduced into the country from abroad, but the price of milk and butter had been raised and the quality deteriorated. Towns consumed large quantities of milk, and he was afraid that the uncertainty both as to the regularity and quality of the supply threatened to make a considerable change in the habits of the people, which must be detrimental to their health and the health of future generations. It was easy to arouse the feeling of towns against precautionary measures by stating that if the importation of cattle were interfered with the consumers must pay more for animal food; but that was not the case. Let him for one moment direct attention to the changes in agriculture which had taken place during the last 14 or 15 years. Since 1868 the decrease of acreage under corn cultivation amounted to 600,000 acres, while the acreage of potatoes remained the same. The increase of market gardens accounted for only one-fiftieth of this decrease; and it would have been thought that this decrease in corn acreage must have been accompanied by a corresponding increase of live stock; but it was not so. The number of sheep had decreased by 6,390,000, there was a small increase in the number of cattle which might be estimated as equal to 3,447,000 sheep, and there was also a small increase in swine estimated to equal 500,000 sheep, so that on a balance there was a net decrease estimated in sheep of between 2,000,000 and 3,000,000 head. It was

clear, therefore, that some great cause had been at work to decrease the meat supply. He believed it had arisen, in no small degree, from the ravages of disease, the difficulty which the farmers had had to encounter in the deterioration of their stock, the necessity of premature slaughter, and the difficulties in the way of free sale and movement through the country. Their losses had discouraged breeders of cattle from increasing their live stock, and hence the falling off. These considerations were very important in their bearing on the interest of the consumers, amongst whom there was a disposition to attach too much importance to the importation of cattle, and too little to the prosperity of those engaged in producing the home supply; but it was a remarkable circumstance that the importation of cattle had not lowered the price of animal food. On the contrary, the decrease in the supply of home-grown animals had altogether neutralized the effect of the foreign importations. It was to the interest of consumers in large towns to increase the supply of home animals and fresh milk, instead of depending on foreign supply so much as we did at present. He regretted that any attempt should have been made to arouse a cry of conflict of interests between town and country, because there was no such conflict. The true policy of the country was to watch with great care over the prosperity of internal productive industries, and to look more favourably upon an increase of internal exchange than upon one of external exchange.

Mr. HENEAGE, as an earnest supporter of the Bill as it stood, desired to appeal to Members on both sides of the House not to discuss it further, or its safety would be imperilled by being talked out. There was an understanding arrived at at an early hour that morning, by which ample time was assured for the discussion of the Report of Supply. If the present debate was not speedily brought to a close that understanding would be broken.

Mr. M'LAGAN said, he had intended to make a few remarks on the second reading of the Bill; but after what had fallen from the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage), he thought it would be much better to defer what he had to say to the Committee stage. He was present at 3 o'clock this



morning, and heard the pledge given to hon. Members from Ireland that a question in which they were deeply interested would be taken up after this Bill was read a second time. If the second reading were now permitted, that would leave three hours to hon. Members from Ireland for the discussion of that question; and, while desirous of stating why he was anxious to support the Bill as it stood at the present time, still he thought he had better defer his remarks until it was in Committee. He joined in the appeal to read the Bill a second time now.

MR. W. H. JAMES, as the Representative of a large consuming population, called upon the Government not to yield to the pressure brought upon them to induce them to support the Amendments introduced in "another place." He was sure if they did, they would only be sowing for themselves serious trouble in the future.

MR. J. C. LAWRANCE assured the House that there was no intention on his part to talk out the Bill, and he did not see any reason for the appeal of the hon. Member for Grimsby. He wished to point out that the experience already gained on this question was that the stoppage of importation did not increase prices to the consumer. If they stopped importation, their own stocks, at least, would be safe, and they would have to be disposed of, alive or dead. England was the best market in the world, and, no doubt, foreign countries would find it to their interest to send dead meat here, when they found they could not send their live stock. Those who had submitted to restrictions were entitled to come to the House and ask that an end should be put to the importation of disease.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for Monday next.

#### SUPPLY.—REPORT.

Resolutions [18th March] *reported*.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, had the Chancellor of the Exchequer been present, he should have asked him whether the question of providing the necessary funds for the defence of our Colonial harbours and coaling-stations would be dealt with in the Bud-

get, or whether, after the statement of the noble Marquess last night, any further announcements would be deferred until the consideration of the Vote for Fortifications in the Army Estimates?

MR. COURTNEY said, his right hon. Friend could not have anticipated that this point would be raised, or he would have been in attendance; but it might be assumed that it would not be necessary to refer to the matter in the Budget.

MR. GIBSON said, it had been generally stated in the newspapers that the Lord Lieutenant had recently decided not to reduce the present number of Sub-Commissioners until the arrears of cases had been disposed of. He desired to know what was the view of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary as to the duration of time for which these temporary Sub-Commissioners would be continued? He noticed a very substantial reduction in the Estimates for this year and last year. Last year's Estimate was £157,000; this year it was £88,000. The continuance of the temporary Sub-Commissioners would, however, necessarily cause a very substantial increase in the Estimates for this year. Another matter on which he wished an explanation from the right hon. Gentleman was the proposed Divisional Magistrates Bill. When would that Bill be brought in, and would it be similar to the one which was withdrawn last year for the re-organization of some of the branches of the Constabulary?

MR. TREVELYAN said, with regard to a matter of such immense importance as the constitution of the Land Courts, the Government did not hesitate to come before the House of Commons with the confession that the elapse of three or four months had made a great difference in their calculations. The Estimates were closed at the end of last year, and at that time the Land Commission had no adequate idea of the amount of work it would be called upon to accomplish. In the closing months of last year the number of originating notices had fallen; but in the few months that had elapsed since the number of such notices had very largely increased indeed, and now stood at a much higher estimate than the Land Commission could have foreseen in December last. In December last, the Land Commission came to the

conclusion to recommend the Irish Government to largely reduce the number of Sub-Commissioners, and the Estimates were framed with the idea that that reduction would take place, making a difference of about £70,000 less. In view of the great increase in the number of originating notices the Irish Government, in consultation with the Land Commission, had come to the conclusion to keep up the existing number of Sub-Commissioners until the arrears were worked up, and the business of the Land Commission reduced to its normal dimensions. The Irish Government had asked the Treasury to sanction the retention of all the Sub-Commissioners for four months longer, and after that time the number would be reduced to what might be considered a normal number. His Bill dealing with the subject of Divisional Magistrates was in an advanced state, and he renewed his promise that if hon. Members did not throw any absolute impediment in the way it would be introduced in the course of the present financial year. The pay of these officers would come out of the County Courts Vote, and though the title by which they were to be known had not been settled in absolute terms, they would be the same men and perform exactly the same functions as the present Divisional Magistrates.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that when he heard of the intention of the Government to dispense with the services of several of these Sub-Commissioners, he felt a sense of relief. They had managed to attach to themselves a greater amount of odium and less confidence than any other *quasi-judicial* tribunal ever before enjoyed. He withdrew his description "*quasi-judicial*," for as regarded the Sub-Commissioners and the Head-Commissioners, they were simply a conglomeration of partizans who appeared to cast all judicial instincts to the winds, and to consider that their sole duty was the carrying out of political objects. It was disappointing that the country could not be relieved from the discredit of being served by such personages.

MR. TREVELYAN admitted that the figures in the Estimate were not accurate.

MR. J. LOWTHER replied, that we should be then called upon to pay a much larger sum than appeared in the Estimate. The amount of property con-

fiscated, without any sort of compensation, was £400,000 per annum; and it would cost as much to confiscate that sum as had been abstracted from the owners' pockets. He failed to understand from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman what this country would be expected to pay during the coming financial year. No idea had been given by the Government as to the permanent arrangements which were to be made with reference to this most costly body of Commissioners and Sub-Commissioners; and he thought the House had a right to ask when the right hon. Gentleman hoped to be able to carry out the numerical reductions which had been referred to. The right hon. Gentleman, as he understood him, now proposed to continue for four months the services of gentlemen who had discredited the State, and whose employment involved a ruinous expenditure. He hoped the House would have some assurance that the Government would before long discontinue the expenditure of the public funds to which he referred. A great deal of the blame had been cast upon the Sub-Commissioners; but he thought the blame should be borne by the responsible Commissioners themselves, and that the British taxpayers should not be called upon to contribute indefinitely towards the payment of an expense of the kind, which was wholly disproportionate to the results, discreditable as such results were, which had been thereby obtained.

MR. COURTNEY: That £400,000 is in perpetuity. The cost of the Court is not perpetual.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that that was so, no doubt, until it should be increased by political exigencies causing another scramble for the remainder of the property.

MR. WARTON said, that, fortunately, the Government would not exist in perpetuity, and another Ministry might hold Office at the expiration of the 15 years' term, which would not give the same instructions to the Commission as this Government had done. He hoped the Government would give the House an assurance that the rate of taxation in Ireland would be reduced, and that the Attorney General would be able to tell the House, notwithstanding his speech of two days ago, that he was no longer an advocate of confiscation.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he did not expect that the Secretary to the Treasury would be able to announce any reduction in the taxation of Ireland; but it was to his mind clear that the actual expenditure in Ireland during the ensuing year for the purposes of the Land Commission, would exceed the Estimate which had been recently presented. He thought that some change was urgently called for in regard to the amount of this expenditure which would be recouped by suitors, and the amount which would be paid for initiatory fees by persons who invoked the action of the Land Court. It was unfair to the taxpayers that they should be called upon to bear so large a proportion of the costs of suits which were entered for the personal advantage of the individuals instituting them.

MR. COURTNEY said, the question was, without doubt, one of great moment, and the matter of revising the scale of fees was one which might require to be dealt with, and he would examine it with great care. But they must remember that it would be a serious matter to so raise the fees as to bar the tenants from taking advantage of the benefits of the Courts. Strong reasons would be required to induce the Government to make any change in the scale.

MR. GIBSON asked what was the gross amount received from suitors last year?

MR. COURTNEY replied, it was very small, something about £3,000.

MR. LEWIS said, that the Government did not seem to have any fixed intention with regard to the Sub-Commissioners. They alternately announced that the Sub-Commissioners were going to be dropped and re-appointed. It had been understood that some of these appointments were to be made for a temporary period, and they had evidently been made upon the condition of good behaviour in the judicial decisions. Directly he had discovered, during the progress of the Land Act through Committee, that by means of these posts the semi-legal and semi-farming classes were to be allowed to work their will on the property of the landowning class, he predicted that the result would be a kind of helter-skelter reduction of rents. On questions under the Land Act, the action taken by the Government was influenced by the attitude of hon. Members from

Ireland below the Gangway. He was bound to protest against the class of persons selected as Sub-Commissioners, the result of such selections being that the machinery had failed to produce anything like the fair and impartial results which were expected, and for which the taxpayers of the country had paid.

#### Resolutions agreed to.

*Ordered*, That the Resolutions which, upon the 18th day of this instant March, were reported from the Committee of Supply, and then agreed to by the House, be read as follows:—

(1.) "That a number of Land Forces, not exceeding 140,314, all ranks, be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland at Home and Abroad, excluding Her Majesty's Indian Possessions, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

(2.) "That a sum, not exceeding £4,230,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to defray the Charge of the Pay, Allowances, and other Charges of Her Majesty's Land Forces at Home and Abroad (exclusive of India), which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

*Ordered*, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to provide, during Twelve Months, for the Discipline and Regulation of the Army, and that The Marquess of HARTINGTON, The JUDGE ADVOCATE, and Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, do prepare and bring it in.

*Bill presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 144.]

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he wished to draw attention to the arrangement under which this country made an advance of £5,000,000 to India to meet the expenses of the Afghan War. In 1881 the Prime Minister admitted that it was necessary to make this grant to India, and he suggested that it might be a sort of punishment to this country for Parliament having given its sanction to the war. In order to make it penal in its operations the right hon. Gentleman deliberately departed from every financial principle he had previously laid down. He made the payments in the following way:—£2,000,000 was given back to India as being a loan due from England to India, and the remaining £3,000,000 was spread over six years in six equal payments of £500,000. The arrangement was so obviously open to objection that a number of Gentlemen on both sides objected to it. However, this annual payment of £500,000 had been made in each of the financial years since 1881; but to his amazement the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other day issued a note from the Treasury asking



for an additional grant of £500,000, or in other words making the payment for this financial year £1,000,000 in place of £500,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had not given a shadow of a reason for departing from the understanding, was going on his own authority to alter an arrangement entered into by the House. The proceeding was certainly of a rather remarkable character, and he did not think the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have brought it forward in the way he had but for the fact that in view of an impending General Election he wished to be able to go before the country with the probability of a surplus next year. In the circumstances he thought they ought to have some explanation from Her Majesty's Government. Were the Government going to relieve the ensuing financial year from this charge of £500,000, or did they intend to relieve the next financial year 1885-6? The transaction to which he had called attention was not only peculiar in itself, but it would establish a principle which had never before been sanctioned by the House, and he therefore hoped the Secretary to the Treasury would be able to give some explanation of the reasons for adopting this very remarkable course.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he thought the noble Lord had done good service by calling attention to this subject. This payment of one of the £500,000 promised to India in aid of the expenses of the Afghan War, in anticipation of the time fixed for its issue, was a misappropriation of funds, and no other words could properly express the fact. By diverting this sum from the payment next year to its payment in the current year, the result was that the surplus of this year would be lessened, and the amount thereby required to be appropriated diminution of the National Debt would be largely cut down. All money charges dealing with the funds so as to vary the accounts of the Kingdom should be resisted. They might well remember the way Lord Sherbrooke dealt with the Income Tax. Every year ought to support its own burden, and he was surprised that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not in his place to explain this matter.

MR. M'COAN said, that, with reference to the Diplomatic Vote, he de-

sired to interpose a few remarks between the present discussion and the Irish grievances which were to follow. He wished to justify the pertinacity with which he had persisted in bringing before the House the question of the suppression of the *Bosphore Egyptian*, an Egyptian newspaper, published at Cairo.

MR. SPEAKER: It is not in Order to bring forward the question of an Egyptian newspaper on the Motion that I leave the Chair.

MR. M'COAN remarked, that he proposed to bring it forward under cover of the Diplomatic Vote. [*Cries of "Order!"*] This was the only opportunity he should have for bringing a grave scandal under the notice of the House.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he supposed the hon. Member must confine his remarks to the action of some official whose salary was included in the Vote.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member will not be in Order in bringing the subject forward.

MR. COURTNEY said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have, doubtless, been in his place if he had had the slightest suspicion that the noble Lord intended to call attention to his conduct. He had sent for his right hon. Friend, who would probably make his appearance presently. That the noble Lord was a little unreasonable appeared from the fact that he complained of the Chancellor of the Exchequer doing what he had himself recommended in former years. His right hon. Friend did not act on his own authority, and he had no power over the action of Parliament. He was not coming to that House for an Act of Indemnity; but he was proposing to vary an Act of Parliament, and the very Bill now before the House was one of the steps taken to carry out that proposal. His hon. and gallant Friend (General Sir George Balfour) said that every year should support its own burden. That was true; but the burden to be supported every year was the burden for the Service of the year—the burden of defraying the Administration of the year. This, however, was a special arrangement in respect of a grant made to the Indian Government in alleviation of the cost of the Afghan War. It was thought convenient that the payment should be

made in six annual instalments; but he denied that this sum of £500,000 formed part of the Service of the year. In reality, the noble Lord had made a mountain of a molehill. There was no attempt to steal a march on Parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had done nothing on his own authority. His right hon. Friend had simply submitted a proposal to the House for altering an arrangement which was made some years ago, and without the consent of the House that alteration could not be carried into effect.

MR. ONSLOW said, that he had asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer what was the meaning of that Bill, and the right. hon. Gentleman had said that it was a mere formal matter, and was the same as was done last year. If the expression was Parliamentary, he should say that the Government were juggling with the Bill. They were playing ducks and drakes with an arrangement which the House of Commons had made in former years, that the money should be paid in equal instalments. He should like to know whether India had asked for this £500,000 to meet expected difficulties in the coming year? The noble Lord had done good service in bringing the matter before the House.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, that the explanation of the Secretary to the Treasury was not satisfactory. The hon. Gentleman had complained that his noble Friend had given no Notice of his intention to raise the question; but the fact was that Orders on the Paper had been so continually changed that Members never knew what was going to be put down. His noble Friend was anxious to get information from the Government as soon as he could, and there had been no opportunity of doing so till the present time. Whenever explanations were given it was at an hour of the morning when there was no one present to hear them. The arrangement was a most inconvenient one, both for England and for India, because if Parliament in a particular year refused to vote the annual amount India would be placed in a ridiculous position, because she had already credited the amount in her accounts. It would appear, if the Government insisted on this proposal, as if they intended to punish those who had supported the Afghan War.

A deliberate arrangement had been made which ought not to set be aside. If that system had to be carried further, it would be possible for a Government just before a General Election to take advantage of an accidental majority, and refuse the Vote in order to serve their own purposes. He strongly objected to a proposal to relieve the finances next year by an operation of that kind, and his noble Friend had done good service by calling attention to the question.

MR. WARTON said, the Government were flying in the face of an Act of Parliament. He had detected them on Sunday morning at 5.30 in a similar attempt, and he should never lose an opportunity of exposing such conduct. Every year since he had been in the House he had called attention to another matter, which was a public scandal. He meant the Vote for the Public Prosecutor and his Office. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton had used even stronger terms than himself on that question. The Public Prosecutor received £2,000 a-year, and his assistant £1,000, and there was £800 or £900 additional voted for the Office. Nothing was done for the money, and all their remonstrances had been treated with contempt. As at present conducted, the office of Public Prosecutor was a sham and a disgrace to the Profession, the country, and the Government; and the Government ought to say whether it was their intention that the present unsatisfactory condition of things should be continued.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, it might relieve the mind of the hon. and learned Member to be informed that a Departmental Committee was sitting on this subject, and that it included the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), himself, and others who had both felt and spoken strongly on the present working of the Office, and upon the necessity of reconsidering the conditions upon which it was constituted.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS regarded the £500,000 payable to India as so much diverted from the reduction of the National Debt, to which it ought to have been applied, even if the sum had had to be raised by extra taxation.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS) said, he believed that the Departmental Committee on the Office of Public Prosecutor was approach-



ing the conclusion of its labours. With regard to the £500,000, he regretted the hour at which he had been compelled to make an explanatory statement, of which, however, a report did appear in *The Times*. The House had determined to pay £5,000,000 to India by remitting £2,000,000 that had been lent, and making six annual Votes of £500,000 each. Four had been made. The year 1884-5, which they were just approaching, would be, from a financial point of view, a very much worse year than the year 1883-4 or the year 1885-6. There would be no windfall next year, while this year included in its Revenue the remnant of the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  additional Income Tax and of the Railway Tax, amounting to between £800,000 and £1,000,000. The Government thought that, inasmuch as there would be a surplus this year, they should adopt the hint given to them by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), and take the fifth £500,000 from the year that would most easily bear it. Having the money, this was a more prudent course than levying additional taxation. Nothing was concealed; it was a thoroughly open financial transaction; and he trusted the House would not think that the Government had acted unwisely.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he was not at all prepared to say that the course taken by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was an unwise one; still, the matter was one that ought to be brought distinctly under the notice of the House. For, if there was a point more than another on which the Prime Minister used to dwell strongly when he was attacking the conduct of financial affairs by the late Government, it was that there should be only one Budget a-year; indeed, the Prime Minister would hardly admit that circumstances could arise to justify a second Budget, and in Opposition he would have been likely to have said that the course proposed was a violation of the very first canons of finance. When the Chancellor of the Exchequer made his Financial Statement last year, it was within his knowledge that next year would be an unfavourable one as compared with this, and it would have been right and proper for him to have said that this year might bear a burden which belonged to the next. If he had done so, the House would have had before it the arrange-

ments for the year, and would probably have confirmed his views. Instead of that, he waited until the end of the year, and then altered the arrangements. The amount involved was of less importance than the principle, for if the Chancellor of the Exchequer could in this way anticipate a burden, it would be equally open to him, if he found it more convenient, not to impose upon himself, but to get rid of a burden of this kind until the succeeding year. He (Sir Stafford Northcote) thought it was necessary, in the interests of financial accuracy and correctness, that the House should take notice of this matter. The change which had been made at the close of the financial year might have been carried out at the beginning of the year. It might be that this arrangement was intended to avert a deficit in the coming year, and he should watch the Budget with more interest on that account. He considered that his noble Friend had done quite right in calling attention to the matter, as it might otherwise have escaped the attention of a large number of Members.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH thought it right to say that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech a few nights ago, made the statement which the House had just listened to. He objected to the system of prospective Budgets, which seemed to find favour with the Government, and thought that every year should bear its own burdens. The transaction to which attention had been called was an illustration of a financial policy precisely the reverse of that which had distinguished the Administration of the present Prime Minister in former days, and marked a new departure in finance.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he wished to point out to the House and to the public, not the extravagance of the Government, for that did not need illustration, but the extremely fallacious and, if he might use the word in a strictly political sense, the extremely dishonest character of the financial policy of the Government. Under their financial arrangements the Supplementary Estimates had grown to an extent never before known; and he desired to point out what effect that had had upon Public Business. In the first place, the policy of the Government in submitting large Supplementary Estimates



had deprived the House of the slightest control over the finances of the year. Certain Estimates were presented on the faith of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the House voted them; whereas if the real Estimates were presented they would be seriously criticized and possibly opposed. In the second place, the Chancellor of the Exchequer regularly and habitually under-estimated the finances. It was a perfectly understood maxim with Liberal financiers that it was right and proper and legitimate in politics to under-estimate the year's Expenditure, so as to get the country to believe for the moment that they were pursuing an economical course of action. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer was in the habit of producing reliable Estimates of the Expenditure of the year, he would be relieved from the duty of coming down to the House in the early part of the Session with a supplementary demand for money. Hours and hours before Easter, which ought to have been devoted to the consideration of the legislative proposals of the Government, had been taken up with discussions on Supplementary Estimates; and when all kinds of accusations were thrown out against the Opposition as to the inability of the Government to make progress with their Legislative Business, the fault in reality lay with Her Majesty's Government. This scandal was also created, that, Supply having to be put down before Easter for several nights, the Government gave opportunities to Members to raise discussions on various matters, and the consequence was, they had the scandalous spectacle presented of the House of Commons voting millions and millions of money in the small hours of the morning. Clearly, it was no use for them to look to the Radical Party for any check to be placed upon the Government with respect to their financial policy or this waste of public time; but it was within the province and duty of Members of the Opposition to lose no opportunity of pointing out to the public, not only the extravagance of the Government, but also the waste of time which was caused by the unreliable and unsatisfactory Estimates which the Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer year after year laid upon the Table of the House of Commons.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he entirely agreed with the noble Lord that

it was a bad practice to put pressure upon the Departments for the purpose of getting them to make the Estimates as small as possible. Not only was the practice bad, but it caused no saving whatever. With reference to the question of the Public Prosecutor, he might say that under the Act of 1879 great power was left in the hands of the Attorney General; and he could not help thinking that if the country had not been unfortunately deprived of the great services of the late Lord Justice Holker, a great deal of assistance would have been afforded by him as regarded the carrying out of that Act. He did not wish to impute too much blame to the Attorney General for not having worked that Act as he thought it should have been worked; but he was bound to say that no single action seemed to have been taken by the Law Officers of the Crown in order to put it properly in force. The operation of the Act had been left entirely without the guidance of the Attorney General. He was very glad to find that they were shortly to have the Report of the Departmental Committee before them; but he hoped it was not too late to state that he felt convinced that it would be a great mistake to join together the civil and criminal business which had hitherto been conducted by the Secretary to the Treasury. Whatever recommendation the Government might adopt, he trusted they would not combine the civil and criminal business. It was very important that they should be kept separate, for he was convinced no single person could manage the two satisfactorily. He would also suggest that some permanent office should be established for successive Attorneys and Solicitors General. At present they remained in their own chambers and had no permanent staff; a small permanent staff as well as permanent offices should be provided.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, that the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) who had preceded him as to the necessity of special offices for the Attorney General, raised also the question of the advisableness of such offices for the principal Secretary of the Lord Chancellor, who was becoming more than ever the executive head of a Department of Public Justice. The correspondence, precedents, and experience accumulated

under the principal Secretary would be scattered to the winds and rendered of no avail to his successor, unless some such change were made. There was a marked difference in the case of the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney General and the Solicitor General, because the latter could be seconded in their duties by professional gentlemen who need not be withdrawn from active practice at the Bar; but the Lord Chancellor was unable to have the assistance of gentlemen in active practice. He (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) wished also to mention one remark which suggested itself in reference to this extra Vote of £500,000 to the Indian Treasury. He supposed that there was no principle more strongly laid down than that of the Prime Minister at Mid Lothian that the charges of the year should be met by the income of the year. These payments, however, were not only in defiance of the Prime Minister's own doctrine in Mid Lothian, but were also in total disregard and defiance of the wishes of the Indian Government; as anyone might see who cared to read the correspondence on the subject of the Indian contribution to the Egyptian War. The form in which the proposal now came before the House was of particular value. It constituted a partial departure from the Government's own departure from their own original principle. It seemed to him (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) that it required no very great power of discernment or acumen to see that the Government seemed to think it eminently desirable, in the face of the probability of a Dissolution, that there should be a prospective estimate of a surplus.

Mr. SEXTON said, that this was the most interesting discussion which he had ever heard. It was not only interesting, but unprecedented. He was not aware that ever before noble Lords and hon. Gentlemen had at that stage of a Report introduced a Resolution affecting a Committee of Ways and Means. They had not only discussed the Consolidated Fund Bill, but had also ransacked the finances of Ireland and England and India in order to find materials for an afternoon's debate. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had ingenuously remarked that he had no idea that this debate would come on that day; but he (Mr. Sexton) would wish to know who had any idea that it would

come on that day but the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex? He ventured to say that at 3 o'clock that afternoon the mind of the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) was as empty of the subject for his speech as was that of the babe born yesterday. He had already said that this debate had been unprecedented, and he had never known that stage of a Committee of Ways and Means to be used for the purpose of raising a debate of that kind in all his previous experience of legislation. The debate that afternoon had been the most remarkable piece of "mental gymnastics" to which they had been recently treated in that House. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had proved himself to be a mental gymnast of the first order; and altogether it had been most instructive for himself and his hon. Friends to watch the mental agility of the Tory Party. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had mainly contributed to the success of this device. He confessed that he was surprised at the mature political acumen of the right hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) and those associated with him upon the Front Opposition Bench during their performance that afternoon. He strongly suspected that, whilst their tongues were on Orders 3 and 4 their eyes were upon the clock, and their minds upon Orders Nos. 5 and 6—Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin) Bill. They had that afternoon a new experience of the fact that their progress had been hindered by an Englishman, one of the leaders of politics, and that such a course of procedure was not confined to Irishmen. It was also interesting to find the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin take part with others in the device by which two hours of useless talk had been launched upon the House, and which prevented the Bill by which the electors of Dublin were to obtain their elective franchise being brought before the House.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, he rose to protest against the ridiculous suggestion of the hon. Member who had just spoken, that the debate was a useless one. He appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to whether the remarks of the noble Lord the



Member for Middlesex were not of great importance?

MR. GORST said, he also rose to protest against the speech of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). It was too much to expect the whole time of the House of Commons to be devoted to Irish subjects. He wished to remind the House that enormous sums of money had been voted for the three Services at an hour of the morning when ample discussion upon them was impossible, and for that reason it was necessary to take the existing opportunity of asking questions upon the subject. He himself had no idea what Bills were on 'the Paper'; but it was simply monstrous to endeavour to prevent hon. Members, who had some regard for the interests of the nation, raising a discussion upon items of importance. Why had not the remarks of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) been answered? The Secretary to the Treasury admitted that there was no answer.

MR. COURTNEY: I have not said so.

MR. GORST said, that he understood from the Secretary to the Treasury that the Government could not answer those remarks. There was, however, another Cabinet Minister in the House who had not spoken—the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. The charge against the Government was one which certainly ought to be answered. It was, why did they habitually under-estimate the Expenditure of the year, and so necessitate the bringing in of Supplementary Estimates at a time which was inconvenient to the House? He supposed that Ministers had made up their minds not to answer the questions which had been put, and so it must go forth to the country that the Liberal Government pleaded guilty to the charges which were preferred against them.

MR. TOMLINSON maintained that the course adopted by the Opposition was perfectly justifiable in the circumstances of the case. He thought the most extraordinary event of the afternoon had been, not the debate, but the speech of the hon. Member for Sligo.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, the hon. Member for Sligo had attacked indiscriminately every Bench above and below the Gangway on both sides of the House, and had charged them with Ob-

struction. He would remind the House that the Morning Sitting would not have been held at all but for the conduct of certain Irish Members in deliberately talking out the debate on the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill. The conduct of the hon. Gentleman reminded him very much of a scene he witnessed the other day in a Town Council in the West of Ireland.

MR. SEXTON: I rise to Order. Have the reminiscences of the hon. and gallant Member anything to do with the Consolidated Fund Bill?

MR. SPEAKER: I do not think the remarks that have been made for some little time past at all relevant to the question. I have allowed a good deal of latitude; but I must say that, in my opinion, these matters have obtained a length that they ought not to have done.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he begged to apologize for having spoken contrary to what the Speaker considered was in Order. He would not have risen but for the remark of the hon. Member for Sligo that the discussion had been kept up in order to prevent the Dublin Jurors and Voters Revision Bill coming on. He would only add that, in his opinion, hon. Members were justified in complaining of the conduct of Ministers in not replying to the questions which had been raised in the course of the discussion.

*Resolution agreed to.*

*Instruction to the Committee on the Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill, That they have power to make provision therein pursuant to the said Resolution.*

#### REVISION OF JURORS AND VOTERS LISTS (DUBLIN COUNTY) BILL.

*(Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan.)*

[BILL 124.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—*(Mr. Trevelyan.)*

MR. PLUNKET said, that he could not help expressing surprise at the course which had been taken with regard to this measure by the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who had not uttered one word with regard to the objects to be attained by it. The Bill simply pro-



posed to transfer the powers of dealing with the registration of voters in the County of Dublin from the Recorder, who now discharged those powers, to some other person who was to be a barrister of 10 years' standing. So far as he had heard, there had not been the smallest objection taken to the fairness and efficiency with which these duties were at present discharged by his old friend the Recorder of Dublin. ["Oh?"] He would ask was there any allegation that sufficient time had not been given by the Recorder, or that he had ever shown any partiality? If there were any such grounds as those, why did not the Chief Secretary state them to the House? He could understand the Bill if it had been brought forward by hon. Members below the Gangway. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had said it was a Bill to enable voters to exercise their rights by being placed on the Register. If it could be shown that voters had been deprived of their rights, and that the appointment of this officer would give them their rights, he (Mr. Plunket) might be prepared to entertain the Bill; but, as a matter of fact, the second reading was carried by a remarkable stratagem. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), acting as a decoy, had blocked the Bill, and other hon. Members who were real opponents of the Bill were deluded to withdraw their "blocks," and then the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), having silently taken off his Notice of opposition, the previous stages were got through without an opportunity for debate. Under those circumstances they ought to have some explanation of a Bill which created a fresh charge and proposed a new office; and with the view to enabling the Government fully to give that explanation, and the hon. Member for Cavan an opportunity of stating his objections to the Bill, he would move the adjournment of the debate.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN seconded the Motion. He read in the morning papers that the Orders had been changed since last night; and they now found that by some extraordinary hocus-pocus, some legerdemain shifting of the cards, this Bill had taken precedence of the Hours of Polling Bill. Why was not the Solicitor General for Ireland present to give the reason which led to the bringing forward of this Bill? He did not believe this Bill was brought for-

ward owing to any want being felt for the appointment of another officer for the County Dublin.

MR. HEALY rose to Order, and asked whether the hon. and gallant Member was in Order in discussing the merits of the Bill?

MR. SPEAKER said, the hon. and gallant Member must confine himself to the Question of Adjournment.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN, speaking to the Question of Adjournment, said, they could hardly be expected to discuss the merits of a Bill at that late hour (half-past 6), especially as no one had given them the least explanation of what the Bill was or intended to do.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."  
—(Mr. Plunket.)

MR. TREVELYAN said, that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Plunket) had spoken for some minutes in support of a complaint that no explanation had been given of the reasons for this Bill being placed among the Orders of the Day, and had concluded with a Motion which prevented those reasons being given.

MR. GIBSON: There was not time.

MR. TREVELYAN said, if he had been allowed the time occupied by the right hon. and learned Gentleman, he should have been able to amply satisfy the House as to the reason for the course adopted by the Government with regard to this Bill. In reply to the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman), he might say that Notice of the Bill was given on the previous evening.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I quote from the newspapers, Sir. ["Order, order!"]

MR. GIBSON said, it was preposterous to continue the discussion on the Bill at that time of the evening. It was idle to suppose that the Chief Secretary could possibly condense the explanation demanded into the brief space of 10 minutes, and he hoped the Government would not put the House to the trouble of a Division.

MR. HICKS, in supporting the Motion for Adjournment, objected, as an independent Member, to the practice which, he said, had recently grown of pressing Bills through Parliament without such explanation of their provisions

as the House had a right to expect. Without such an explanation from those in charge of a Bill, it was impossible for Members of that House to form any sound opinion on the merits or demerits of the measure. Unless, therefore, an explanation was made he should object to further progress.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 67; Noes 127: Majority 60.—(Div. List, No. 49.)

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

The House suspended its Sitting at five minutes to Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

#### BISHOPS (HOUSE OF PEERS).

##### RESOLUTION.

MR. WILLIS, in rising to move a Resolution to the effect—

"That the legislative power of Bishops in the House of Peers in Parliament is a great hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by Bill,"

said, he hoped no Member would suppose that in moving this Resolution it was his intention to hold up the Bishops of the Church of England to either ridicule or contempt, or to cast any discredit on the office which they held. He might, perhaps, be permitted to say that he had not been induced to bring this subject forward by the course which the Bishops had pursued with respect to a great social question, although he altogether disapproved their conduct in that matter. Nor did he move the Resolution with a view to improve the character and efficiency of the House of Lords. That was a task which could be better accomplished by the Peers themselves who, by taking thought, could easily add a cubit to their stature. He had made the Motion from a conviction he had long entertained that as the Church

of England was founded on compromise, that as obedience to her Articles, Formularies, and Prayer Books never had been, and never would be, procured by any Courts, however skillfully devised, and as there was little chance of Parliament ever revising these books so as to secure a general assent to them, there was no hope of healing the divisions from which the Church of England suffered, or of procuring a substantial unity on the part of its members except by combining the Bishops and the clergy in the bonds of Christian love and sympathy, and securing, if possible, accord and unity between Bishops and clergy and the laity of the Church itself. But in order to get that sympathy and union, Bishops must cease to be nominated by the Prime Minister of the day, and must be placed on a footing of brotherly equality with those whose conduct they overlooked. In his judgment the Bishops ought to be elected *bona fide* either by the clergy or by the clergy and laity. He believed that his Motion was the only practicable proposal at the present time, and that he was asking the House to resolve upon nothing which was injurious to the interests of religion, or which would in any way impair the influence of the Bishops themselves. He was only asking the Bishops to surrender an authority which they had never exercised for the good of the Church, but which had been a source of positive injury to it. He sought the removal from the House of Lords of those who were present there as the representatives of a small portion of the community endowed and established by law. Their removal would render the Established Church less offensive to those religious communities which, in ever-increasing numbers, existed outside its pale. What was the present condition of the Church of England? He did not consider it to be his duty to leave the evils of the Church of England untouched and unremedied until by their severity and pressure Disestablishment could be hastened. If the English people had time to attend to their own affairs, no measure would be more fruitful in public good than one for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church; but he valued too highly the influence of the Church on the religious and national life of the community to prevent the adoption of a system of reformation



that might lead to its development and increase. The present condition of the Established Church was a scandal and an offence to the nation. We had a Church in which none governed and none obeyed. The Bishops were estranged from their clergy; as far as regarded their truly ministerial and spiritual influence they were well-nigh extinct. They "had a name to live and were dead." Instead of uniformity, there were three great divisions within the Church, actuated oftentimes by the bitterest feelings towards one another. How could a conscientious clergyman seek admission into the Church by an acceptance of the Articles with the intention to immediately forget them? There was a body of men whose object seemed to be the introduction into the Established Church of a system that was absolutely Roman Catholic. They hated the Reformation, and yet they were ministers in the Established Church. There were other men who used language expressive of solemn mysteries in which they did not believe; and there was yet another class who, holding generally the doctrines of the Reformation, kept them in abeyance or subordinated them lest they should lose all their popularity and influence. Again, there were others who sought to prevent anything like a fixity of opinion and of practice, with a view to allow people of all descriptions to find their place in the Established Church. At the end of three centuries where did the Church of England find itself? After having expelled the Puritan clergy from their pulpits, after losing at the Restoration 2,000 illustrious confessors and martyrs, together with the thousands who loved and followed them, and after having allowed Wesley to create outside the Establishment a Church which rivalled it in every town and village, the Church of England was without Articles, except on paper, without settled order of worship, and without discipline. The Courts pronounced decisions which everybody regarded as waste paper, and the energy of the Church seemed to be exercised in bringing to the front two great litigating societies. The Bishop of Liverpool, writing this very year, said—

"Our present state is one of utter anarchy and lawlessness. Every Bishop has a sorrowful tale of fatherly admonitions set at nought and despised. In plain truth, if there is any one point on which multitudes of people

seemed agreed, it is the incompetence of the episcopal order."

He (Mr. Willis) would not have used those words himself; but the Bishop was better acquainted with the conditions of his Church than he was. The same condition of things was described 10 years ago by the Bishops and Archbishops in the debates on the Public Worship Regulation Act. The Bishop of Peterborough, in speaking of the claim for greater fatherliness on the part of the Bishops which had been made by some of the clergy, said there was something one-sided about it, and that the Bishops might reasonably look for greater "filialness" on the part of the clergy; he would like some reciprocity. The Bishop said a clergyman had spoken of him as neither a gentleman nor a divine. Then one of the Church papers said that the Bishops had failed to secure the confidence of the clergy over whom they were placed. High Church, Low Church, and Erastians were alike agreed in this—that the Bishops had lost their influence with those who were immediately in subordination to them. There was an almost impassable gulf separating the clergy from their Bishops. All that even Archbishop Tait, whose last act of peace was to remove a recalcitrant clergyman from one part of London to another; and all the Bishops could devise was a recourse to the coarse and un-Christianlike machinery of the law. But the weapon had broken in their hands, the lawlessness and anarchy continued, and the Bishops had, he hoped, learnt the lesson that, within the range of the Christian Church at least, force was no remedy. The Bishop of Peterborough had well said that a great scandal was itself a great evil, and no Institution could continue with safety to offend the moral sense of the community. The cry was still for reform and peace and quiet. The condition of the Church absorbed the whole "passion of pity." Three centuries ago, almost to the day, a paper was presented by the clergy to Archbishop Whitgift, entitled "Means how to settle a godly and charitable quietness in the Church;" and after three centuries the means of settling a godly and charitable quietness in the Church was its great need. The heads of the Church were still looking to Courts for relief. In his view they would look in vain. There had been a

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Royal Commission, and a mass of historical and antiquarian lore had been placed before the country, and the suggestion was still for Courts, which the country would not accept. The right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge had suggested a revival of the study of the Canon Law, forsooth, and a learned body of practitioners, with the Bishops as Judges, before whom clerks in Holy Orders were to plead as counsel. But no relief could be anticipated from that quarter. If his proposal were accepted the Bishops would themselves be able to remove all the difficulties which existed, and the clergy and laity might come to a common agreement as to the documents of the Church. It would require no compensation, and involve no great trouble, and the Bishops would receive a great reward in the reverence and sympathy of their clergy. It was not for him to detail the events of the three or four great crises in the history of the Church, but it would be easy to show that the Bishops had on all great crises sacrificed its interests. There had been nothing hitherto but force, and no resource had been had to the method of simple affection. ["No, no!"] He could only express his own opinions. He would not deal with the great Oxford movement of 1833, when, as always, anything which was enthusiastic and vigorous was suppressed. He was not expressing approval of the High Church clergy, but he recognized that they were men of exemplary lives, who had a lofty conception of life and of the headship of Christ over His Church. The Public Worship Regulation Act was passed for no noble purpose, but with the view of suppressing Ritualism, whilst the deficiencies of the Low Church clergy and the principles of the *Essays and Reviews* should be connived at. A Resolution similar to that which he proposed had already passed that House, in which none but Churchmen had seats. In March, 1641, a like Resolution was accepted, and the men who passed it included the names of such illustrious men as Hyde, who was a devoted partizan of Charles I., Falkland, Selden, Hampden, Pym, and Vane, and last, but not least, the name of a man whose name would ever be associated with the cause of civil and religious freedom, Oliver Cromwell. The next branch of his subject related to the question whe-

ther the Bishops had exercised their political power for the good of the community, or for the advantage of a single body in the State. He affirmed that they had not. If they had been servile to Kings, they had been enemies to Parliament. They had maintained abuses of the most shameful kind, both political and legal. He would give them some instances. Archbishop Bancroft went down on his knees to tell James I. that he was the greatest King since Christ; Whitgift said that this great King spoke by special inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and when that man of unclean life died, a third Archbishop, a man hateful to true English sentiment, of intolerable bigotry, Laud, declared that such was his purity that there was no doubt the King had been translated to Abraham's bosom. Laud and the Bishops tried to establish despotism in Church and State, and so hateful did their whole order become, that in 1641 it was rooted up. In Charles II.'s time, the most slavish doctrines of unlimited Kingly power and passive obedience were propagated by the Bishops and clergy, and the best men were put in prison. In 1688 the Seven Bishops were popular leaders, and were put in prison by accident; for they never intended things to go so far. They presented a Memorial of the mildest kind, and Archbishop Sancroft, when questioned as to his handwriting, claimed, as if he were a witness in Court, the privilege of not answering any question tending to criminate himself. But as the King determined to prosecute, the Bishops could not help taking their trial, and, by a week's imprisonment, gained the cheap and easy honours of martyrdom. But the Bishops were not true friends of liberty. In the last century, when persons in this country were thinking that they should lose their slaves if they had them baptized, the Bishops, headed by Gibson, Bishop of London, hastened to assure them that, they might baptize their slaves, for Christianity was not inconsistent with property in men and women. Bishop Horsley told the people that they had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them. The Bishops opposed village preaching and Sunday schools. When it was proposed to put an end to the law under which a man was hanged for stealing to the value of 40s. in a shop,

the Bishops opposed the measure. So with Catholic Emancipation. If Dissenters wanted relief, the Bishops would not give their assistance; and Archbishop Howley, in opposing a Bill for the removal of Jewish Disabilities, said the Jews were intellectually and morally unfit for political power. It was so with the abolition of Church rates, and with anything that was intended to remove differences. They opposed the abolition of slavery, until Lord Eldon said there could not be anything so bad in slavery, seeing that the Bishops were always supporting it. Time would fail to tell of their opposition to the best measures. The Prime Minister (Mr. Gladstone) had to confess that though the Liberal Party had made Bishops for 40 years, the latter were such lovers of abuses, that the Party had never received the slightest assistance from them. At last they came to this, that when a man had lived 50 years with his wife, and a gross act of cruelty had been committed towards him, the only thing that a Bishop could see was the Table of Affinity; and when the present Archbishop of Canterbury was installed, he could select no other name as inspiring him with awe on entering upon his sacred office than the name of Laud. [*Cheers.*] Let those cheer who would; but for his part he said, as a citizen of this country desiring to have great measures move faster than they did, that it was time the Bishops were removed from the House of Lords. At least his Motion would have this advantage, that it would give the Bishop of Manchester the time he said he had not now got for prayer. [*Laughter, and "Oh!"*] Well, those were the Bishop's words. It would enable Bishop Wordsworth to visit a little more those villages in his diocese of which he said that if he were to visit one every Sunday, he should not complete the visitation in 15 years. It would give time to the Archbishop of York, who it was said had not held a Visitation for 10 years. The late Bishop Hamilton, of Salisbury, a name to be mentioned with respect, always felt the difficulty of leaving his diocese to attend the House of Lords. What he was proposing would enable Bishop Selwyn, who was fit to be the leader of men in any Church, and at any time, to attend to the duties of his diocese; and who was actually sending to his

diocese to say that his work was suspended. [An hon. MEMBER: He is dead.] He (Mr. Willis) was very sorry if he had erred; he had only praised a dead man whom he was entitled to praise. He supposed the present Bishop (the Bishop of Lichfield) was equally qualified for his office, and he had said that he was obliged to give up the whole of the engagements he had made with regard to the work of his diocese, because, as junior Bishop, he was Chaplain to the House of Lords. Whether they looked at the matter politically or in the interests of the Church, had not the time come when at least this first step should be taken in reform? He did not even present his proposal as his own. He had culled it from a good time, and had received instructions from men of an earlier date. Some of the best men who had been connected with the Church of England had then approved of the proposal he now made. They desired that a change should be made, both in the appointment of Bishops and in the mode of their election. While there was a most democratic system in the State providing for the best men managing public affairs, they had in the Church almost an Imperial system of election; and until that was altered he submitted that no good could come. Let them change it, as it was proposed 240 or 250 years ago to change it by some of the most eminent men who ever spoke in that House, and who said that—

"Nothing would be so good for the Church as to mould a modern to a primitive Bishop, unrequited, unlorded, of matchless temperance, constant labour, frequent fasting, and incessant prayer."

These were the words of men who were still entitled to their esteem; and as he believed they were wise words, and that they should do best to act in the spirit of them, he moved his Resolution as a first step towards procuring such an Episcopate as would be a blessing to the Church of England.

Mr. AGNEW, in seconding the Resolution, observed that he had rarely risen in that House. He was one of those who thought there was far too much speech in the House. It would be better if hon. Members would regard the fact that the House was constituted for work rather than speech. He would himself not detain the House more than a moment or two, and would not attempt

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to go over the arguments of his hon. and learned Friend, or even to advance any that he had omitted. Having regard to the requirements of the country and its national life, he failed to see that there was any necessity whatever for the Bishops of the Church to which he himself belonged having seats in the House of Lords, when seats in that venerable Assembly were denied to the Chief Rabbi, to the President of the Wesleyan Conference, to the Moderator of the General Assembly, or the heads of any of the other great religious organizations which existed in this country; and he should content himself on this occasion with seconding the Motion, in the hope that the House would assent to it.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the legislative power of Bishops in the House of Peers in Parliament is a great hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by Bill,"—(*Mr. Willis*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, if I agreed more entirely than I do with the Motion of my hon. and learned Friend, I should still deem it incumbent on the Government always to defend its own Motion of Supply; and certainly we have always regarded, and must always regard, an intercepting Motion of this kind as one to be met by a Motion of Supply, which, as has been often stated, is really the Previous Question. But I should not be dealing frankly with my hon. and learned Friend, or with the House, if I put the matter solely upon that ground. The fact is, I do not agree with the Motion of my hon. and learned Friend, and I hope I shall be able to state my reasons in a manner which will not be offensive to him. The House will fully appreciate the very able and earnest manner in which he has presented his view to us. He has drawn a Motion in a fine old English style, which he has told us he has derived from memorable times and from famous men. I must remind my hon. and learned Friend that some of those great names only co-operated for a very short time. The Motion which, I take

it, he has placed on the Paper was followed by other Motions and other actions on the part of at least one of those great men which probably my hon. and learned Friend does not contemplate. It is a rather remarkable fact that he has had to go back to the year 1641, about two centuries and a-half ago, for a successful Motion of this character. That evil which he abhors, and which was then abolished, very soon revived, and it has survived for two centuries since that time. I was inquiring this afternoon into the history of Motions on this subject. Now, the position of Bishops in the House of Lords and their conduct in that Assembly did not commend itself, and I think very naturally, to the opinion of the English people about half-a-century ago, at the time of the Reform Bill, and there was a very celebrated warning given to them by Lord Grey to set their house in order. They set themselves, I think very unwisely, against the sentiments and interests of the great body of the nation, and they were consequently extremely unpopular. But shortly after that the first Motion resembling that of my hon. and learned Friend was made, about the year 1836, and Lord Althorp, who then represented the Party in the House of Commons, made a speech upon a Motion of that character shortly after the Reform Bill. It was a very short speech, but it was a very conclusive speech. He said—

"If I thought that anybody else except the Mover and the Seconder of this Motion was going to vote for it, I would state the reasons for which I oppose it."

The Motion was renewed in the year 1837. From that time this great grievance slept until 1870. There was a Motion then; but I think there has been none since until 1884. So that the "periodicity" of this Motion has been rather a lengthened period. My hon. and learned Friend has put a Motion down which the House ought to examine in its terms. It touches, or hardly touches, two very great questions. One is the question of the Established Church, and the other is the question of the existence of the House of Lords. But it does not deal with either. It assumes the existence of both. If you look at this Motion, it is not a Motion for Disestablishment, though the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman was



a speech for it. It is not a Motion for the abolition of the House of Lords; but it is a Motion to say that, suppose the Established Church to remain an Established Church, and suppose the House of Lords to remain, it is not expedient that the Bishops should sit there. Now, first of all, my hon. and learned Friend said a great deal about the principles of the Reformation. Nobody agrees more profoundly with him than I do upon that subject. I have deeply deplored the tendency of a certain portion of the clergy of the Established Church of England to depart from the principles of the Reformation. But if my hon. and learned Friend thinks that by emancipating the clergy of the Church of England from the control of the State he is going to secure or advance the principles of the Reformation, I am entirely at issue with him. How was the Reformation of religion in this country carried out? Was it carried out by a free Church or by free clergy? Why, everybody knows that the clergy, as a body, were banded against the Reformation—that they were against the Reformation in the time of Henry VIII., that they were against it in the time of Elizabeth, that the Act of Uniformity was carried against the unanimous votes of the Bishops. The principles of the Reformation were established by the wholesome and necessary control which the State exercised over the clergy of this country; and in my opinion the principles of the Reformation in the Church of England, as they have been, so alone can be maintained and secured by the control of the State over the clergy. What has been the principle upon which the establishment of the Church of England has rested? It has rested upon this principle, that the head of the Church is the same person who is the head of the State. It has rested upon the principle that the patronage of the clergy—of the higher orders of the clergy, at all events—is in the Crown; that the discipline of the Church is in the Courts of Law. [*Cries of "No!"*] Hon. Gentlemen may disapprove; but that it is so is an unquestionable fact. We fought that battle out on the floor of this House on the Act which has been so often referred to to-night. I say that the patronage of the Church is in the Crown; that the discipline of the Church is in the Courts of Law; and that the Ritual

and Formularies of the Church are established by Act of Parliament; and I, for one, entirely differ from my hon. and learned Friend if he thinks he is going to find security for the principles of the Reformation by emancipating the clergy from these restrictions. My hon. and learned Friend thinks it would be a good thing to take the Bishops from the House of Lords. Well, now, there are two aspects in which we must regard that question—first of all, as respects the Church in its ecclesiastical character, and, on the other side, as it respects the State in its political character. As it affects the Church in its ecclesiastical character, he wishes to take the Bishops out of the House of Lords—out, as I understand, of the political atmosphere altogether. That is not my view of the wholesome position of the clergy in this country or in any other country. The view, at all events—I speak with all respect of those who entertain other ideas in another Church—the view that has always been taken by the Protestant Church, whether it be in securing to its clergy the institution of marriage as against that of celibacy, is that they should mix with society and the community upon the same terms as all other members of the community; that they should not be a separate caste; that they should be ministers of the congregation, citizens of the State, and not cloistered priests. Well, if that be so, why are the Bishops not, like anybody else, to have their share in any political institution of this country? That is precisely what I think ought to be the case. Do you say that a Bishop ought to have nothing to do with politics? [*"No!"*] I am very glad to think, at all events, that the leaders of the Nonconformists do not take that view. Therefore, there is nothing wrong in these men, because they are the spiritual leaders of their own congregations, taking the part that other people might take in political life. I think it is a very great advantage that they should do so. It gives them far greater knowledge of and sympathy with the society with which they have to deal. Well, you have lawyers, you have Law Lords, in the House of Lords; you have for their distinguished services Admirals and Generals in the House of Lords; and why in the world are you not to have Bishops? I have always thought that if the House of Lords has

any defect—it is not for me to say it has—it is the want of variety in the interests which it represents, and I cannot understand why it is that Gentlemen—especially those who desire a reform in the House of Lords—should desire to diminish the variety of interests which that House possesses. We sometimes hear from Gentlemen of advanced opinions denunciations of a hereditary aristocracy; but the aristocracy that you are attacking is not a hereditary aristocracy. We are sometimes told that what you want in the House of Lords is a body of men who have reached their eminent positions by merit—who have worked their way from humble positions in life, who have not acquired their political authority simply from the accident of birth. That, I have always understood, is the Radical doctrine upon which, if the House of Lords exists, it ought to be reformed. Well, but it is a singular thing that the first reform proposed in the House of Lords should be to get rid of the only class sitting there which, as a class, is selected for eminence and merit of its own. ["No!"] I say that is quite as true of the Bishops as of the Law Lords. *[Renewed interruption.]* These statements, surely, are not so extravagant that they should be met by clamour. I say that the men who are nominated as Bishops are generally eminent in their profession. I was extremely sorry to hear my hon. and learned Friend speak with disparagement of one of the most distinguished and learned men of this country, and, I venture to say, of Europe—Professor Stubbs. There does not exist a more learned or more accomplished man, or a greater ornament of the profession to which he belongs, than Professor Stubbs. Then, that is the one class which you wish to remove from the House of Lords. My hon. and learned Friend candidly admits that this is a question entirely apart from the question of Church Establishment—that he has not raised the issue of Establishment; you cannot raise the question of the Establishment of the Church on a Motion for going into Committee of Supply. But we are, for the purpose of this argument, assuming the Establishment of the Church and the propriety of that Establishment. Then, assuming that, what is asserted is that it is peculiarly improper that this class of men should be in

the House of Lords. Now, I ask why? First of all, my hon. and learned Friend says they had much better be in their dioceses. Well, but I thought my hon. and learned Friend, or some of those who think with him, were against dioceses and diocesans altogether; and why these Gentlemen should be so extremely anxious that diocesans should be always in their dioceses I cannot understand. I should have thought that, from their point of view, the more diocesans were away from their dioceses the nearer they would be of attaining their object. If my hon. and learned Friend desires that diocesans should always be in their dioceses, then he is one of the most enthusiastic friends of the Church of England. Now, no doubt, in old times, when it took three or four days to come from the North, and a visit to London was a great affair, if a Bishop remained in London a great part of the year that was a serious interference with his episcopal functions. But is that true now? I can speak from a knowledge of a good many of the Bishops; and I do not think that his attendance in the House of Lords does interfere, or need interfere, at all with his duty in his diocese. It is absurd to suppose that it should be so. The House of Lords is a very respectable Assembly. It is not in the habit of sitting up till 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning; but it behaves like a reasonable Institution. It meets about once a fortnight for the transaction of serious Business. ["No!"] Perhaps once in three weeks; at all events, it does not make large demands on the time of its Members. No doubt the Bishops take an interest in certain questions, and do not vote as some of us might wish; but that is not a consideration on which we should act in a discussion of this description. But to suppose that a Bishop cannot find time to give such attendance as is required in the House of Lords, and at the same time to attend to the business of his diocese, is not a practical proposition that bears argument. Why, there are Members of the House who attend to business that requires quite as constant attention as the business of a diocese does. There are a great many persons engaged in professions and in business who find time to attend the House of Commons, and do not neglect that business or their professions, although the demands upon them are very much greater. Then I



cannot see that attendance in the House of Lords is injurious to the Church by taking the Bishops away from their dioceses. Then, as regards the House of Lords, I cannot see that that Assembly suffers disadvantage from the presence of the Bishops. I should say, on the whole, that it derives advantage from their presence. I say they are a class of men who, from the very nature of their appointment and occupation, are extremely different from the great majority of the House of Lords. They are most of them men of humble origin; they have risen by labour, by talent, by devotion to work. They are professional men in a very honourable profession, who have won their way to the House of Lords as the great lawyers have won their way, as the great generals, the great admirals, as a few men—I wish there were more—of commerce have won their way there, and as I should hope to see men from other departments and walks of life win their way there also. And those who are not prepared to abolish the House of Lords altogether—those who wish to see it made more various in its character, more liberal and enlightened in its views, I think should rather welcome than repulse a class of this kind from among them. What is their number? It is 26 out of upwards of 500 Members of the House of Lords. Well, that is only a small leaven in the lump; and if I were looking to reform the House of Lords, as some Gentlemen have proposed to reform it, I should not think the best reform was to remove that element from among its Members. The fact is, people will not sufficiently clear their ideas and distinguish between the two things. What you really want to do is to get rid of the Bishops in order that you may get rid of the Church. ["Hear, hear!" and "No!"] Well, if that is not what you mean, you are perfectly illogical. If what you wish is to get rid of the Church—if you regard the Bishops as an outwork—a powerful outwork—of the Church, I can quite understand your position. That is quite reasonable. It will bear argument, and there is much to be said from the point of view of those who desire it. But if you assume that the Church is to be kept, then it seems to me that the argument has nothing whatever in it. For if you accept the Church as established, it seems to me that the argument

for the Bishops to be in the House of Lords is much stronger than the argument against it. You talk of the Bishops being a dangerous political power. I do not regard them in that light at all. In former days the Bishops generally held anti-popular views; but now they move along with the spirit of the times, and they mix with other people a great deal more than they used to do. I do not agree with my hon. and learned Friend, and, perhaps, I know as many Bishops as he does. The picture he draws of a Bishop as a sort of distant tyrant, far removed from his clergy and his flock, is not a correct picture. The Bishops are extremely hard-working men, who live among their clergy and the people of their dioceses; and my hon. and learned Friend has, I am sure unconsciously and unwillingly, done injustice to a very deserving body of men. And, therefore, from this personal point of view, I do not think there is anything whatever to be said against them; and so far from their being a bad element in the House of Lords, and if you are to have a House of Lords, and if you are to have an Established Church, as the hon. and learned Gentleman admits, then I think variety in the House of Lords is a good thing. The Bishops are mostly men of learning; they are all well conducted; and I do not think that is a bad element. Therefore, if you have a House of Lords and an Established Church, I cannot see that my hon. and learned Friend has made very much out of the argument against the presence of the Bishops. Now, Sir, I quite agree that there remain behind this Motion and this discussion to-night two great questions—namely, the question of the Established Church and the existence of the House of Lords. I am happy to think that we are not, at a quarter past 10 o'clock on an Evening Sitting of the House of Commons, and on the Motion for going into Committee of Supply, going to dispose of either of those large questions on such an occasion and in such a discussion. The Motion before the House is of a much narrower tendency. It is whether 25 individuals who, as Bishops, are Members of the House of Lords, ought to be removed from that Assembly. I do not think that their removal would be an advantage to the Church, nor do I think it would be an advantage to the House of Lords; and,



therefore, in these circumstances, and bound, above all, by the overpowering consideration referred to at the beginning of my remarks—namely, that the Government must defend their own Motion of Supply—I must oppose the Motion of my hon. and learned Friend.

Mr. WADDY said, the House had the advantage of hearing the very best that could be said by anyone in the House, except the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), upon that side of the question. The House had listened with the respect due, not only to the experience and talent of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, but they remembered also that he had hereditary claims to speak as the champion of the Bishops and Archbishops of the country. He did not wonder that in 1834, when Lord Althorp tried to find some arguments against a similar Motion, all he could say was that "he should like to be excused from entering into any discussion of the merits of the question;" and he observed, in looking carefully at the discussion which took place on that occasion, that with one exception—such was the feeling existing at the time in the House—all the Members who spoke were in favour of the exclusion of the Bishops. They were told that the Bishops were to be continued in the House of Lords because it was a place to which they had been raised by their eminent talents, and by their having lived lives of studious and careful education. It was also asked, why should not Bishops as well as lawyers be admitted to the House of Lords? But did his right hon. and learned Friend the Home Secretary propose that all the Judges should become Members of the House of Lords, or would the right hon. and learned Gentleman be satisfied that the Bishops should be represented by the Archbishops of York and Canterbury, and the Bishops of Winchester, Durham, and London? He (Mr. Waddy) spoke as a Nonconformist, and not in any hostility whatever to the Church of England. ["Oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite did not believe in his conscientiousness. He should be surprised, knowing what he did, if they believed in anybody's. If they were anxious to disestablish the Church, he thoroughly and honestly believed the Motion they were seeking to make was one which was far more likely to delay that event

than to hasten it. The presence of Bishops in the House of Lords was, rightly or wrongly, supposed by some persons to be a kind of grievance. He did not himself consider it to be much of a grievance. But to get rid of that grievance would be far more likely to help the view taken by some hon. Gentlemen, and far more likely to delay the success of others, because, postpone as they would, the exclusion of the Bishops would happen. He declined to consider this as a question for banter. To his mind, it was a matter of great seriousness and great importance. He looked with the profoundest admiration on Churchmen such as Hooker, Tillotson, Tait, and scores and hundreds of others; and he should be unworthy to belong to any Church whatever if he attempted to ignore obligations to such men as those. He did not wish to do any damage to the House of Lords; but he and those who thought with him believed the presence of Bishops in the House of Lords was an anomaly. The historical reason had failed. They had gone so far that they had destroyed anything like a logical ground for their existence in the House of Lords. At one time there were 55 Ecclesiastical Members in the House of Lords; but more than one-half of them had been turned out. The Premier of this or any other Government might at any time flood the House of Lords with new Peers; but he could not add to the House of Lords a single new Bishop. By what right did these very learned and very excellent men sit there now? Was it because they were Barons? No; it could not be, because there were men who were sitting in the House of Lords now who were not Barons. Some of them derived their incomes solely from subscriptions. They had no baronies in any sense or form. Was it because they were Bishops? No; because they only admitted a certain number of Bishops; there were some Bishops who did not sit in the House of Lords. If they sat there because they were Bishops, then he would ask why the Bishops of the Irish Church did not retain their seats after the Disestablishment of the Church? Was it because they were leading Representatives of the Established Church? The House of Peers was not a Representative Assembly. The religious Census of 1851, which was the only Census they had—

and which was held by Churchmen to be a good one until its results were known—showed that of the accommodation provided in churches for the population of this country, 29·6 was provided by the Church of England, and 27·4 was provided by the Dissenting Churches of this country. That Census also showed that seats were provided for 5,317,915 persons in the Church of England, while the three sections of Nonconformists—namely, the Baptists, Wesleyans, and Independents—provided accommodation for 4,114,401. [An hon. Member: Absurd.] It might be absurd, but it was a fact. He did not say they ought to have Representatives of other Churches in the House of Lords; but what he wished to point out was that they had an anomaly to deal with, and if it was to be said that the Bishops were in the House of Lords as the Representatives of the Church of England, then he wanted to know why there were not to be found in the House of Lords Representatives of other Churches, which amounted to nearly, if not quite, as large a number of people, in something like a reasonable proportion? The Bishops had not always been ready to come forward in the other House even in connection with matters which certainly called for their support. On every occasion when there had been any proposition to increase the Episcopate in the House of Lords, it had been on the ground that the work to be done by the Bishops was already more than they could do. Some short time ago it was said to be necessary to create a new Bishopric to relieve the labours of the Bishop of Exeter, and accordingly a new See was created at Truro. But it would be found that the Bishop of Exeter was the person who attended most assiduously to his Parliamentary duties, and by so doing was precluded from discharging his local work in the diocese. All they wanted to do by the Motion of his hon. and learned Friend was to relieve these eminent, learned, and godly men from work for which they were not entirely fitted, and from the turmoil of political controversy. Let them attend to their own spiritual work in their own dioceses, and not mix themselves up in work of a purely temporal kind. He utterly denied that in making this proposition a foundation was being laid for Disestablishment. On

the contrary, he maintained that so soon as they took these Bishops away from work for which they were not fitted, and confined them to work for which they were fitted, they strengthened the Church of England far beyond anything that had been known in modern times. Although he was a Nonconformist, he desired to see the Church of England stronger than it had been for the great work which it was called upon to do.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE said, the affection for the Church manifested by the two hon. and learned Members who had brought forward and supported the Motion was almost overwhelming, though he could not say that the method they adopted in showing their love was that which a logical and well-ordered mind would have adopted. He was reminded of the lines—

"Perhaps you were right to dissemble your love,

But prithee why kick me downstairs?"

The hon. and learned Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Waddy) asserted for himself a monopoly of gravity and of conscientiousness; while, in his opinion, there was no conscience, no sense of propriety, on the other side of the House; so he (Mr. Beresford Hope) would gladly leave the hon. and learned Member to his own opinion of himself. As his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary had pointed out, those who advocated this Motion had impinged themselves on the horns of a dilemma; either they wished well to the Church of England, and in that respect posed as external reformers, or else they were the sharpshooters of the Liberation Society. He was sure that the hon. and learned Members, both from their high personal character and from the ingenuousness which was a part of the distinguished Profession to which they belonged, had no second thoughts in the pure and simple desire to do good to the Church and to the Bishops, who, of course, could not know what their own professional duties were, or what were his, for their interests. So much for pretexts; but he repudiated the imputations thrown upon the Church of England in the speeches of the hon. and learned Members, and he would not accept compromises which were really surrenders in disguise. What were the arguments of the hon. and learned Member for Colchester (Mr. Willis)? He lamented that there was

*Mr. Waddy*



no discipline in the Church of England, and he blamed its division into three parties, as if, in his Liberal eyes, it was a reproach to be elastic, and to be able to approach the same formularies from various sides and with resources of modern research. He wished the Church to shrink into a sect, narrow and unprogressive, and the expulsion of its heads from the great Council of the nation was a ready way to that end. The object of the Motion really was to make the Church a little less popular and a little less influential for good; but they could not do all that in a Motion on going into Supply; and so the assailants took up this one point of turning the Bishops out of the House of Lords. It stood self-confessed of not being a sincere Motion, and it went too far, simply because it did not go far enough. Then the hon. and learned Member for Edinburgh waxed eloquent, and, in thrilling and pathetic phrases, dwelt on somebody's great wrong and grievance, because there had not been a religious Census taken since the year 1851. Whose fault was that? He appealed to every Minister on both sides of the House to know if his life had not been made absolutely miserable by the leaders of Non-conformist opinion, and by their blatant protests, whenever, at each successive Census period, an attempt had really been made to ascertain what the true proportions of religious belief were? That religious Census of 1851 was only a Census of the attendance at public worship on a particular Sunday. Of course, it was not for him to suspect that some persons might have treated religious worship as a serious thing, and not have whipped up an attendance upon that day, while others of a political turn had been more alive to the opportunity. But, granted that that form of religious Census was the best, as he did not believe, why had no Member on the Liberal side of the House come forward himself and asked to have a similar Census on a similar basis taken in successive periods? He would not have thought it the best basis; but rather than have none at all he would have closed with it. But no; the stale cry was always raised that religion was a question between man and his Maker, as if the relations of man and his Maker were different in Ireland, where there always had been a religious Census.

The Church of England, with all its difficulties, had meanwhile been growing and waxing strong in a remarkable and continuous manner—growing and waxing strong in its edifices, and the zeal of its ministers, and the devotion of its flock, and growing also in power and in variety in its pious institutions, its charitable enterprizes, and in the schools under its administration since the year 1851. Its opponents knew all that far too well; they feared and they avoided any official recognition of this growth, and they fell back, over and over again, upon the stale cud of 1851; and so that venerable spectre of the collusive Census was brought up as a reason for expelling the Bishops from the House of Lords. One point had not been referred to in the debate, and that was the historic origin and Constitutional character of the House of Lords as the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, two Estates of the Realm. If they expelled the Bishops from the House of Lords, it might still be an Upper Chamber; but it would no longer be the Chamber of the ancient Constitution. It would then be a totally different Assembly—an Assembly of the Lords Temporal only—so this project would be an absolute change in the Constitution of the country. This was, in effect, a Motion for pulling down the Established Church of this country, and for putting it in a position of less respect in the eyes of the people, and in a lower social position, and then trusting to the drift of events for complete Disestablishment. For the Church itself he had no fear—established or disestablished; she would go on in her beneficent course; but her doing her duty was a very bad reason for wronging her. Before he sat down he must answer one question of the hon. and learned Member for Edinburgh. The hon. and learned Member asked why the Bishops of the Irish Church did not retain their seats in the House of Lords. The reason was that, out of a very fine feeling, and in a most self-denying spirit, they had refused to do so. The Act of Disestablishment retained for the actual occupants their right to sit in the House of Lords; but they declined to accept that privilege. So much, therefore, for that argument, and so much for the professed zeal for the Church of England, and the desire to promote its interests and develop its good points so loudly proclaimed by the



hon. and learned Members for Colchester and Edinburgh. The Church of England was an Institution to be trusted with its own internal organization; and he objected to allowing it to be dealt with by men who in the House professed great zeal for it, and on the next day would go to the Liberation Society and join in the conspiracy to pull it down.

MR. H. H. FOWLER: Sir, I always consider the eloquence of the Secretary of State for the Home Department to resemble one of the most powerful and wonderful machines of modern times—I mean the Nasmyth hammer. He can bring all the force of his eloquence to bear on a solid argument and shiver it to pieces, and he can crack the shell of an egg without disturbing the yolk. I am not going this evening to reply to his argument with respect to the position of the Government on the Motion for going into Committee of Supply, as, if my recollection is correct, on many occasions during the present Parliament the Government have accepted Motions on a Friday evening which were Amendments to going into Committee of Supply. Nor will I stop to discuss his extraordinary theory with respect to the Reformation, nor his new scheme of competitive examination for admission to the House of Lords. I wish to approach the question from a serious point of view. In my humble judgment, the present Motion is not antagonistic to the House of Lords, it is not antagonistic to the Church of England, and it does not raise the controversy as to the Disestablishment of that Church. A man may be as enthusiastic an admirer of the House of Lords as the Home Secretary is; he may be as devoted a member of the Church of England as the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down; he may entertain the most decided opinions as to the desirability of the State endowing the Church; and yet he may be as much opposed to 26 of its Bishops being *ex officio* Members of the House of Lords as the Home Secretary would be, and as every Member of this House would be, to 26 of the Archdeacons being *ex officio* Members of the House of Commons. The question before the House is, whether it is in the interests of the State or in the interests of the Church that 75 per cent of the English Episcopate should be Peers of Parliament? I answer that question in

the negative, because I contend that the possession of such a privilege is a political anomaly, a sectarian injustice, and a religious calamity. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Beresford Hope) has alluded to the historic position of the Bishops as Lords Spiritual. May I remind him that the presence of *ex officio* legislators in the Parliament of to-day, who are neither hereditary nor representative, is a very feeble fragment of the original principle by virtue of which the Lords Spiritual, mitred Abbots as well as Bishops, took their places side by side with the feudal nobility? They were the owners of enormous tracts of the country, and as such they were emphatically an Estate of the Realm. But, whatever the Constitutional history of the case may be, we have to-day 26 clergymen nominated by the Prime Minister—always because they are the fittest men for the post, and sometimes, I suppose, under the circumstances described in the *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*—representing no one, and responsible to no one, claiming to form part of one of the branches of the Legislature. Looking at this claim from the political side, I ask, is it a political advantage or a political security? Has the course of legislation or administration gained by the presence of the Bishops in the House of Lords? Has it not, on the other hand, produced—as all political anomalies produce—irritation, disproportionate and exaggerated, against the Institution of which it forms a part? And when the Home Secretary speaks of the advantages of the presence of the Bishops in the House of Lords, I would ask him to put his finger on any one of those great measures of social, moral, or Constitutional progress which are the greatest achievements of the English Legislature and say that measure was the off-spring of the Episcopal Bench. I am not speaking of individuals. I would speak of the Bishops personally with the highest respect. I am speaking of them as a class, and as a class I allege that they afford all the disadvantages without any of the advantages of life Peers. The very conditions which are essential to their successful discharge of their highest and truest functions disable them from acting with the freedom and the courage which are the great advantage of life Peers. And their absolute irresponsibility—save so

far as they are the advocates of a limited class who have no special right to distinctive representation—is in itself a disqualification for political power of the gravest significance. No one would propose to create such a political anomaly if it did not exist; and, although it is more difficult to discontinue wrongdoing than it is to commence wrongdoing, we have a right to protest against any privilege which is devoid of public advantage, and is a source of weakness, and, therefore, of danger, to the institutions of the country. There is another ground of objection of equal weight, and that is the presence and perpetuation of sectarian injustice. The *raison d'être* of the presence of the Bishops in the House of Lords is that they are clergymen of the Church of England. When, as in centuries gone by, the Church and the State were convertible terms, and when all the subjects of the Crown were members of the Church, the Rulers of the Church sustained a relation to the people as a whole which has long since ceased to exist. I am not going to discuss the disputed figures as to the relative numbers of those who belong to, or dissent from, the Anglican Communion. It is immaterial for my argument to which side the majority belongs. We know from a Return laid on the Table of this House, defective and inaccurate as it is, that there are, at least, in England and Wales 21,000 churches and chapels belonging to the Nonconformists and the Roman Catholics. In Scotland and in Ireland an overwhelming proportion of the people are outside the Anglican Church. If, therefore, it be right that ministers of religion, because they are ministers of religion, should be entitled to a place in the Legislature, why are they to be taken exclusively from one Church to which a large number of the people of England do not belong, and why are the Churches of Scotland and Ireland to be excluded? If this selection is defended on the ground that the presence of the clergy of the Church of England is one of the consequences of the connection between the Church and State, why does not that consequence follow from the connection of the Church and State in Scotland? The Church of Scotland is historically and constitutionally as legally established as the Church of England. But the injustice is not confined to the

conflicting aims of the rival Churches—it affects the religious feelings of the whole community. The voice which the Bishops claim to utter in the House of Lords is the Christian voice of the nation, proclaiming, as Edmund Burke did a hundred years ago, that politics are but an enlarged morality, and that whatever is morally wrong can never be politically right. When the voice of the Bishops is not in harmony with the convictions of a large section of the religious community it would be better that that voice should be silent. I am not going to trouble the House with details of the Divisions in which Bishops have taken part according to their consciences and political convictions, which I have no right to challenge; but I must say that when questions have arisen which have aroused the deepest feelings of those who believe that politics are something higher than Party intrigues, those feelings have rarely found expression from the Episcopal Bench. ["No!"] The Lord Mayor says "No." I ask him to take a review of the last 50 years, totally irrespective of Party politics, of the grave question of peace or war; and I ask him whether the Christian voice on that question has been heard from the Episcopate in the House of Lords? I ask him to look to the very question which, perhaps, has suggested this Motion—the reform of the Marriage Laws—[*Cries of "Oh!"*] Hon. Members say "Oh!" I am not expressing any opinion as to whether the Bishops are right or wrong; but, as a matter of fact, there are two strong currents of opinion running through all the Churches of Christendom. As a matter of fact, an overwhelming majority of the Members of this House—Liberals and Conservatives—are prepared to alter that law. As a matter of fact, a majority of the Temporal Peers are prepared to alter that law; and when the Bishops, assuming the right to act on behalf of the religious voice of the nation, interpose their veto, they are assuming a function which does not belong to them, and are promoting a great injustice. In making these remarks I do not for a moment contend that any Church or denomination, as such, should be represented either in this or in the other House; but when all the Members of the House of Lords, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, belong to the Church of



England, and when an overwhelming majority of the Members of this House also belong to that Church, her position is perfectly safe. No legislation affecting her rights can be passed without the support of a large number of her lay members. I, therefore, object to her having imposed on her the disadvantage of a political privilege of no real service, and which aggravates and intensifies an antagonism which is already far too severe. Notwithstanding what the right hon. Gentleman has said with reference to the effect of this question on the Church itself, I would presume to utter a word or two on that point. We have been told, and shall be told again, that this Motion is one of the weapons of the political Dissenters, and that the "be all" and the "end all" of their principles and policy is hatred to the Church. I repudiate the title "political Dissenter," and I repudiate the motives and the objects which hon. Gentlemen associate with that nick-name. I should like to hear a definition of "political Dissent" which will bear five minutes' criticism. If I understand anything of the past history or the present attitude of English Nonconformity, it rests on a far wider and more lasting foundation than political partizanship or political aims. We object, as you do, to many of the evils against which ardent Churchmen are crying out with a daily increasing voice, and in respect to which they are coming to this House to be relieved by legislation. And although we may believe that political privileges and political power are fetters none the less galling because they are golden, and although we smart under sectarian intolerance and social wrong—we, nevertheless, recognize and appreciate the priceless services which the Church of England has rendered to the Christianity of England and to the Christianity of the world. In my opinion, it would be as idle to dream, as it would be wicked to desire, that the real influence of the Church should be either weakened or destroyed; but I ask, in the interests of the Church, what does it lose and what does it gain by the possession of this privilege? It loses the presence and the work of its great officers in their own dioceses at a period when that work has an importance and a reality which had no existence a generation ago. It loses that sympathy with

the masses of the people which political privilege, especially when tinged with political partizanship, invariably destroys. Dr. Arnold deplored that the Church of England, during its history, had, on the whole, belonged to one political Party. That political bias has been most strongly evinced by the Parliamentary action of the Bishops; and the strength and extent of the political alliance is the measure of the loss of national influence and moral power. The Church loses not only the services of her most distinguished sons in the sphere of their highest work; but she sustains the deeper loss of the inevitable, though perhaps unconscious, deterioration of tone which an official and professional advocacy of property, privilege, and power induce. One of the saddest of modern biographies is that of a Prelate whose rare genius, almost unsurpassed talents, and lofty aims were dwarfed by the atmosphere of episcopopolitical intrigue, in which, as Leader of the Ecclesiastical Parliamentary Party, he was compelled to live. And what does the Church gain? Rank? Yes—Dignity? Yes—The shadow of power, not its substance. There are Bishops and Bishops. The Church of England has had her Prince Bishops, who have exercised sovereign sway and received regal revenues. She has had her Peer Bishops, great nobles, successful courtiers, and keen politicians. She has had her Missionary Bishops—men devoid of wealth and rank, who have consecrated their Episcopate by the splendour of their self-denial, and the simplicity and sanctity of their lives. I would ask the strongest Churchman in this House—I would ask the Members for the two Universities, whether they can point to any Prelate of the English Church during the 18th century, or during the 19th century, who has rendered such a service, or reflected such a glory on that Church, as was rendered by the life and work and death of the martyred Bishop of Melanesia? I remember the Sunday after the imposing pageant with which the Primate was conducted to his archiepiscopal throne in the Cathedral of Canterbury, the rector of the parish to which this House belongs described, with all the pictorial eloquence of which he is such a pre-eminent master, the deserted canoe drifting over the coral reefs of the South Pacific, bearing the body of the



murdered Bishop; and when Archdeacon Farrar had completed his picture, he added, with a tone which was as significant as it was impressive, "that a scene like that was worth to the Church of England a dozen enthronizations." That distinguished dignitary discerned the true secret of the Church's weakness and the Church's strength. I venture to submit to hon. Gentlemen opposite that pomp is not power; that the greatest, and the truest, and the most indestructible strength of the Church of England lies beyond the range of Peerages and Parliaments. The State never gave it, and the State can never take it away. In the interests of the Church, therefore, using that term in its broadest and most catholic sense, as well as in the interests of the State, I protest against the continuance of a privilege which is an anachronism, an injustice, and a wrong.

SIR JOHN R. MOWBRAY said, that, whatever their opinions might be, he was sure they had all listened with the greatest admiration to the eloquent speech of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). He could assure the hon. Member for himself (Sir John R. Mowbray), and for many of those around him, that they all felt indebted to him for the way in which he had raised the tone of the debate. They were the last persons to wish to expose themselves to the taunt unjustly thrown out by the hon. and learned Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Waddy) that they were inclined to treat the matter with banter as a joke. On the contrary, he approached it as one of the most serious and important questions that could possibly be brought before the House; not that he thought for one moment that the Church, as a Divine Institution, was likely to have its existence affected by any action the House might take on this Motion, or upon a still larger question. But he thought that the Motion raised a very grave Constitutional question, which had been so regarded by all who had treated it before. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had passed lightly over the Constitutional question, and seemed inclined to draw a distinction between the Abbots and Prelates of olden times and the Lords Spiritual of the present day. He would, however, remind the hon.

Member that when the matter was before the House some years ago a great Constitutional authority like Lord John Russell pointed out that from time immemorial the Lords Spiritual and Temporal had been associated with the Crown and the Commons in making the laws of the Kingdom; and any proposal to strike out the Lords Spiritual from the House of Lords would really be building up a new Constitution on new principles. That was the way in which so great a Constitutional authority as Lord John Russell approached the question 40 years ago. The right hon. Gentleman the present Prime Minister, in dealing with the same question in 1870, said the proposal involved a change of one of the most important and principal features of the British Constitution. It was very wrong that so grave and important a question should be raised in the incidental way in which it had been raised that evening, upon the Motion for going into Committee of Supply; and, indeed, it would be altogether impossible, by an abstract Resolution, to make so great a Constitutional change as would be involved in excluding the Lords Spiritual from the House of Lords. When it was attempted to be done 40 years ago, Sir Robert Peel said that if the question was to be raised at all it ought to be raised by a Bill; and the hon. and learned Member for Colchester (Mr. Willis) admitted that the right ought to be taken away by Bill; but the hon. Member did not proceed in the usual way, by proposing to take it away by Bill. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had made a very eloquent speech; but he also supported a Motion by which it was admitted that nothing could be gained. He (Sir John R. Mowbray) joined with the hon. Member in the tribute he had paid to the martyred Bishop of Melanesia; but it should be remembered that the Bishop of Melanesia was a pupil of the Bishop of New Zealand, and the latter Prelate died a Peer of Parliament after holding for 11 years a seat in the House of Lords. Bishop Patteson, as everybody knew, was a disciple of Bishop Selwyn. It was said that the time of the Bishops ought to be devoted to the discharge of their duties in their dioceses; but times were so changed that Bishops were well able

to leave their dioceses in order to give occasional attendance in the House of Lords when it was found necessary to discuss questions which affected the interests of the Church, and, at the same time, to discharge all the duties required of them in connection with their dioceses. The hon. and learned Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Waddy) had made some attack upon the Bishop of Exeter because he had been enabled to devote some time to his spiritual duties in the House of Lords last Session. He gathered from the hon. and learned Member that the attack was not against the Bishops for being in their places in the House of Lords, but for having mainly contributed towards bringing about a result which they themselves conscientiously believed to be necessary. On the Marriage Law question they had simply taken the course which they believed to be right. They had defended the law of the Church, and had stood up for that which they believed to be true; and unless the Bishops had taken the part which they did take on that occasion they would have lost the respect of the people. Did anyone seriously think that the presence of these 26 Bishops in the House of Lords was prejudicial to the Commonwealth? [Mr. WADDY: Hear, hear!] The hon. and learned Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Waddy) said "Hear, hear!" but he did not know that the hon. and learned Member had urged that view of the question. He certainly did not recollect that the hon. and learned Member had shown the House in what way their presence was injurious to the Commonwealth. The hon. and learned Gentleman would admit that their presence added weight to the deliberations of the House of Lords, and that they were men possessing the highest talent, the greatest force of character, variety of learning, and attainments of every kind. Every quality that was desirable was contributed by the Bench of Bishops. He would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman if he did not think that in the last 30 or 40 years the Bishops had been very important Members of that Assembly? Did he not think that the clear, convincing, and argumentative speeches of Bishop Blomfield, the learning of Bishop Philpotts, the eloquence of Bishop Wilberforce, and the dignified bearing and statesmanlike utterances of

Archbishop Tait, had added to the deliberative power of the House of Lords to a very remarkable degree? He might go through the Prelates of the present day in order to give further proof; but he would refrain from doing so. He maintained that the hon. and learned Member for Colchester (Mr. Willis) had completely failed to prove either of his points. Instead of the Bishops having been taken away from their duties, they had been fully able to perform them; and the House of Lords, instead of having been weakened by their presence, had been materially strengthened. No ground, therefore, had been proved for the great Constitutional change the House was now asked to make, and he hoped the Motion would be rejected.

MR. R. B. MARTIN said, that investigation had shown that no weight at all could be given to the Returns of the religious Census. They were absolutely untrustworthy, and utterly devoid of value as showing the relative position of the Church of England and of other religious Bodies within the Realm. The religious Census, therefore, could not be alluded to by anybody who understood the subject with any degree of satisfaction. He had had occasion once himself to estimate the proportion of members of the Church of England; and as far as he could form an opinion of those who were in the habit of attending any place of worship—including all sects—within the Metropolitan area, the members of the Church of England—and he gave the figures to the House for what they were worth—amounted to nearly 70 per cent of the number who were accustomed to go to any place of worship. He asked the House to remember, then, that if the Church of England was the Church of the State, it was because it was the Church of that large mass of the people, who might claim to have provision made for their spiritual wants, however negligent they might be to use those advantages that were provided for them, and might be regarded in that sense as a political element. At the same time, although a member of the Church of England, he intended to vote for the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Colchester (Mr. Willis). He would not trouble the House with entering into matters which had been far more elo-



quently put by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) than he could possibly put them, and with whose statement of facts he entirely agreed.

COLONEL MAKINS said, that no one could for a moment complain of the tone of the remarks which had been made to the House a short time ago by the hon. Member for Wolverhampton. Whenever that hon. Member spoke in that House upon questions affecting the Church, he not only spoke with eloquence, but with generosity. He was afraid, however, that the same remark could not be applied to all the speeches which had been delivered in the course of the debate. The hon. and learned Member for Colchester, who moved the Resolution, began by stating that he would not enter into the question of Disestablishment; and then, for 40 minutes by the clock, the hon. and learned Member continued to pour out the vials of his wrath against the continuance of the connection between Church and State. In point of fact, the debate was nothing less than a demonstration in force of the Liberation Society, and the *raison d'être* of that Society was to stamp out the political existence of the Church of England. They thought the best thing they could do was to begin by trying to stamp out the Bishops in the House of Lords. He had listened carefully to the debate, in the endeavour to hear some argument in favour of the abstract Resolution which had been moved. He had heard it stated that the Bishops, by reason of their attendance in the House of Lords, were prevented from attending to the more immediate duties of their dioceses. If that was an argument worth anything, it was an argument in favour of an increase of the Episcopate; but whenever a Bill for that purpose was brought forward, it always met with most uncompromising opposition from hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway. He, therefore, could not think they were altogether sincere in what they said. Then, in regard to the duties of the Bishops in the House of Lords, they were confined, as a general rule, to very few occasions. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, who had spoken very eloquently, very logically, but he (Colonel Makins) must say, somewhat flippantly, said that the attendance of the Bishops

in the House of Lords was confined to once a fortnight, or, perhaps, once in three weeks. Now, it was not a question of whether their attendance was confined to once a fortnight or once in three weeks; but whenever there was a question for the consideration of the House of Lords which affected the moral or the physical well-being of the community, he ventured to say that the Bishops would be found in their places. No doubt, whenever the question for discussion was one of a Party and political character, the Bishops were generally conspicuous by their absence. He would make the right hon. and learned Gentleman a present of one concession in regard to his arguments. He himself (Colonel Makins) certainly did think it was a pity that one of the Bishops should always be withdrawn from his duties in his diocese for the mere purpose of acting as Chaplain to the House of Lords. He thought that a much more satisfactory arrangement might be made, such, for instance, as attaching to the Deanery of Westminster the *ex officio* duties of Chaplain to the House of Lords. He believed that the duties of the Dean of Westminster were not of an arduous nature, and the Dean would be able to give the necessary attendance without its being necessary to withdraw a Bishop from the discharge of important duties in his diocese. In the next place, he (Colonel Makins) wished to find fault with the form of the Motion moved by the hon. and learned Member for Colchester (Mr. Willis). The hon. and learned Member said—

“That the legislative power of Bishops in the House of Peers in Parliament is a great hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by Bill.”

The use of the word “Commonwealth” he took to be simply technical, seeing that in the present day there was no Commonwealth in this country, but a Monarchy. Indeed, he thought the hon. and learned Member had better begin by abolishing the Monarchy altogether. The fact was, that the only time a Resolution was passed excluding the Bishops from Parliament was when there was no Monarchy. [*Cries of “No!”*]

MR. WILLIS: It was in 1641.

COLONEL MAKINS said, that, at any rate, it was passed at a time when revo-



lutionary notions were very prevalent. He deprecated any attempt in these days to upset the Constitution by a Resolution of this kind. If the hon. and learned Member desired to deal with the question, let him do so in a regular way by bringing in a Bill, which would enable the Bishops themselves to have their say in the matter. In regard to the representation of the clergy of the Church of England, it must not be forgotten that if they took away the Bishops from the House of Lords, they would leave the clergy the only body in the community who would be altogether unrepresented. The clergy of the Church of England could not sit in the House of Commons, although the same disability did not apply to the Nonconformists; and there were reverend Gentlemen, Presbyterians and others, at the present moment, who were very able Members of the House. There was nothing to prevent them from sitting as Members of Parliament; but with regard to the clergy of the Church of England, their only representation was in the House of Lords, by means of the Episcopal Bench. If the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Colchester (Mr. Willis) were carried, and the object he desired were passed into law, it would then become necessary to give the clergy of the Church of England some compensation; but he had not been able to gather, from the speech of the Mover of the Resolution or of those who supported it, that it was proposed to offer any compensation whatever. Of course, he did not speak of compensation in money; but if Parliament were to take away the only representation the clergy of the Church of England now possessed, in common fairness they must be prepared to give them some other means of representation. There was only one other point which he wished to bring before the House, and it was this—that he believed one strong reason which induced hon. Members opposite to make this attack upon the Bishops was the part they had taken in the House of Lords in opposing a certain measure which had been described as one of great social importance—the Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill. Surely those who blamed the Bishops for the action they had taken could not be aware of the obligation which rested upon them. Every one of the Bishops had sworn to

uphold the Canon Law, and that law distinctly declared that such marriages were incestuous and unlawful. Therefore they would be guilty of a gross breach of duty if they were to give a vote which would have the effect of breaking their Oath upon any canonical matter. The hour was too late to justify him in entering into many of the questions which had been brought before the House in the course of the debate; but he ventured to say that, except as a demonstration of the Liberation Society, the Resolution, even if carried, would be worthless.

Mr. MELLOR said, the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope) had told the House that this Motion was brought forward at the instance of the Liberation Society, and that it was, in reality, a veiled attack upon the Church of England. That assertion had been repeated by the hon. and gallant Member for South Essex (Colonel Makins), who had just addressed the House; and, therefore, he (Mr. Mellor) begged to say that, for his part, he was not a member of the Liberation Society; that he had had no communication with that Society; but that he was a Member of the Church of England, and intended to vote for the Motion. He might add that he was a constituent of the right hon. Gentleman; and he would inform him that a great number of his constituents, quite as anxious for the spiritual well-being of the Church as the right hon. Gentleman or any other person could be, agreed with him (Mr. Mellor) in thinking that the Motion of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Colchester ought to be carried, and that the presence of the Bishops in the House of Lords was calculated to injure the interests of the Church, and to work mischief. They had been told by various speakers that they ought to deal with the subject by Bill instead of by Resolution; while others said that his hon. and learned Friend ought to have put down some other form of Motion; but when it came to be considered how very few opportunities any private Member of the House had of bringing forward any Motion at all, he thought his hon. and learned Friend might be congratulated in having secured a place on the Order Book which had allowed him

to bring this Motion before the House that night. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge, among other things, had called attention to the Constitutional question. At that hour of the night he (Mr. Mellor) was not going to trouble or weary the House with many remarks so far as the Constitutional question was concerned; but he should like to say a word or two in regard to that matter. Although the right hon. Gentleman had treated the Bishops as Peers, in point of law they never were Peers. They were Lords Spiritual only, and had never, in the whole history of England, been summoned to the High Court of the Lord Steward. They had no right to sit there, and had never been called upon to sit in judgment. [Mr. WARTON: No, no!] The hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) said "No!" but he would beg the hon. and learned Member to turn his attention to the authorities upon the subject. If he did, he would find that he (Mr. Mellor) was quite right; and if his hon. and learned Friend would go a little further, he would find that the Act of Uniformity, in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, was passed in defiance of the opinions of the Bishops, who were all against it, and that when the Act of Uniformity was drawn up, the words "with the consent of the Lords Spiritual" were omitted from it. His hon. and learned Friend would also find that in the Reign of Henry VIII. the Judges were of opinion that Parliament might be lawfully summoned without the Bishops at all; and it was a remarkable fact that in the Reign of Charles II. two Parliaments were composed of Temporal Peers, and the House of Commons without any of the Spiritual Lords being summoned. If any hon. Member would take the trouble to look at the Act of Charles I., which succeeded the Motion to which reference had been made by the hon. and learned Member for Colchester (Mr. Willis), and which took away the right of the Bishops to sit in the House of Lords, he would find that that Act recited that the presence of Bishops in the House of Lords was found to be prejudicial to the State, and that, beyond all things, their spiritual duties in their dioceses required their whole attention. That was what the Act itself recited. Someone—he thought it was his hon. and learned Friend—had

quoted Lord Falkland. Now, Lord Falkland made a remarkable speech in favour of that Bill which still survived; and, although Lord Falkland afterwards changed his views as to this, it must not be forgotten that he changed his opinions, not because he had arrived at a different conclusion, but because he became frightened at the state of things which was then existing. In that speech of Lord Falkland he called attention to this very question—the continual absence of the Bishops from their Sees—and it was not till the Reign of Charles II. that the Bishops were restored to their place in Parliament by the repeal of that Act. What he and his hon. Friend thought as to other mischiefs caused by the presence of the Bishops in the House of Lords, as far as the State was concerned, was this—that they sat there as Bishops to judge and vote upon questions, not only affecting the people of this country, but the people of Ireland and Scotland. The Irish Bishops had been excluded from sitting in the House of Lords. The Bill which disestablished the Irish Church took away the right of the Irish Bishops to sit and vote in the House of Lords. The consequence was that the Bishops who retained seats in the House of Lords were placed in this anomalous position—they had power to sit and vote upon Irish questions, while the Irish Bishops could not do so, and it might happen that by their vote some important Irish measure might be thrown out. If that were done, he would ask the House what would be the result in that as well as this country? He was satisfied that a most serious blow would be struck, not only against the Bishops, but against the Church. They could not reproach the Bishops for the votes they gave if they allowed them to sit there. The fault laid in the system. It would be unfair to say that the Bishops voted either in this way or in that way, because if they allowed them to remain in the House of Lords, they ought to assume that they would act conscientiously. What he contended was this—if such a crisis were to be brought about, a serious blow would be struck not only against the Bishops, but against the Church, for they could not strike at the Bishops without the blow recoiling upon the Church. As a member of the Church, he should deeply deplore that such a state of things should



exist. Another part of the question, and one of the most serious aspects of the question, was this—the Bishops, at the present time, in order that they might do their duty as Members of the House of Lords, were bound to be in attendance there, in order that they might serve the State; but while they were serving the State they could not be in their dioceses, and he thought every Member of the House, whether he agreed with him in the view he took of the Motion or not, would admit that, throughout the country at the present time, in various country parishes a most lamentable state of things existed. He did not propose to enter into the question as to which Party was wrong in any of the disputes which prevailed; but he could not help thinking that, if the Bishops were able to devote the whole of their time to the duties of their dioceses, they would soon make themselves acquainted with the wishes and views of many persons with whom, under the existing state of things, they never came into contact at all. In that case, they would be able to act as mediators in many of the unfortunate disputes which had arisen, and remove a considerable amount of heartburning and bickering. Instead of seeing the Bishops occupying the position of great Lords, and coming down to the House of Peers to attend the debates, he should like to see them occupying their time with their spiritual duties, endeavouring to ascertain for themselves the feelings of the clergy and laity in their various parishes. By going about amongst the farmers, and even the labourers in the country, and listening to their complaints and their views, they might learn a good deal more about them than they could ever hope to do under the present system. If they were able to do that, they would soon do a vast amount of good. It had been pointed out that night, as it had been pointed out in early times, that it was most desirable the Bishops should be accessible at all times; and the only conclusion he could arrive at was that, if the Bishops were allowed to remain in the House of Lords—even if they were only called upon to be in attendance occasionally to discharge duties of the kind which had been described—they could not, at the same time, perform the legitimate duties of their dioceses, and devote to their various

parishes the time that was desirable. At present they must either neglect their duties to the State or their duties in their dioceses. Their duty, as Members of the House of Lords, required them to spend far more time in political matters than merely the actual spent in the House itself. He had no desire to prolong the debate; but he hoped hon. Members would agree that a great number of Churchmen, who were all deeply attached to the Church, were most anxious to secure the greater efficiency of the Bishops. And he thought that, by passing this Resolution, a step would be taken towards directing the attention of the whole country to the matter.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the question was one which could not be decided by a debate of an hour or two, but which really required very serious consideration and discussion. A great number of hon. Members of that House, who wished to see the Bishops no longer having seats in the House of Lords, had two objects in view. One was, that there should be no House of Lords at all. [*Cries of "No!"*] It was the fact all the same; and he would repeat that there were a great number of Gentlemen, among whom he did not include the hon. Member for Grantham (Mr. Mellor), who last addressed the House, but a great number of those hon. Members who had spoken in favour of, and who were ready to vote for, the Motion would desire that there should be no House of Lords. [*Cries of "No!"*] Their other object was, that there should be no Bishops of the Established Church—[*"No, no!"*—and, therefore, when they said they wanted to withdraw the Bishops of the Established Church from the House of Lords they were practically putting forward, in the first place, that there should be no House of Lords at all; and, in the second, that there should be no Bishops of the Established Church. [*"No, no!"*] Hon. Members opposite might shout "*No!"*" but it was true. He would undertake to say that one-half of those hon. Members who intended to vote for the Motion would vote for the Disestablishment of the Church, while an equal number would vote for the abolition of the House of Lords. Therefore, his proposition was quite true. A considerable number of hon. Members now

*Mr. Mellor*



present were not Members of the House of Commons in the year 1870, and, therefore, had not the opportunity of listening to the advice then given to the House by the present Prime Minister. Nobody regretted more than he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) did the absence of the right hon. Gentleman on the present occasion. He had no wish to speak disparagingly of one word that had fallen from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, who had addressed the House against the Motion; but the greater weight and authority of the Prime Minister had generally exercised a considerable amount of influence over the votes of hon. Members on the opposite side of the House. He, therefore, begged to remind them that in 1870—not very many years ago—no one spoke in more eloquent terms against the proposition at present before the House than the Prime Minister then did. The right hon. Gentleman opposed the proposal from both points of view. He said—"I do not care whether you consider it in regard to the benefit of the State, or whether you regard it from the interests of the Church—in whichever way you take it, I am entirely against the proposal to take away from the Bishops the seats they have in the House of Lords." He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) did not quite understand how it should have happened that the eloquence of the Prime Minister, which was always listened to with the greatest respect by hon. Members opposite, should have one effect in one case and not in another. For this reason he regretted most deeply that the Prime Minister was not able to be in his place to repeat, with all the eloquence and force he had employed in 1870, his arguments against the Motion which it was now the wish of hon. Members opposite to pass. ["Divide!"] No; hon. Members might take it from him that they were not going to divide until the question had been properly discussed. He had no doubt, if the Prime Minister were now in his place, he would state again what he had said so well in 1870, whatever hon. Members opposite might think. He did not dispute that when the right hon. Gentleman brought forward his Land Bill originally, he announced opinions which he totally changed in 1881, and probably hon. Members opposite indulged in the

hope that the Prime Minister had also changed his opinion as to the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords. Perhaps hon. Members opposite thought that the Prime Minister was continually going to change his opinions on all subjects, and that in regard to the Bishops in the House of Lords his views had undergone as much alteration as they had upon the Land Question. [*Interruption, and cries of "Move the Adjournment."*] No; he would not move the adjournment of the debate; but he must persist in reminding hon. Members sitting on the opposite side of the House of one or two of the arguments used by the Prime Minister in 1870, because he thought that the words of the right hon. Gentleman would have greater weight with them than any he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) could use. Hon. Members opposite voted in accordance with the advice and opinions of the right hon. Gentleman then, and he did not see why they should not take the same course now. What the right hon. Gentleman said in 1870 was this. [*Cries of "Agreed!"*] He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) did not propose to read any opinion of his own, but simply those of the Prime Minister, if hon. Members opposite cared to listen to them. [*Interruption.*]

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is in possession of the House, and is entitled to be allowed to proceed without interruption.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was merely going to quote what the Prime Minister had stated; and, notwithstanding the interruption of Members on the other side, he meant to say what he intended to say. He had certainly thought that they would have listened with more respect than they had manifested to any words that had fallen from the Prime Minister, and his only regret was that the right hon. Gentleman was unable to repeat them in person. [*A laugh.*] He did not see why hon. Members should laugh at the words of the Prime Minister before they had heard them. What the right hon. Gentleman said was this—that the question might be regarded in two ways—first, as it affected the Church, and next in regard to the State; and that, in his opinion, neither the Church nor the State would derive any advantage from the Bishops being excluded from the House of Lords.

The right hon. Gentleman gave his reasons as far as the Church was concerned. He said it had been stated that the Bishops had now ceased to reside habitually in London during the Session; that there were a certain number of them who were always necessarily here—namely, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Winchester, who might be called the Metropolitan Bishops; that no one could find fault with their being constantly in London; and that their duties in Parliament were not now allowed to interfere with the performance of their duties in their respective dioceses. The hon. Member for Grant-ham (Mr. Mellor) said he wished that the Bishops should confine themselves entirely to the discharge of the duties connected with their dioceses; but the Prime Minister was of a different opinion, and stated so in 1870. The right hon. Gentleman pointed out that the old practice whereby the Bishops were constantly in London had practically ceased; that they were only in London now and then; and that their duties in their dioceses were in no way interfered with by the performance of their duties in the House of Lords. The right hon. Gentleman stated further that their occasional presence in London for purposes of union and communion was absolutely necessary for the complete discharge of their duties in their different dioceses; and he added that they could perform the duties required of them, at the present moment, in Parliament perfectly consistently with the duties they were called upon to discharge in their dioceses. He left the Prime Minister and hon. Members opposite to settle the matter among themselves; but no one could have spoken with greater force and reason, and more conclusively, than the right hon. Gentleman did in 1870. But the Prime Minister went on to declare that the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords was intimately connected with the question of the relation between Church and State, and ought not to be considered apart from that subject. He thought the proposal then brought forward would materially weaken the influence of the State upon the Church; and that was one reason which, in his opinion, rendered it necessary that the Bishops should retain their seats. The right

hon. Gentleman said it was most desirable that the influence of the State, exercised through the House of Lords on the Bishops who were there representing the Church, should be continued, not only in the interest of the Church, but in the interest of the people. Lastly, the Prime Minister stated that, in his opinion, the matter was so intimately connected with the Disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England that it could not be considered solely on the mere question of the presence of the Bishops in the House of Lords; but that, whenever such a serious subject did come before Parliament at all, it must be discussed in connection with the question of total Disestablishment and the relations now existing between Church and State; that it ought not to be discussed upon any bye issue, but must be fought out straight. [*Cries of "Hear, hear!"*] Hon. Members opposite said "Hear, hear;" but it was clearly the opinion of the Prime Minister that the question was so vitally connected with the relations between Church and State that it could not possibly be discussed in any other form or shape, but must be met by a direct proposal, and not brought forward as a bye question. The Prime Minister even went on to point out what would be the disadvantages to the State. He declared that the charges which had been made against the Bishops were altogether inconsistent—on the one hand that they were too subservient to the State, and on the other that they were too ostentatious. Such charges, said the Prime Minister, were inconsistent with each other, and ought not to weigh with the House in discussing the matter. As to the removal of the Bishops from the House of Lords, the Prime Minister gave it as his opinion that their removal would not strengthen that Chamber. The House of Lords, as everyone knew, was a hereditary Legislature, and the effect which the Bishops, who were persons most of whom had raised themselves from inferior positions in life, and many of them from even the lowest stations, by their high character, intelligence, knowledge, and learning—the effect which their presence produced afforded material strength to the House of Lords. [*Interruption.*] Hon. Members were impatient; but they must remember that he was not speaking his own words, but



those of the Prime Minister. They were discussing the question whether these Prelates were to be dismissed from the House of Lords or not, and he presumed they were agreed that there ought to be two Chambers. He supposed there could be no doubt whatever about that. ["No!"] If they were not agreed upon that point, he would ask any hon. Member to get up in his place and state whether he could put his finger upon a single epoch in the history of any country, ancient or modern, in which, with a single Chamber, the liberties of the people were ever preserved for a longer period than 50 years. He defied any hon. Member to get up and disprove that assertion. Therefore, upon that point there could be no question, and there must be a Second Chamber. Then, if there was to be a Second Chamber—[*Cries of "Divide!" and interruption.*] Hon. Members opposite seemed to imagine that they were in a majority, and that he was occupying the time of the House solely in order to enable Members to come down. He certainly intended to conclude the remarks he had risen to make; and he would say this. If there was to be a Second Chamber, it was of vital importance to that Chamber that there should be persons introduced there on account of their special ability, special knowledge, and special power. If they really wished to reform that Chamber, instead of excluding the Bishops from the House of Lords, a far better course would be to place more life Peers in it. All these questions which he had put before the House were questions which were stated in 1870 in far more eloquent language by the Prime Minister. [*Interruption.*] He was very sorry to find that there were hon. Members opposite who were not disposed to accept the arguments of the Prime Minister; and the only conclusion he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) could draw from that fact was either that the right hon. Gentleman himself had changed his views, which he could scarcely imagine to be the case, seeing that the Home Secretary had spoken in precisely the same sense, or that many Members opposite were so much in difference with him that they intended to vote against the Government. He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) could only say that if the Motion were passed it would only be taken for what it was worth, for they

might depend upon it that the country would be of a different opinion. [*Cries of "Oh!"*] He certainly believed that the country were upon this point, and probably it was the only point on which they were at one with the Prime Minister—that was to say, supposing the right hon. Gentleman still entertained the opinions he had expressed in 1870. He (Sir R. Assheton Cross) cared little about the Liberal majority, because he felt satisfied that before the question came to a practical solution it would have to be deliberately discussed on its merits, which it certainly had not been that night, and when it had been so discussed it would be found that, whatever majority there might be then in favour of the Motion, when the question was thoroughly and practically considered, the feeling of the country would be strongly against the proposal.

MR. FRANCIS BUXTON said, that it had been urged in the course of the debate that the object of bringing forward this Motion was to advance the cause of Disestablishment, and, if possible, to damage the Church of England. He believed that was not the case. Although he was of opinion that if the Motion before the House were passed, and the Bishops were expelled from the House of Lords, it would be for the benefit of the Church of England, yet, as a member of that Church, he should give his opposition to that Motion. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) had said that many Gentlemen on that side of the House desired to see the abolition of the House of Lords. He (Mr. Buxton) believed that the time for that had not yet come; but undoubtedly there was a large majority of Members on those Benches who desired to see a reform of the House of Lords. His own desire was not to see it reformed in the direction indicated by the Motion, but by the admission of life Peers, and as the principle of life Peers was as yet only admitted in the case of Bishops, he felt bound to oppose the Motion now before the House.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I promise not to detain the House many minutes. I am anxious to make one observation—namely, that before we go to a Division we should understand that we neither over-estimate nor under-estimate the effect of this Motion.



It has been remarked in the course of the discussion that the real meaning and intention of the proposed Resolution is to lay the foundation of, or to take a step towards, the Disestablishment of the Church. That has been denied by many speakers, and I have no doubt that in the denials they have given hon. Members have been perfectly sincere; nor do I for a moment doubt that many who will give the Motion their support to-night will say that it does not pledge them to go any further, and will wish it to be clearly understood that if the Motion is carried it shall not be taken as meaning anything beyond that which it really states. But, on the other hand, I must point out that if such a vote should be passed—even in this very informal shape, and in a House so little qualified for want of time to discuss, or by the form in which it has been brought before it, as a Legislative Body, to consider the proposal—it must not be thought that such a vote carries with it any assent to the principle of Disestablishment; nor, on the other hand, must we shrink from the conviction that such a vote will give a considerable impetus to the feeling, and will impress it strongly on the minds of persons outside this House, that a step in that direction has been taken. It is not a little remarkable that the arguments which have been adduced in support of the Motion, if they are arguments that are worth anything, are such as ought to have proceeded from friends of the Church, and within the Church, rather than from those who wish to attack it, or who are jealous of its position; because the best argument brought forward is that the attendance of the Bishops in the House of Lords militates against and prevents their properly discharging the functions of, their dioceses. Now, if that were a serious objection, it would be felt by the Bishops themselves, and by the friends and members of the Church, who would be the first to put it forward. But it is to be observed that it is not from that source that the objection proceeds. I listened with admiration to much of the speech of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). There is no doubt that great eloquence and good feeling was manifested throughout the whole of that speech, and it was impossible not to be influenced by the very touching manner

in which the hon. Gentleman spoke of the great services of the Missionary Bishops. But I venture to say, however great may be the devotion and services of Bishop Paterson, of whom no one can speak more highly than I do, that amongst the Bishops labouring in their several districts in England, there is quite as much resolute devotion, quite as much keenness to take their part in the proper solution of those great social questions which affect the religious and moral as well as the political character of the country, as there is to be found in the exertions of one who went out to the heathen in Melanesia. Sir, it is not fair to bring forward any Motion or any proposition of this kind in a spirit which seems to imply that the Bishops of the Church of England are not doing their duty as a body. I say there are no men who are making greater exertions, and greater sacrifices of time and health, and all that they can command for the good of those committed to their charge, than the Bishops of the Church of England. With regard to the form in which the Motion is presented to us, I will only say that it is of a kind which naturally renders this discussion a very cursory one, and that if it had been seriously contemplated it ought to have been presented in the form of a Bill, which could be discussed upon the lines of a practical proposal rather than as a Motion of an abstract character. We have had two or three hours only for the discussion of this great question, which leads into other questions greater still, and which cannot properly be separated from it; and I venture to say that the vote taken upon it to-night will be far indeed from expressing the real conviction of the House.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, he had not had the advantage of hearing the whole of the eloquent introduction of this Motion by the hon. and learned Member for Colchester (Mr. Willis), and he therefore asked, for the information of the House, whether it was his intention, should the Motion be carried, to introduce a Bill? He had another question to put. Was the House to understand that, in the event of the Motion being carried and a Bill being introduced, the latter would receive the support of Her Majesty's Government? He put these questions for this reason, that if the House were to pass such a Resolution as

the present without a promise on the part of the Mover that he would introduce a Bill, and without a promise on the part of Her Majesty's Government that they would support it, the House would, in his opinion, be trifling with the country.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes 148 ; Noes 137 : Majority 11.

#### AYES.

|                           |                          |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Alexander, Major-Gen.     | Freemantle, hon. T. F.   |
| Amherst, W. A. T.         | French-Brewster, R.A.    |
| Archdale, W. H.           | B.                       |
| Ashley, hon. E. M.        | Gabbett, D. F.           |
| Barttelot, Sir W. B.      | Garnier, J. C.           |
| Beach, right hon. Sir     | Gibson, right hon. E.    |
| M. E. Hicks-              | Giles, A.                |
| Beach, W. W. B.           | Gladstone, W. H.         |
| Bective, Earl of          | Goldney, Sir G.          |
| Bellingham, A. H.         | Grantham, W.             |
| Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.   | Gregory, G. B.           |
| Birkbeck, E.              | Hamilton, right hon.     |
| Blackburne, Col. J. I.    | Lord G.                  |
| Blennerhassett, R. P.     | Hamilton, I. T.          |
| Bourke, right hon. R.     | Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. |
| Brodrick, hon. W. St.     | G. V. V.                 |
| J. F.                     | Hartington, Marq. of     |
| Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.   | Harvey, Sir R. B.        |
| Burghley, Lord            | Herbert, hon. S.         |
| Buxton, Sir R. J.         | Herschell, Sir F.        |
| Buxton, F. W.             | Hicks, E.                |
| Cameron, D.               | Hill, Lord A. W.         |
| Campbell, J. A.           | Holland, Sir H. T.       |
| Castlereagh, Viscount     | Hope, right hon. A. J.   |
| Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.   | B. B.                    |
| Chaplin, H.               | Houldsworth, W. H.       |
| Christie, W. L.           | Kennard, C. J.           |
| Clarke, E.                | Kennaway, Sir J. H.      |
| Clive, Col. hon. G. W.    | King-Harman, Colonel     |
| Collins, T.               | E. R.                    |
| Compton, F.               | Lawrance, J. C.          |
| Corry, J. P.              | Lawrence, Sir T.         |
| Courtauld, G.             | Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.   |
| Crichton, Viscount        | Legh, W. J.              |
| Cropper, J.               | Leighton, S.             |
| Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A. | Lennox, right hn. Lord   |
| Curzon, Major hon. M.     | II. G. C. G.             |
| Dalrymple, C.             | Lever, J. O.             |
| Davenport, W. B.          | Levett, T. J.            |
| Dawney, Col. hon. L. P.   | Lewisham, Viscount       |
| Dawney, hon. G. C.        | Lopes, Sir M.            |
| Digby, Colonel hon. E.    | Lowther, rt. hon. J.     |
| Dixon-Hartland, F. D.     | Lowther, hon. W.         |
| Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.    | Lowther, J. W.           |
| Douglas, A. Akers-        | Mac Iver, D.             |
| Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.   | McGarel-Hogg, Sir J.     |
| Ecroyd, W. F.             | Makins, Colonel W. T.    |
| Egerton, hon. A. de T.    | Manners, rt. hon. Lord   |
| Elcho, Lord               | J. J. R.                 |
| Elton, C. I.              | Master, T. W. C.         |
| Fellowes, W. H.           | Maxwell, Sir H. E.       |
| Finch, G. H.              | Mills, Sir C. H.         |
| Finch-Hatton, hon. M.     | Morgan, hon. F.          |
| E. G.                     | Moss, R.                 |
| Forester, C. T. W.        | Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir    |
| Foster, W. H.             | J. R.                    |
| Fowler, rt. hon. R. N.    | Newdegate, C. N.         |

|                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Newport, Viscount       | Severne, J. E.         |
| Nicholson, W. N.        | Smith, rt. hon. W. H.  |
| Northcote, rt. hon. Sir | Smith, A.              |
| S. H.                   | Stanhope, hon. E.      |
| Northcote, H. S.        | Stanley, E. J.         |
| O'Donnell, F. H.        | Stanton, W. J.         |
| Onslow, D. R.           | Strutt, hon. C. H.     |
| Paget, R. H.            | Sykes, C.              |
| Pemberton, E. L.        | Talbot, J. G.          |
| Percy, right hon. Earl  | Tavistock, Marquess of |
| Percy, Lord A.          | Thornhill, T.          |
| Phipps, P.              | Tollemache, H. J.      |
| Plunket, rt. hon. D. R. | Tomlinson, W. E. M.    |
| Puleston, J. H.         | Torrens, W. T. M.      |
| Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.  | Tottenham, A. L.       |
| Rankin, J.              | Walrond, Col. W. H.    |
| Ritchie, C. T.          | Warton, C. N.          |
| Rolls, J. A.            | Whitley, E.            |
| Ross, A. H.             | Wilmot, Sir. H.        |
| Ross, C. C.             | Winn, R.               |
| Round, J.               | Wortley, C. B. Stuart- |
| Salt, T.                |                        |
| Scott, Lord H.          |                        |
| Scott, M. D.            | TELLERS.               |
| Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir    | Cotes, C. C.           |
| H. J.                   | Grosvenor, right hon.  |
|                         | Lord R.                |

#### NOES.

|                        |                          |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Ainsworth, D.          | Fry, L.                  |
| Anderson, G.           | Fry, T.                  |
| Armitage, B.           | Gower, hon. E. F. L.     |
| Armistead, G.          | Grant, A.                |
| Arnold, A.             | Grant, D.                |
| Barclay, J. W.         | Hamilton, J. G. C.       |
| Baring, Viscount       | Healy, T. M.             |
| Barran, J.             | Henderson, F.            |
| Bass, Sir A.           | Heneage, E.              |
| Baxter, rt. hon. W. E. | Holden, I.               |
| Beaumont, W. B.        | Holland, S.              |
| Biddulph, M.           | Hopwood, C. H.           |
| Bolton, J. C.          | Howard, G. J.            |
| Borlase, W. C.         | Howard, J.               |
| Bright, right hon. J.  | Illingworth, A.          |
| Bright, J.             | James, C.                |
| Brogden, A.            | James, W. H.             |
| Brown, A. H.           | Jenkins, Sir J. J.       |
| Bruce, hon. R. P.      | Jenkins, D. J.           |
| Bryce, J.              | Johnson, E.              |
| Buchanan, T. R.        | Kenny, M. J.             |
| Burt, T.               | Kingscote, Col. R. N. F. |
| Buszard, M. C.         | Labouchere, H.           |
| Campbell, Sir G.       | Lawson, Sir W.           |
| Campbell, R. F. F.     | Leake, R.                |
| Carington, hon. R.     | Leamy, E.                |
| Causton, R. K.         | Leatham, E. A.           |
| Cheetham, J. F.        | Lloyd, M.                |
| Clark, S.              | Mackie, R. B.            |
| Clarke, J. C.          | MacIver, P. S.           |
| Clifford, C. C.        | McArthur, Sir W.         |
| Collings, J.           | McArthur, A.             |
| Colman, J. J.          | McCarthy, J.             |
| Cowen, J.              | McLagan, P.              |
| Cowper, hon. H. F.     | McLaren, C. B. B.        |
| Davies, D.             | Marjoribanks, E.         |
| Earp, T.               | Martin, R. B.            |
| Edwards, H.            | Mason, H.                |
| Elliot, hon. A. R. D.  | Mellor, J. W.            |
| Fairbairn, Sir A.      | Molloy, B. C.            |
| Firth, J. F. B.        | Moreton, Lord            |
| Forster, Sir C.        | Morley, A.               |
| Fowler, H. H.          | Morley, J.               |
| Fowler, W.             | Noel, E.                 |

|                        |                     |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| O'Brien, W.            | Shaw, T.            |
| O'Connor, T. P.        | Sheil, E.           |
| O'Gorman Mahon, Col.   | Sheridan, H. B.     |
| The                    | Simon, Serjeant J.  |
| O'Shea, W. H.          | Slaggy, J.          |
| Paget, T. T.           | Stanley, hon. E. L. |
| Palmer, C. M.          | Stevenson, J. C.    |
| Palmer, G.             | Sullivan, T. D.     |
| Palmer, J. H.          | Summers, W.         |
| Pease, A.              | Tennant, C.         |
| Peddle, J. D.          | Thomasson, J. P.    |
| Potter, T. B.          | Tillett, J. H.      |
| Powell, W. R. H.       | Vivian, Sir H. H.   |
| Pulley, J.             | Vivian, A. P.       |
| Ramsay, J.             | Waddy, S. D.        |
| Rathbone, W.           | Webster, J.         |
| Rendel, S.             | Whitworth, B.       |
| Richard, H.            | Williams, S. C. E.  |
| Roe, T.                | Williamson, S.      |
| Rogers, J. E. T.       | Wills, W. H.        |
| Roundell, C. S.        | Willyams, E. W. B.  |
| Russell, Lord A.       | Wodehouse, E. R.    |
| Russell, C.            | Woodall, W.         |
| Samuelson, H.          |                     |
| Seely, C. (Nottingham) | TELLERS.            |
| Sellar, A. C.          | Agnew, W.           |
| Sexton, T.             | Willis, W.          |

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

SUPPLY, — Committee upon *Monday* next.

# FRESHWATER FISHERIES ACT AMENDMENT BILL.—[BILL 129.]

(Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.)

## CONSIDERATION.

Order for Consideration, as amended, read.

Bill, as amended, *considered*.

On Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, the following Amendment made:—In page 2, after Clause 3, insert the following Clause:—

(Explanation of 41 and 42 Vic. c. 39, s. 5.)

"In the application of section sixty-four of 'The Salmon Fishery Act, 1865,' to trout and char in waters within the limits of 'The Freshwater Fisheries Act, 1878,' the words 'salmon river situate in a fishery district which is subject to a Board of Conservators appointed under this Act,' shall be construed to mean 'waters frequented by trout or char.'"

SIR ROBERT BUXTON said, he wished to move the insertion of a new clause after Clause 5, prohibiting the use of poison and noxious substances for the destruction of fish. The provision would have the effect of putting a stop to fish taking by dynamite.

New Clause—

(Prohibition of the use of poison and noxious substances for destruction of fish.)

"Any person who unlawfully and maliciously puts any poison, lime, or noxious material in

any water frequented by freshwater fish with intent thereby to destroy any of the fish that may then be or may thereafter be put therein shall be liable, on summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding five pounds or to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a term not exceeding two months.

"Nothing in this section shall prevent a person being punished under any other Act, so that he be not punished twice for the same offence,"—(Sir Robert Buxton,)

—brought up, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Clause be now read a second time," put, and *agreed to*.

Clause added to the Bill.

Further Amendments made.

MR. HEALY said, he wished to move, as an Amendment to Clause 6, the addition of the following words:—

"Except that as regards Ireland it is hereby enacted that the weekly close season for all fish shall not begin until 9 p.m. on Saturdays."

By the Act of 1863, it was provided that as to Ireland there should be a close time on Saturdays as well as on Sundays. This restriction was caused by a compromise arrived at some years ago, at the time that the standing engines were abolished in all the great rivers of Ireland. All owners of standing engines had been obliged to take those engines out of the rivers, and the result of this was the infliction of great money loss on such owners. In order to afford them some compensation, it was provided that the net fishermen—who had profited considerably by the abolition of the standing engines—should only have leave to fish five days in the week. The fishermen had found this restriction operate very hardly upon them, and they complained very bitterly that they were only allowed to work five days out of the seven, whilst all other classes had leave to work six days in the week. No doubt, it would be alleged against a clause of this kind that it was necessary for the protection of salmon that there should be this close season; but those who were best qualified to speak on the subject—for not being an authority upon it himself he had consulted those who were best entitled to give an opinion—declared that it would not do any mischief whatever to salmon if the net fishermen were allowed to ply their calling the whole six days. These gentlemen held that the close season of half-a-year was sufficient to provide for breeding and to give the fish



the necessary protection and preservation. As a matter of fact, the Saturday close time was not strictly observed, as, under it, there was always a great temptation to poaching. The fishermen, many of whom were in very poor circumstances and found it a matter of no small difficulty to provide for their families, were very often tempted to poach on the Saturday. Their contention was that it was not a proper legislative restriction, and that there was no moral obligation on them to keep it, and, therefore, they were inclined to break in on the close time. The only people who were likely to object to a provision such as he wished to insert in the Bill were the anglers. Well, he had no objection to salmon fishing as a sport; but, at the same time, it should be borne in mind that the class of people who angled were of a different social position from those who fished in cots with nets; these were of the poorer class. Some of the fisheries belonged to great landowners, and they let them out to people, and, thereby profited by the labour and amusement of others. They did not suffer from the Saturday close time; but those who did suffer were the class who had to live by their own labour—who had to work for their daily bread. Even were it correct that the rod fishermen—the aristocrats—would suffer by this additional day being given to the fishermen, it would be a small matter compared with the great benefit which would be conferred upon a large number of working men. But those who really understood the question said that the anglers would be in no worse position even if the net fishermen got the Saturday. They alleged that the fish would be all the better for the little thinning they would undergo, and that the half-yearly close time and Sunday close time would be quite sufficient for breeding and protective purposes. He had this on the authority of a gentleman well qualified to speak on the subject. He did not know why this restriction should continue, seeing that it was imposed a quarter of a century ago, that it had not been productive of good, and was decided upon when the Irish fishermen were not represented in Parliament as they were now. It was decided upon as a kind of salve or compensation to the owners who had had standing engines in the rivers, and had so many of them that he was informed that, in 1863, on

many navigable rivers they prevented boats from being run up. The nuisance was so great that even if it had not been for the sake of the salmon fishing the standing engines would have had to go in many places. The owners of some fisheries claimed their rights from the time of Magna Charta. He did not know how they could do that, seeing that King John never had any more power over Ireland than he had over China. But it was owing merely to an extraordinary construction put upon the law, backed up by a decision of the House of Lords, that these owners succeeded in holding what they claimed. He would not go into these questions at the present moment, however. His contention was that it would only be a fair thing to allow the poor fishermen of Ireland to enjoy the same privilege of working six days in the week as was allowed to other classes of the community. He might be told by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for the Home Department (Mr. Hibbert) that this was a thoroughly English Bill, and that, therefore, the present was not the time to raise a question of this sort; but he maintained that any time was a good time—whenever he got the chance. Opportunities of raising questions in the interests of the Irish fishermen were not so numerous that he could afford to allow an English Fisheries Bill to pass without endeavouring to engraft upon it some provision affecting Ireland. It might be said that the Bill did not affect salmon fisheries; but that was no answer to him—they should make it affect them. But the contentions to which he referred, by way of opposing such an Amendment as his, were merely technical, and he trusted they would not be put forward by a Gentleman of the breadth of view of the Under Secretary for the Home Department. If the hon. Gentleman opposed the Amendment, it was to be hoped he would do it on intelligible and justifiable grounds—not on any technical ground. He could assure the Committee that there was a great deal of soreness felt by the Seine net fishermen on this subject. It was a hard thing to say to men, with families to provide for, that they must stop work for the week on Friday night, and not do anything on Saturday morning like every other class of men—to say to them that they must rest on their oars, so to speak, and stand by while the

anglers on the upper reaches of the rivers used the rod and line as much as they liked. The rod men did not pay as heavy a sum for their licences as the net men, therefore the restriction on the latter was additionally objectionable. He trusted that, after what he had said in defence of the net fishermen, the Committee would be induced to accept his Amendment.

#### Amendment proposed,

In page 3, line 8, to add, at the end of the Clause, the words "except that as regards Ireland it is hereby enacted that the weekly close season for all fish shall not begin until 9 p.m. on Saturdays."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. HIBBERT said, he was sorry to have to oppose the addition of these words to the clause. In doing so, however, he wished to explain to the hon. Member that he did not do it because he did not sympathize with the object the hon. Member had in view. He was obliged to take the objection which the hon. Gentleman appeared to think a technical one, and to his (Mr. Hibbert's) mind it was a very strong objection. In the first place, the Bill only applied to England, and the Act with which it would be incorporated—the Freshwater Fisheries Act—was an exclusively English one. This Act, indeed, contained a clause expressly exempting from its operation Ireland and Scotland. If the words now proposed, therefore, were added to Clause 6, they could not affect the operation of the Act. Then, again, as the hon. Member himself said, the Bill did not apply at all to salmon—salmon were not in any way dealt with in it. It merely applied to freshwater fish, and that, though it might be merely a technical reason, was, at any rate, a strong reason why the words in question should not be inserted. At the same time, he would draw the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that there were two Irish Bills already before the House dealing with this subject, one of them standing in a very good position on the Paper. The first Bill was not in such a good position on the Paper as the other, which would be the second Order of the Day on Wednesday, April 2nd. There was not much chance of the first Bill coming on. The English Bill would probably occupy the greater part of the day; but, no doubt, an opportunity

*Mr. Healy*

would be given to the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) to have his Bill considered. This was a Bill which dealt entirely with the question which the hon. Member had brought forward—namely, the close time; but he thought what the hon. Member had said as to Saturday fishing deserved consideration, and he hoped it would be considered when the Bill came before the House. Then there was another Bill which was fixed as the first Order of the Day for the 9th April—the Fisheries (Ireland) Bill, Second Reading. He did not know what the object of the Bill was; but it would apparently give the hon. Member an opportunity of bringing forward this question upon a Bill which affected Ireland and Ireland alone. He was sorry to have to refuse what the hon. Member proposed; but he hoped the hon. Member would not press his Amendment on this English Bill.

MR. SEXTON said, he was very sensible of the courtesy of the hon. Gentleman, and he had no doubt of the hon. Gentleman's sincerity. The case put forward by his hon. Friend was a very strong case, because it affected interests which were familiar to all men coming from Ireland. It was very hard that a needy body of men should be deprived of one day's labour and one day's profits in the week by a practice which excluded one class and conferred no benefit on anyone. He hoped the hon. Gentleman would be able to give a more favourable opportunity for considering the point than upon the Bill of a private Member, even though that Bill was the first Order of the Day. To depend upon such an opportunity as that would be to lean upon a broken reed, for, as everyone knew, the chances of a Bill which held the first place on a Wednesday going through Committee and passing into law were infinitesimal.

MR. HEALY said, he did not wish to put the House to the trouble of a Division; but he trusted that, as the hon. Gentleman had shown a certain amount of sympathy upon this matter, he would, before the other Bill came on, consider whether he could do something in the direction indicated. He would now ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Bill to be read the third time upon *Monday next.*

## MOTIONS.

### ELECTRIC LIGHTING PROVISIONAL ORDER BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JOHN HOLMS, Bill to confirm a Provisional Order made by the Board of Trade, under "The Electric Lighting Act, 1882," transferring certain rights, powers, and obligations under certain Provisional Orders to the Edison and Swan United Electric Light Company (Limited); and for other purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. JOHN HOLMS and Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 145.]

### SUPERANNUATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE, Bill to extend certain powers given by "The Superannuation Amendment Act, 1873," ordered to be brought in by Mr. HERBERT GLADSTONE and Mr. COURTNEY.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 146.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock till Monday next.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday, 24th March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Dublin Museum of Science and Art \* (38).

*Second Reading*—Valuation (Metropolis) Amendment \* (31).

*Third Reading*—Habitual Criminals Act Amendment \* (28), and passed.

*Royal Assent*—Mr. Speaker's Retirement \* [47 *Vict. c. 1*]; National Debt [47 *Vict. c. 2*]; Brokers (City of London) [47 *Vict. c. 3*]; Marriages Legalisation (Stopsley, Beds.) [47 *Vict. c. i*].

### ECCELSIASTICAL COMMISSIONERS—HOUSE PROPERTY IN SOUTHWARK.

#### MOTION FOR A PAPER.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, in rising to move for a Copy of the Report of a Select Committee of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, recently presented to the Board in reference to certain house property in Southwark, said, that he would wish to make a few observations on the subject. The property in question, long leasehold, had come very slowly into the hands of the Commissioners, block by block and house by house, as the leaseholds and sub-lease-

holds upon lives fell in. Prior to 1881 only a small number of leases, covering a limited area, had lapsed; but in that year and in the year 1883, a large number expired, and the direct control of these, which they had not at all until 1881, was very much intermixed with that of others. A Select Committee of the Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners, recently appointed, presented a Report on the 13th March with reference to the condition and future use of the property. Whilst it had become the duty of the Commissioners to take the property into their own hands, it was necessary that removal should be carried out very gradually. Strong representations had been made by the Brompton Committee and others as to the character of the people who inhabited this district; that the houses were thieves' dens, brothels, and public-houses, and other 'disreputable haunts'; but, as a matter of fact, the streets alluded to were entirely outside the property of the Commissioners; the inhabitants of their property were very poor people indeed, but industrious as a class, hard-working, and earning weekly wages. The Commissioners had now decided to let this land to a builder of good repute, who had been recommended by the Metropolitan Board of Works; and on it he would, as rapidly as desirable, remove the old and dilapidated houses and erect suitable labourers' dwellings. The houses would be in blocks, and would accommodate more persons than the houses which had been destroyed. One particular characteristic of the plan was that they would be erected with rooms capable of being let singly, in pairs, or in suites of three or four rooms, according to the needs of the people. The people had the option of becoming tenants in the meanwhile of the rooms as they were erected; but as more or less time must necessarily elapse before the whole property would be rebuilt, they would be permitted to occupy old rooms as they became vacant. He might mention that Miss Octavia Hill had expressed a wish in the meanwhile to take in hand the remaining tenements and tenants, to collect the rents for the Commissioners, and to improve the tenants on the system which had proved so effective in other parts of London. It had accordingly been arranged with Miss Hill that she should pursue her well-known plan in connection with the Offi-



cial Receivers and Agents of the Board. The circulation of the Report would remove impressions which were founded upon misapprehensions.

*Moved for,*

"Copy of the Report of the Select Committee of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, recently presented to the Board in reference to certain house property in Southwark."—(*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

EARL STANHOPE, in supporting the Motion, as one of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, would like, in the first place, to state how it happened that the Church became possessed of houses of so wretched a character as those in question. They were tenements let upon leases for lives, and under the tenure by which this property was held the sub-lessees had the power of renewing the leases upon the payment of a small fine; thus the property was virtually taken out of the hands of the landowners. When Parliament abolished that kind of tenure in regard to Church property, and the lives dropped, about a year ago, the Commissioners actually came into possession of this property. This estate was situated between Union Street and Falcon Court, Southwark, and did not include, as asserted, Mint Street. The Committee which had been appointed in Brompton to consider "the bitter cry of Outcast London" had reported that the property was of an exceedingly bad character, and that most of the houses were thieves' dens, brothels, or public-houses. But the property alluded to in that Report was not the property of the Commissioners at all. The character of their tenants was very respectable. They were engaged in various industrial pursuits, though they were very poor. He would give their Lordships a census of one block on the Winchester Park Estate. This block was one on the east side of Red Cross Street. The number of houses occupied was 102. The population was—married, 261; single, 130; children, 244; total, 635. The heads of families were 124 in number, of the following occupations:—namely, artisans and workers at trades—for example, bootmakers, bricklayers, painters, carpenters, basket, brush, box, and paper-bag makers, glass engraver, tailor, carpet sewers, &c., 26; shopkeepers, 5; porters, 5; waterside labourers, 11; bricklayers and other

labourers, 25; charwomen, needlewomen, and washing, 8; hawkers, costers, and dealers, 15; rabbit skin pullers, 10; chimney-sweeps and dustmen, 3; other callings—such as carmen, ostler, omnibus driver, cow-keeper, rag-sorter, dock constable, seaman, orange-seller, &c., 11; while those subsisting on charity, or supported by relatives, were only 5 in number. In the case of such people as these, it was a real hardship to remove them from their trades, and he was glad to say that, in this instance, the operations proposed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners could be carried on without any removal of the inhabitants, except of some few who had removed of their own accord. It was hoped that, in a few months, there would be ample accommodation for all these poor people. He thought it would be seen, when the new buildings were completed, that the Commissioners had tried to carry out to the best of their powers the principle, and, he might say, what he considered their bounden duty, of housing the poor who were situated on their estate. The Report, when presented, would prove the truth of what he now stated in asking the House to accept the Motion of the most rev. Primate.

*Motion agreed to.*

#### WEST INDIES—THE WINDWARD ISLANDS—REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.—QUESTION.

LORD BALFOUR asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, When the second part of the Report of the Royal Commission on the Windward Islands and the Islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, and Tobago will be in the hands of Members of the House? He believed the first part of the Report with reference to Jamaica had been issued for some time; but the latter part, which had not been issued, would be looked forward to with some anxiety.

THE EARL OF DERBY, in reply, said, that he could not give a definite answer at present, as some of the appendices to the Report were somewhat voluminous. He had not seen them, but had made inquiries, and he believed they were now being printed. He hoped the Report would be in their Lordships' hands before they separated for the Easter holidays.

*The Archbishop of Canterbury*

METROPOLIS—HYDE PARK CORNER—  
THE SITE FOR THE WELLING-  
TON STATUE.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

LORD STRATHEDEN AND CAMP-  
BELL, in rising to move—

“That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that the equestrian statue of the late Duke of Wellington may not be removed from London, but replaced in the vicinity of Apsley House, on a site not less appropriate than that from which it has been taken,”

said: My Lords, your Lordships may have seen a Notice I have upon the Paper for this evening. It is the inevitable consequence of the Question I put in August last upon the subject. It is only to be faithful to the opinion then advanced, to the position then maintained, that I am forced on the same matter to come again before your Lordships. My Lords, after a Question from a noble Lord now present in the House, on the 8th of February, the Government amazed us by declaring their intention to remove the equestrian statue of the late Duke of Wellington to Aldershot. As it was taken from the arch without consulting Parliament, without consulting Parliament it may be suddenly removed from the Metropolis. It therefore becomes the House, if the decision is improper, at once to exercise whatever veto may belong to them. They may do so with the more effect, inasmuch as a scheme I will not characterize at present is loudly censured by the public wherever their opinions find an adequate expression. My Lords, having sufficiently explained my view in August last, although to a small number, I now only wish to speak with the greatest brevity attainable on the two propositions contained in the Address it is proposed to bring before Her Majesty. The first is—that the statue should not be removed from the Metropolis; the second, that it should be replaced in the neighbourhood of Apsley House, on as good a site as that which has been forfeited. If Her Majesty's Government were not pre-occupied by great affairs and distant combinations, if their colossal minds were more at liberty to stoop to local matters, they would never have committed themselves to the extraordinary project they have mentioned. The first objection is, that it

would be a flagrant breach of faith with the original subscribers. The original subscribers gave up their money and their time, in order to erect a monument to the Duke of Wellington in London. Without their sanction you cannot move it to a Provincial quarter. You are no more at liberty to do so than to transfer it to a foreign capital. When it was handed over to the Board of Works, no such discretion was imparted. Would the Board of Works have ventured at the time to set it up at Farnborough or Colchester? Could they have legally so acted? Nothing has arisen to convey legality to that which then would have been wholly inadmissible. Again, the Government is not entitled, without consent from Parliament or some Municipal authority, to deprive the capital of statues. They are encroaching on the rights and the enjoyments of 3,000,000 persons who have not sanctioned the removal. But by depriving the Metropolis of statues, you deprive the world at large of statues also. The world at large are travellers to London, but are not travellers to Aldershot. It is the interest of all who start from a considerable distance, that the monument of the Duke of Wellington should be where they are certain to arrive when they visit the United Kingdom—namely, in its capital. Would it be no wrong to cosmopolitan society at large, if it was suddenly resolved at Berlin to transfer the statue of the Great Elector to Spandau; while that of Frederick the Second re-appeared at Brandenburg or Stettin? But it is intended to replace the vanished statue by a new one. But are you certain to obtain it? When the Government is only able to go on to indispensable Supply one night by a majority of 17, another by one of 11, is it a prudent calculation to assume that the House of Commons will vote £6,000 for an unnecessary statue, which cannot have, by any possibility, the value of the former one? But if another statue is erected, why should not Aldershot possess it? What sort of ground can be made good for the withdrawal of the present one? Besides, when you determine to remove the existing statue of the Duke of Wellington from London, it may be endlessly debated where it is to go to. My Lords, it will be endlessly debated, when money is required for the arrangement. Assuming that it



ought to pass to an encampment, some may be for Aldershot, and others for Shorncliffe. Aldershot, no doubt, contains a larger military force, and, so far, has a better title to possess it. But Shorncliffe commands the neighbourhood of Hythe, of Sandgate, and of Folkestone, and it would leave the statue open to a much larger range of public observation. It is not desirable that Parliament should be employed upon these controversies; and yet, without the voice of Parliament, it is not possible to settle them. There is but one further point in that connection. If the statue is at all a treasure, London ought to guard it. If it is not, why is Aldershot to be condemned to it? It is said that we are not a military nation. As yet, however, we have not gone so far the other way as to see in camps a receptacle for lumber, or a kind of substitution for the melting-pot. Let me add now only a few words as to the site which ought to be adopted. This Address would commit the House to no opinion which might be questioned by a technical authority. Last Session, indeed, I did maintain that the best position, and the most approximate to the old one, would be found on the arches in line with Apsley House, which form a boundary of Hyde Park and Piccadilly. I do not ask the House to sanction that opinion. Many may prefer its going back to its former arch, although that arch has been displaced from its original position. Some would raise a pedestal upon the ground on which the figure is provisionally standing. None of these plans would be excluded. It is only now essential to advert to the vicinity of Apsley House, as the Address would urge it on Her Majesty. The Government have told us that the illustrious Prince who sits sometimes on the Cross Benches is anxious that the area of Hyde Park Corner may be more clearly linked and more indelibly associated than even previously it has been with the hero of Assaye, of Salamanca, and of Waterloo. I readily subscribe to that impression. It is the only one which urges me to any action on the subject. So long as on that area we concentrate memorials of the Duke of Wellington, so long his influence will still continue to exert itself on a society which might be rapidly demoralized without it, so long a model of civil,

military, and domestic virtue forcibly presented will tend to elevate the minds and households of the Kingdom, while many circumstances incident to growing luxury, to growing wealth, perpetually lower them. To execute a view the Government ascribe to such an eminent authority, you cannot wantonly diminish those memorials. They consist of Apsley House, the statue of Achilles, and the equestrian figure which the Duke of Wellington himself desired to preserve on the site where it was originally fixed, with the recorded judgment of the Prince Consort to approve it. I refer now to recent letters of the Duke of Rutland, which cannot have escaped the notice of your Lordships. No work of art, however excellent, can have so great a hold over the thoughts, the feelings, and the aspirations of posterity. It is difficult, in any part of Europe, to find a monument which had the sanction and the predilection of its object. The region now termed Hyde Park Corner, whatever name you give it, will not be commemorative of the Duke of Wellington to the same extent if the equestrian figure is removed as if it is retained there. My Lords, there is no doubt that, in a large and influential class, the removal will be construed as a grave indignity to an exalted name; as a wanton outrage on a sacred, almost a testamentary, injunction. It does not become noble Lords on this side of the House to sanction it, on a peculiar ground which I will mention. The late Duke of Wellington, for many years, was viewed as their political opponent. At every General Election, the reproach would be hurled upon their Party that, against his known prepossession, they first deposed the statue from the arch, and then expelled it from the capital. If they have an eye to future triumphs with electors, they will refrain from such a formidable error. The Whippers in ought to prohibit it. As to noble Lords over the way, it is inconceivable that they should permit the memory of a cherished Leader to be desecrated. In about 10 years are the statues of the late Lord Derby and the late Lord Beaconsfield to be decomposed by joints, and sent on nightly waggons to the country, lest popular resentment should oppose the movement happening by daylight? My Lords, I am glad to see, by looking back to the discussion



on the 8th of February, that what I urge to-night is but an echo of the protest which has already fallen from the illustrious Duke by whom the Army is commanded. I will now conclude by moving for the Address of which I have given Notice.

*Moved*, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that the equestrian statue of the late Duke of Wellington may not be removed from London, but replaced in the vicinity of Apsley House on a site not less appropriate than that from which it has been taken."—(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell.*)

LORD SUDELEY said, he thought it would be well if he stated exactly how the matter stood. When this subject was before the House a few weeks ago, it would be in the remembrance of their Lordships that he stated that, during last autumn, the First Commissioner of Works found that there was a considerable feeling prevailing in various quarters, and especially in the Army, that the recommendation of the Committee of eminent gentlemen, who sat last year, in favour of the statue being broken up, ought not to be carried out, and that, rather than that the statue should be destroyed, if no suitable site could be found in the Metropolis, it should be taken to some other site, even if it were in the country entirely out of London. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales early this year, seeing the difficulty that existed, and being anxious that nothing should hinder the completion of the great improvement at Hyde Park Corner, suggested to the Government that, if no other site could be selected in the Metropolis, Aldershot would be, as a great national training camp of the Army, a fitting site, and that he would endeavour to induce a number of gentlemen to form themselves into a Committee, to consider how the place could be fittingly adorned, and to raise funds for the purpose. The Government readily acquiesced in the proposal, and intimated that if they were not called upon to pay more than £6,000 for a new statue, they would be willing that the old one should be taken to Aldershot. They accordingly agreed to ask Parliament to vote the sum of £6,000 towards a new statue, if the Committee could see their way to sufficient funds to carry out the remainder of the scheme. The Prince of Wales at once set to work with his accustomed

energy, and succeeded in getting a large number of gentlemen, representing different sections of society, to join him in considering how best such a proposal could be carried out, and also to see whether any better site than Aldershot could be found. A small Sub-Committee was formed to determine whether, on the whole, Aldershot was the best place, and the whole matter was most carefully gone into, and their Report had since received the entire approval of the General Committee. This Report being a private document, had not yet been submitted to the Government; but he (Lord Sudley), by the courtesy of His Royal Highness, was permitted to state what the result of the investigation had been. The Government, as he had said, had not had the Report before them, so that no final decision had been come to by them. Among the many sites suggested as alternatives where it could fittingly be erected, the Committee considered Chelsea Hospital, Wellington College, a site in Hyde Park, and one at Portsmouth. The Chelsea Hospital site was found impracticable, as, owing to the colossal size of the statue, it would have involved the destruction of a large number of trees in the old historical avenue of Queen Anne, which was intended to join Kensington, and that would have completely masked the north facade, and it would have dwarfed the buildings. In addition to that, the present Duke of Wellington very much objected to the Chelsea site. Another site near was also suggested, but it was too small. Then Hyde Park was taken into account; but it was found that it would not be a good place, as the statue of Achilles would prevent that of Wellington from being erected near Apsley House. Nor did Portsmouth, notwithstanding the great importance of the town, meet with more favour. As to Aldershot, the case was different, for none of the objections that had been raised attached to it. True, Aldershot was not a camp in the time of Wellington, but it was a great camp now; and as every soldier must, sooner or later, sometime during his life be in this great training camp, it commended itself on every ground. The Sub-Committee, therefore, arrived at the decision that, on the whole, Aldershot would be the most suitable place; and it would be satisfactory to their Lordships to know that the removal of the statue

to Aldershot met with the entire approval of the present Duke of Wellington; and at the final meeting of the Committee he himself proposed a resolution embodying it. As the great object was that nothing should be done to militate in the smallest degree against the great name and fame of the Duke, this was a most important point. There had been great misconceptions respecting whether the Duke ever sat for the statue, or whether the statue was a model of the horse, Copenhagen. As a matter of fact, he believed there was no doubt that the Duke sat on several occasions early in 1839 for the drawing of the design; but he never sat for the actual statue. The sculptor, Mr. Wyatt, having to make his statue represent the Duke in the year 1815, found it easier to copy from a bust of Nollekens taken at that period. They had the authority of the present Duke and the late Lord Charles Wellesley, that the Duke never sat for the statue. As regarded the horse, what happened appeared to have been this. The horse, Copenhagen, had been dead three years, and the sculptor, finding that he was bound to take the model of a horse as near like Copenhagen as possible, selected the thoroughbred, Recovery, supposed to be very like the dead animal, and modelled it instead. For the new statue, there would be no more difficulty to the sculptor in producing a proper likeness of both horse and man than there was in producing the original. Indeed, it would be easier, for there were two pictures in the possession of Lord Penrhyn and Lord Bathurst, exact portraits of both the Duke and Copenhagen, taken in 1815; so there need be no fear of the sculptor not having equal advantages with Mr. Wyatt. The noble Lord (Lord Stratheden and Campbell) had spoken of this site, where the statue was lately placed, as having always been approved. This was very far from being the case. In 1846 the Government remonstrated most strongly, and Lord Canning wrote to the Duke of Rutland on the subject, to show what was the feeling about the statue among a great number of influential persons. The noble Lord said that it was wrong to remove the statue from London, it having been placed in the Metropolis by the subscribers. Surely, however, Parliament was the trustee for the subscribers. The

*Lord Sudeley*

subject had already been before the House, and before the statue was removed, the other House must vote £6,000 for the purpose. The noble Lord said that, to remove the statue to Aldershot, would be "to deprive the world of a great pleasure." He (Lord Sudeley) was not aware that the statue was ever considered a valuable work of art, and, certainly, the eminent Committee that sat last year had a very different opinion, when they suggested it should be broken up. The noble Lord had also spoken of its being a precedent for the removal of other statues. If other statues were bad works of art, perhaps, no great loss would arise; but, at any rate, the noble Lord must allow that full investigation had been made in this case, and that this removal would not have taken place except after great care and consideration. He trusted the noble Lord would be satisfied with this explanation, and not press his Motion to a Division.

VISCOUNT HARDINGE said, he thought there was little to be said on the subject, which, in his opinion, was thoroughly exhausted. The most that could be said of it was that it was really a question between taste and sentiment. As regarded the question of taste, it was well known that the Committee, which sat at an early period of last year, declared against the artistic merits of the statue as being decidedly unworthy of the artist, who had otherwise executed some very good work. Further than that, neither the Duke nor Copenhagen sat for it. As a matter of sentiment, no doubt, many people did not like to part with an object with which they had been familiar for many years, and there was some notion that it was derogatory to the memory of this great General to remove his statue to Aldershot. But he would call their attention to the fact that Parliament was to be asked to vote a sum to supply another statue of suitable proportions in the place of this, to be erected in London. The noble Lord (Lord Stratheden and Campbell) had expressed a doubt as to Parliament voting the necessary money; but he (Viscount Hardinge) believed that Parliament would be found sufficiently patriotic to do so. It had also been suggested by the noble Lord that it would be a breach of faith with the subscribers to remove the statue; but when

Lord Morpeth was First Commissioner of Works, in 1847, he proposed to remove it, and the noble Lord actually wrote to the late Duke of Rutland, and told him they were going to pull the statue down; and the intention was only abandoned in deference to the objection of the Duke of Wellington himself, who said that as he was up, he did not like coming down. Therefore, the Government of the day saw no breach of contract in the removal of the statue, and that incident entirely disposed of the point as to breach of faith. All the sites in London had been found unsatisfactory, and there was, he thought, nothing left for it but to remove the statue to Aldershot, which was a most appropriate site for it, being where it would be seen by every soldier. He thought they must all thank the Prince of Wales for his efforts in the matter. He hoped the noble Lord would not press his Motion.

LORD DENMAN: My Lords, I ventured to remind your Lordships, some time ago, of the good effect which the statue of the late Duke of Wellington produced when seen from the opposite side of the Park. I believe that, if appealed to, the inhabitants of Tyburnia would subscribe enough to raise it to a position as commanding as the old one, and that there might be a surplus sufficient for the completion of a new statue for Aldershot. The needless expense and danger of removal would be saved, and any defects of the statue would be imperceptible, whilst the elevation would be very suitable to the exalted character of the late Duke. No one is more bound to honour His Grace's memory than the humble individual who addresses your Lordships. When successful in restoring my Father to his rank at the Bar, by explaining the false impression conveyed by a Greek quotation, the noble Duke said—"He had never had a tougher job in his life." The noble Duke had said as to the first Reform Bill, that it would be very difficult for the King's Government to be carried on, and his opinion had been almost verified lately; but I hope for the best for the future, and believe that the people, by their Representatives, will do justice to the memory of the late Duke, so illustrious as he was, not only in India, in the Peninsula and Belgium, but also as a diplomatist.

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY said, that it had been said that this was simply a matter between a question of taste and a question of sentiment, and he looked at it as a question of sentiment. It was well known that the Iron Duke himself said that as the statue had been put up where it had so long stood, he did not wish to have it taken down again. But for Constitution Hill requiring some alteration, that wish would have been respected; and he (the Earl of Galloway) did not see why, now that the pedestal had been erected in another and more appropriate position, the statue should not follow suit, so that the inhabitants of London and all who came to the Metropolis might see it there as before rather than that it should be taken away to be re-erected at a distance. If once it was determined that the statue should be removed out of London, no more appropriate place could be found for it than Aldershot; but still it would be a great satisfaction to all who cherished the memory of the great Duke to see it remain where it was before rather than permit it to be taken away for ever.

LORD TRURO said, he thought the statement made by the noble Lord (Lord Sudeley), announcing the decision of the Government, would be considered as satisfactory by the public generally, as being in accord with public feeling, and the feeling of the Duke's family. A more satisfactory course could not be pursued than that proposed of erecting a new equestrian statue of the great Duke. There were, in this question, two matters to be considered in relation to the statue. One was, the recollection of the great Duke himself and the national feeling of gratitude to him; and the other was, what foreigners might think of the way in which that feeling was expressed. With regard to the first, he was always at a loss to know how the prevalent opinion could be gathered, for the public Press, like individuals, was not unfrequently mistaken. He believed that the general opinion of foreigners coming to this country had been to condemn the statue as a work of art. Were not their Lordships, together with the nation, interested in having a memorial, of one they all looked up to, commensurate with his great qualities and great abilities? That was not a matter entirely



to be ignored; and it seemed to him, from the reply of the noble Lord, that that had been sufficiently considered by the Government, because it was their intention, should the suggestion be approved in "another place," to carry out that view. There was no doubt the statue had been universally condemned as a work of art, and, that being so, it became of comparatively little importance where it should be placed. The main question was whether or no there should be any substitution for it.

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM said, he must be allowed to differ from the noble Lord who had just spoken (Lord Truro). He (the Earl of Feversham) could not help feeling and giving expression to the regret he felt at the decision which had been taken by the Government. This statue belonged to the Metropolis, and was the only considerable statue of the great Duke; and before they consented to its removal he hoped they would receive a very decided assurance and guarantee from Her Majesty's Government that it was their intention to replace it by a statue of greater merit and of equal importance. He should, moreover, like to know what kind of statue it would be, and where it would be placed. He thought the present statue might very well be placed in Hyde Park, or on the mound recently made in the Green Park, nearly opposite the residence of the illustrious Duke, or near the statue of Achilles in Hyde Park, or on many other equally good sites. He hoped the Government would give some guarantee that the new statue should be worthy of the illustrious Duke.

LORD DORCHESTER said, he hoped that no hasty opinion would be arrived at in this matter before it had been thoroughly ventilated. It was known to him when a boy that the statue of the horse was not that of Copenhagen; and he remembered the old horse, Recovery, from which it was taken in Mr. Tattersall's paddock. He had, however, seen it in print that the Duke said he would sit for the statue whenever the artist should require. He questioned the propriety of having this subject fully discussed in the absence of the noble Dukes (the Duke of Buccleuch and the Duke of Rutland), and other influential Members of the House, whose opinion on the matter it would be most desirable to have.

*Lord Truro*

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) said, that, as far as he could judge public opinion, as expressed upon this matter, it was almost universally in favour of the statue remaining in the neighbourhood of Apsley House, and this was the first time they had been asked to discuss the question of its rustication to a quarter where it would not be seen. The statue was placed in the neighbourhood of Apsley House, and the plan was framed and carried out entirely with the Duke's own concurrence, and no new statue could be put in its place. It was very easy to say it was to be replaced by a finer and superior statue; but he would remind their Lordships that we were not particularly happy in our equestrian statues, and he should not be surprised if it should turn out that the proposed work was not considered an improvement on the existing one. He was, therefore, extremely sorry that the purpose was to remove the statue from the Metropolis and send it into rustication.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE said, he could not agree that the family of the late Duke of Wellington were very jubilant at the prospect of the removal of the statue into the country. The family, in fact, would be very glad to see the statue remain where it was originally erected, and he believed that it was the strong feeling of the present Duke of Wellington against the intention of the Government to send the statue to the melting pot that led him to give his consent to the removal to Aldershot. For his own part, while admitting that he was not a competent critic on the art of statuary, he thought that the statue looked very well on the top of the arch, and that it certainly would not look equally well on a low pedestal. It would be very satisfactory, and the family would be glad to see the statue replaced, if that were possible; but if that could not be done, they would be very grateful if another statue of the same description were erected in the same place.

LORD STRATHEDEN and CAMPBELL: My Lords, the objections to the Motion have been so conspicuously feeble, and it has had so much authority and argument to back it, that rather than detain the House by a reply, I will leave unanswered many misconceptions to which anyone is liable who urges some proceeding on your Lordships.

Let me remark only as to what fell from the noble Viscount with a military name (Viscount Hardinge), that, while he thinks the House of Commons will have the patriotism to vote the £6,000, I hold that they will have the patriotism to refuse it. I much regret the absence of my noble Friends (Lord Lamington, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Duke of Rutland and others), whose opinions are well known upon this subject. But as the judgment of the House will not be more mature than it is at present, I shall feel bound at once to go to a Division.

On Question? Their Lordships *divided*:  
—Contents 20; Not-Contents 26: Majority 6.

*Resolved in the negative.*

House adjourned at Six o'clock,  
till To-morrow, a quarter  
past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 24th March, 1884.*

MINUTES.] — NEW MEMBERS SWORN — Sir Robert Peel, baronet, *for* Huntingdon Borough; Arthur John Thornhill, esquire, *for* Cambridge County; William Hoey Kearney Redmond, esquire, *for* Wexford Borough.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (Alton Barnes, &c.)\* [147]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) (Bovey-Tracey, &c.)\* [148]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 3) (Ashill, &c.)\* [149]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) (Belchalwell, &c.)\* [150]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 5) (Acton, &c.)\* [151]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 6) (Ashen, &c.)\* [152]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7) (Abberley, &c.)\* [153]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 8) (Abergwilly, &c.)\* [154]; Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment\* [155]; Land (Perpetual Grants)\* [156].

*Second Reading*—Representation of the People\* [119] (First Night), *debate adjourned*; Isle of Man Harbours [138]; Royal Courts of Justice\* [139].

*Committee* — Real Assets Administration [98] — R.P.

*Committee* — Report — Bankruptcy Appeals (County Courts)\* [118].

*Considered as amended* — Consolidated Fund (No. 1).\*

*Considered as amended—Third Reading*—Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment\* [129], and *passed*.

## PRIVATE BUSINESS.

### CORK BUTTER MARKET BILL.

#### INSTRUCTION TO THE COMMITTEE.

MR. MOORE said, he wished to say a few words in reference to the following Motion which he had placed on the Paper:—

"After Second Reading of Cork Butter Market Bill, to move, 'That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they do provide that the Butter Inspectors shall not be accompanied by, or interfered with by, any Butter Merchant, or Broker, or other person, save and excepting the officials of the Market, during their inspection, and that the Trustees do frame bye-laws to protect the Inspectors from all pressure and undue influence in the discharge of their duty.'"

He desired to state what his object was in placing this Instruction upon the Paper, and to explain how far that object had already been accomplished. The principal object was to obtain a perfectly honest and independent inspection of the butter passing through Cork Market. He could assure the House that the matter was not one of small importance. It was a question of produce amounting in money value to about £1,500,000 per annum, and included the butter produced throughout the greater portion of the Province of Munster. His sole object was to secure that there should be a perfectly honest and reliable inspection of that butter. The facts of the case were these. For many years past great scandals and abuses had prevailed in connection with the Cork Butter Market, the chief and kernel of the whole being the system of inspection adopted in the classification of the butter; and it was in order to put an end to the system that he had put his Notice upon the Paper. To give the House some idea of what this inspection was, he might state that the broker, or, in other words, the employer, stood at the elbow of the Inspector and exercised his influence upon him in assigning certain qualities to the butter under inspection. The result was that butter in many cases was classified above its value, and that there was no even and reliable standard laid down. It was found, also, that among the brokers to whom the butter was consigned were persons who had seats upon the Governing Body of the Market, and by virtue of their position they were able to exercise a mys-

terious and improper influence over the Inspectors as regarded the prices attached to the different qualities, by virtue of which all their butter got a high quality. The consequence of this was, that one broker was very often selected to consign butter to in preference to another, because he was supposed to have more influence with the Inspector in fixing the prices. Other scandals had occurred from time to time, and very unpleasant rumours had gone forth. The reason why he had a *locus standi*, as representing the producers of the country, was that the prices which had been fixed for the butter inspected in this unsatisfactory manner governed the prices of the butter produced throughout the whole of the country. From Cork Market the Cork prices were sent by telegram to the different producing centres of Ireland, and the prices fixed by a butter inspection in which no confidence could be placed governed the prices in the whole of the local markets. Reports had been circulated of proceedings of an extraordinary character; but he did not propose to enter into any of them, except so far as they related to the system of inspection. It was not necessary that he should go through the whole story of the abuses which prevailed in the Cork Butter Market; but the system of procedure, which was peculiar, was this. The export purchaser went to the market at 11 o'clock in the morning, and was shown into a large room, where he found the representatives of the farmers and the brokers to whom the butter had been consigned by the farmers throughout the country. Then, owing to the fact that certain of these brokers were well known to have more influence over the Inspector than others, they consented not to obtain the best and largest supply available, but to look upon certain lots as doubtful and shirk them, the result being that butter which had been included in one or two classes could not be disposed of until every bit of butter in another class had been sold. That was to say, that these merchants and brokers were able to put up a price which was to rule one class of butter, whether of the first, second, or superfine class; but no butter was put out to be sold in that class until such a price was obtained from the purchasers as the merchants and brokers chose to fix.

*Mr. Moore*

This course was adopted in order to shirk competition in regard to other classes of butter. The result was that certain lots were passed round the room until they were disposed of. The purchaser was bound to give the price asked for them, and the whole operation had the effect of regulating the market by the prices obtained for doubtful and inferior lots, and rendering the system of inspection, which ought to regulate the prices, altogether unreliable. In what he had said he had alluded to the dangers which had surrounded the producer in Ireland in the past under a system of unreliable inspection. He would not detain the House further on that point, and the rest of his remarks would be very brief. Before quitting this particular point, he had only to add that the present system of inspection had been condemned in the strongest manner by many of the witnesses who were examined before the Richmond Commission. The matter was also brought before the Government last summer, by a deputation which waited upon the Lord Lieutenant, who was good enough to say that if the Corporation of Cork did not take the matter into their own hands, the interests involved were so great that it would be necessary for the Government themselves to deal with it. He (Mr. Moore) believed that the Inspectors themselves desired to be relieved from the odious position which they at present occupied, and the Corporation of Cork, during the recent inquiries, had arrived at a conclusion which reflected the highest credit upon them as a Municipal Body. They had taken up the question in the most high-minded manner, and, concealing nothing, had strongly condemned the practices connected with the inspection. They stated that the Inspectors themselves did not deny that attempts had been made to influence them unduly, and would prefer to be left wholly untrammelled in the performance of their duty. The Town Clerk himself—a gentleman of great ability, to whom the public were largely indebted for the measure now before the House, as was evident from the evidence given in the recent inquiry held by the Corporation of Cork—the Town Clerk himself mentioned a case in which a gentleman, who had been in the habit of sending butter to the market, found that he was never



able to succeed in getting beyond a certain price. Having mentioned the circumstance to another butter merchant, he was told that he never would succeed until he resorted to some broker who was in the habit of bullying the Inspector. The word "bullying" appeared in the evidence in inverted commas. The gentleman in question sent his butter in the way suggested, and the result was that it was classed as being of a higher quality than before. He (Mr. Moore) would not take upon himself the responsibility of opposing the measure which had been introduced by the Corporation of Cork, who, on a previous occasion, had introduced legislation in regard to the Butter Market. He was most anxious, however, that the present Bill should pass upon the lines of Lord Fitzgerald's very able and impartial award. He thought the Corporation would confer very great advantages upon the public if the principles of that award were fairly, honourably, and honestly carried out. To meet the object of his (Mr. Moore's) Resolution Lord Fitzgerald had been good enough to draft an Amendment, which would render it unnecessary for him (Mr. Moore) to move the Instruction. The Amendment was to this effect—

"If the trustees shall not, within six months after the passing of this Act, make a code of by-laws such as may be necessary to carry this Act into operation, and have lodged the same with the Privy Council for allowance, it shall be lawful for the Privy Council, on the application of any person or body interested therein, to order and direct that the Local Government Board at Dublin or such other body as to the Privy Council shall seem fit, shall proceed forthwith to frame such code of by-laws, and the same, when made and approved of by the Privy Council, shall have the like effect and operation as if they had been made by the Trustees."

Lord Fitzgerald, in his award, had provided very stringent provisions for the honest and reliable inspection of butter, and had ordered the Trustees to make regulations in this respect; but no limit of time was fixed within which the regulations were to be made. Lord Fitzgerald, as arbitrator in the matter, had now suggested an Amendment, fixing six months; and the agents for the Bill, Messrs. Holmes, Anton, and Greig, had given him (Mr. Moore) an undertaking that they would introduce into the measure such an Amendment, fixing a limit of time within which these by-laws should be made and submitted

for the approval of the Privy Council. In default of doing this, the Privy Council and the Lord Lieutenant would have power to direct such other Body as they might select to make such by-laws as they might deem necessary. Having received this very valuable recognition upon this important point, it was not necessary that he should insist further upon the Instruction which he had placed upon the Paper, which only touched one definite point. He trusted that proper and adequate by-laws would now be framed, and that the great abuses and scandals which had prevailed in the Cork Butter Market would in future be prevented. The result would be that the value of cattle and agricultural produce of all descriptions throughout Ireland would be enhanced to the advantage of that entire community. He had felt it his duty to make these remarks upon the present stage of the Bill; but if he found, upon the third reading, that Lord Fitzgerald's award was not being loyally carried out, it would be his imperative, although reluctant, duty to oppose the third reading of the measure. He begged now to withdraw the Motion for the Instruction which he had placed upon the Paper.

MR. GRAY rose to continue the debate.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore) move his Instruction?

MR. MOORE: No; I ask the leave of the House to be allowed to withdraw it.

MR. SPEAKER: Then, if the Motion is not moved, there is no Question before the House, and the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) will not be entitled to continue the discussion.

MR. MOORE: In that case I will move the Instruction *pro formâ*.

MR. GRAY said, that if the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore) had decided upon pressing the Motion, he (Mr. Gray) would have warmly supported it.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member second the Motion?

MR. GRAY: Yes.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Cork Butter Market Bill that they do provide that the Butter Inspectors shall not be accompanied by, or interfered with by, any Butter Merchant or Broker, or other person,

save and excepting the officials of the Market, during their inspection, and that the Trustees do frame by-laws to protect the Inspectors from all pressure and undue influence in the discharge of their duty."—(*Mr. Moore.*)

MR. GRAY said, that when he first read the Bill he came to the conclusion that it would be something worse than useless. Although the Corporation of Cork deserved credit for introducing the Bill, it must be remembered that they had not taken the initiative in the matter; because, if they had not introduced a Bill, his impression was that the Irish Executive were pledged to bring in a measure dealing with the acknowledged abuses of the Cork Butter Market. [*Mr. TREVELYAN dissented.*] The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland shook his head; but although the words used, when the deputation waited upon the Lord Lieutenant, might be looked upon as being of the usual common-place character—namely, that the matter was important, and required further consideration—the answer of Lord Spencer came very near to what he (*Mr. Gray*) had stated. Indeed, the matter was one of such paramount importance, that the Government would have felt themselves necessitated to deal with it if the Local Authorities did not. It was manifest that if the present Bill did not put an end to the abuses which were so loudly complained of, it would be better to have no legislation at all until the Government had fully considered the matter, and were themselves prepared to introduce a Bill. This was not at all a question in regard to which the interest was confined to Cork, or to those who used the Cork Market. The Cork Market was so important that it governed the price of butter throughout the whole of Ireland; and if the produce sent to Cork was depreciated, as it had been now for some years, it reacted upon the whole of the butter produced throughout Ireland. The consequence was that, unfortunately, Irish butter did not stand as high in the Continental Markets as it formerly did; and this was due, not to any deterioration of the produce of the dairy farms of Munster, but to the atrocious system followed in the Cork Market, which caused a competition downwards in the standard of Cork butter, rather than a competition upwards. This result was brought about

by the Inspectors being practically under the thumb of the brokers, and being compelled to put a higher standard upon certain classes of butter than they deserved. There were a great number of other abuses connected with the system, such as the fixing of an artificial price which did not represent the *bond fide* value as between the buyer and seller. That *bond fide* value was by no means fixed; but a lower price was fixed by the combination of the brokers than individual brokers would be willing to give for a certain quantity of the same article. He did not think he should feel justified in addressing the House further, seeing that the Motion was about to be withdrawn. The hon. Member for Clonmel (*Mr. Moore*), who had taken such a deep interest in the matter, was apparently satisfied with the concessions which had been drafted by Lord Fitzgerald. He (*Mr. Gray*) was by no means so well satisfied with them; but he had no objection whatever to the Bill going to a Select Committee; and he trusted that the Irish Members generally would watch, with a very jealous eye, the character of the provisions of the Bill when it emerged from that ordeal, and would resist the third reading, if necessary, unless the measure really provided thoroughly efficient safeguards to prevent a continuance of the present abuses, by which a few individuals had secured a profit for themselves, while the rest of the country had suffered.

MR. HEALY said, he presumed, from the fact that the hon. Member for Clonmel (*Mr. Moore*) did not think it necessary to proceed with his Motion, it might be accepted as settled that the hon. Member considered that the second Amendment which had been drafted by Lord Fitzgerald would be satisfactory to all parties. Although he (*Mr. Healy*) was the first person to raise the question of the Cork Butter Market in that House, by means of a Question three years ago, he should be very reluctant to disturb the award which Lord Fitzgerald had made after so much pains and investigation, and disinterested pains and investigation on his Lordship's part. He thought the willingness manifested by his Lordship to meet the objections of the hon. Member for Clonmel (*Mr. Moore*) was a still further proof of the *bona fides* of the award, and the desire

of Lord Fitzgerald to carry out what was required for the good of the Market. He hoped that the Corporation of Cork and the Trustees of the Butter Market would now turn round and endeavour to put their house in order. There was only one point he would like to draw the attention of the House to with regard to the award, and it was that the whole of the better working of the Market would depend upon the character of the Trustees. If the Trustees were prepared to carry out Lord Fitzgerald's award in the spirit in which it was made, he had not the smallest doubt that the Bill would be a complete success; but he regretted to say that there had already been some symptoms of an attempt to rig the Board of Trustees, by putting upon it persons who did not represent the general voice of those into whose hands Lord Fitzgerald desired to place the election of Trustees. He wished especially to call attention to the fact that there was to be an attempt to put on the Board, as members of it, six Trustees nominated by the butter brokers, who really had no claim or title to be on the Board at all. When the Bill was before a Committee; whether, if unopposed, a Committee presided over by the Chairman of Ways and Means; or, if opposed, an ordinary Select Committee, he hoped the Irish Members would be induced to take care that the Trustees were elected by the unfettered voice of the general body. If brokers were to be the persons whose names were to be put into the Bill, or any attempt was made to put into the Bill, against the award, persons of a different class from those provided by the award, the Irish Members ought to resist it by every means in their power.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

### NOTICES.

#### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—CHELSEA LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I beg to give Notice that to-morrow I shall ask the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General, Whether his attention has been drawn to a circular issued from the offices of the Chelsea Liberal Association to every elector in the borough, inviting subscriptions to a

fund to be raised for the purpose of returning the Right hon. Sir Charles Dilke and J. B. Firth, esq. free of expense; which circular is accompanied by a printed form of cheque, and a stamped and directed envelope; whether he is aware that the expense of such a circular would amount to over £150; whether such sum of money would have to be included in the election expenses return under the Corrupt Practices Act; whether the treasurers mentioned in the circular, who receive, and the persons who pay, any sums of money on account of the election expenses of Sir C. Dilke and J. B. Firth, esq. will under the 28th section of the 47th and 48th Vic. c. 51, be guilty of an illegal practice; whether he is aware that the circular is signed, amongst others, by a Lord of the Treasury and by the Vice President of the Council; and, what steps he proposes to take should it be found that the signatories of the circular have committed an offence against the Corrupt Practices Act?

MR. WARTON: On the same subject, I will, to-morrow, ask the right hon. and hon. Gentlemen the Members for Chelsea why they have sent this circular to me, asking me to subscribe to the fund?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Perhaps, after this statement, I may be allowed to say that I never heard of the circular until this afternoon.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE HALF-PAST TWELVE O'CLOCK RULE.

MR. MONK gave Notice that, on an early day, he would move—

“That, in the opinion of this House, the operation of the Half-past Twelve o'clock Rule has proved a serious hindrance to the progress of Public Business, while it has failed to shorten the sittings of this House after midnight.”

### QUESTIONS.

#### WATER SUPPLY (METROPOLIS)—THE FILTER BEDS OF THE SOUTHWARK AND VAUXHALL WATER COMPANY.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE asked the President of the Local Government Board, Why the reservoir and filter beds of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company at Nine Elms, which are within sixty-four yards and seventeen yards respectively of a large dust yard,



have not been covered in as suggested to the Local Government Board by the Wandsworth District Board of Works; and, why the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company have not been required to construct subsiding reservoirs at Hampton, as recommended to the Local Government Board by Colonel Bolton more than seven years ago, and as frequently urged on the Board by the Wandsworth District Board of Works?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: Sir, we consider that the close proximity of a dust yard to the reservoir and filter beds of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company at Nine Elms is very objectionable. In August last we urged the Company to take steps to secure the disuse of the site as a dust yard, and, if necessary, to promote a Bill in Parliament with the view to the compulsory purchase of the premises. The Company, as we understand, propose to endeavour to acquire the property by agreement under powers which they seek to obtain by a Bill now before Parliament. We are advised that it is not obligatory on the Company to cover the filter beds and the reservoir, which is a storage reservoir for unfiltered water. The Company are constructing subsiding reservoirs at Hampton at an estimated cost of more than £25,000, and these works, it is expected, will be completed in August of the present year.

#### TURKEY—IMPRISONMENT OF GREEK SUBJECTS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

MR. MC'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government will instruct Lord Dufferin to use his good offices at the Porte to procure the release of the Greek subjects, natives of Epirus and Thessaly, who, contrary to the amnesty stipulated in Article 17 of the Convention between the Great Powers and the Ottoman Government for the settlement of the Frontier between Greece and Turkey, have for more than two years been held in prison in Constantinople for having taken part in the demonstration made in honour of the annexation of their native provinces to Greece?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Lord Dufferin will be instructed to furnish a Report upon the facts of the case to which my hon. Friend refers.

*Sir Trevor Lawrence*

#### VALUATION OF LAND (IRELAND) — CASE OF ELIZABETH DEEGAN, OF BALLYKNOCKER.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will inquire into the circumstances under which the valuation of the holding of Elizabeth Deegan, of Ballyknocker, a tenant on the Collattin Estate of Earl Fitzwilliam, county Wicklow, was raised in 1882, prior to the hearing of her case in the Land Court, from £23 5s. to £25, and reduced again, after the judicial rent was fixed, to the old valuation?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Commissioner of Valuation informs me that, in the year 1882, the Revising Officer was informed that the boundary of a farm adjoining Deegan's was incorrectly described in the Ordnance map to the extent of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres. He therefore altered the valuation; but in the following year he discovered that the land was still in the possession of the owner of the adjoining farm, and he restored the valuation to its original figure.

#### SPAIN—GIBRALTAR—THE "MARI- ANNE NOTOBOHN."

DR. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is true that, on the 22nd ultimo, the *Marianne Notobohn*, an American ship, petroleum laden, which had paid port dues at Gibraltar, and was anchored off that port by order of the port authorities, was boarded by a Spanish revenue cutter, which placed an armed guard on board, and took possession of the vessel, until an assurance was given that she should be moved nearer the Rock; whether the spot at which the incident occurred is held by the British Government to be within British waters; and, if so, whether explanations have been demanded of the Spanish Government; and, if he will lay upon the Table Papers regarding the occurrence?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the facts are as stated in the Question of the hon. Member. It appears that the vessel referred to was boarded by the Spanish authorities under the erroneous impression that she was in Spanish waters; but on representations being made to the Governor of Algenciras the guard was immediately withdrawn and the incident closed. It was therefore

unnecessary to address the Spanish Government; nor would it be advisable to raise controversy by publishing Papers on a matter which has been satisfactorily settled.

POLICE COURTS (METROPOLIS)—  
THE WANDSWORTH POLICE COURT.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the total inadequacy of the accommodation for the Wandsworth Police Court has been brought repeatedly to the notice of the Home Office, and admitted by it; and, whether he is prepared to provide the Wandsworth District with a fitting Police Court, and the full services of a Police Magistrate?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I daresay, Sir, that all what the hon. Baronet says is perfectly true. I have exhausted my resources, and I am sorry to say that I cannot get the money. I shall be much obliged, therefore, if the hon. Baronet will turn his batteries on to the Secretary to the Treasury, and not on me.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE said that, in that case, he would put the Question to the Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked, Whether it was not the case that poor people at the Wandsworth Police Court had often to wait several hours until the magistrate, who attended at Hammer-smith as well as Wandsworth, had got through his work at the former Court?

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, that the question of cost was the difficulty. Questions concerning the Metropolitan Police were very much open to debate; and, pending legislation on the subject of the government of the Metropolis, it would be more convenient that the matter should stand over.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — THE  
HIGH SHERIFF OF DROGHEDA.

LORD ARTHUR HILL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the present high sheriff of the county of the town of Drogheda was recently confined in Dundalk Gaol as a suspect, under the Crimes Act; if the other parties whose names were submitted by the Corporation to the Lord Lieutenant for appointment to that

office were also ex-suspects; if the present sub-sheriff was, on the 6th June 1881, summoned before the local justices, by direction of the Castle authorities, for "printing a certain placard and notice tending to incite to an illegal combination and conspiracy;" if several members of the late grand jury have been either lately under police surveillance, or had left the country for a time to avoid arrest under warrants issued against them; if these persons were summoned as grand jurors to the exclusion of upwards of sixty names, including the sitting Member of the Borough, and all the principal gentry, magistrates, and merchants; if the Judges of Assize have not frequently expressed an opinion adverse to the continuance of these Assizes; and, if, under these circumstances, the Government will consider the propriety of discontinuing them?

MR. SEXTON: As this Question concerns the character and functions of a high official, I have to ask, If the noble Lord is not absolutely in error in supposing that any proceedings have been taken against the High Sheriff of Drogheda under the Prevention of Crime Act; if his imprisonment as a suspect, described in the Question as recent, occurred in 1881-2; if the Lord Lieutenant was quite aware of the fact when he made the appointment; and, if it is true that, while in prison as a suspect, this gentleman was elected Mayor by the Corporation of Drogheda; if the complaint against the Sub-Sheriff in 1881 was dismissed; if the grand jurors panel referred to by the noble Lord included the names of four magistrates, one of them the brother of the sitting Member, and another the High Sheriff of the previous year; thirteen members of the Corporation, and numerous members of other public Boards; and, if the panel was not wholly composed of respectable merchants and traders, regarding whom the suggestions in the Question of the noble Lord are quite unfounded; and, if Mr. Baron Dowse, in addressing the Grand Jury of Drogheda at the Spring Assizes on the 3rd instant, used the following language:—

"There are some people among you who perhaps think that on account of there being no Crown business and the general immunity of

crime from this town, that the Assizes should be removed; but there is scarcely any man who loves order and morality but would like to see Judges come amongst you to open Her Majesty's Commission, and I hope you will long continue to have your Assizes?"

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I daresay the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) will give me Notice of his Question. The facts are as stated in the first three paragraphs of the Question of the noble Lord opposite. The case referred to, however, of the Sub-Sheriff was dismissed. Several of the members of the late Grand Jury were, at one time or other, more or less under the observation of the police. They were summoned as Grand Jurors to the exclusion of the classes mentioned. It is true that the Judges of Assize have frequently expressed an opinion adverse to the continuance of the Assizes at Drogheda; and, quite irrespective of the circumstances referred to in the Question, it seems, in that view, to be proper matter for the consideration of the Government. Drogheda is, I think, the only county town which is not at the same time the Assize town for the county.

MR. SEXTON: On Thursday I shall repeat the Question. I may also ask, with reference to paragraph 5 of the Question of the noble Lord (Lord Arthur Hill), which refers to the exclusion from the Grand Jury of the sitting Member for Drogheda, Whether the right hon. Gentleman will lay upon the Table a Return of the Members of this House representing constituencies in Ireland who have not been asked to serve on Grand Juries?

MR. HEALY: Would the right hon. Gentleman say whether it will require an Act of Parliament to abolish the Assizes?

[No reply being given]

MR. HEALY said, he would put the Question on the Paper.

#### LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT, 1883.

MR. SHEIL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in those cases arising under the Labourers' Act in which landlords consent themselves to erect the necessary cottages, he, as President of the Local Government Board, will limit the conditions under which such arrangements may be carried out so that the terms as

to rent, tenure, &c., may not be prohibitory to the labouring classes, but shall coincide as far as possible with the terms under which similarly situated holdings may be offered by the sanitary authority?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, if the landlords themselves build, independently of the sanitary authority, the Local Government Board have no functions in the matter. If the houses are built by the "owner of first estate" under the Act, and are provided for in that case in the improvement scheme, it will be competent for the sanitary authority to propose conditions, subject to the confirmation of the Local Government Board. No such case has as yet come before the Board.

#### LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT, 1883 — INQUIRY AT NAVAN, CO.

##### MEATH.

MR. SHEIL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that, during the recent inquiry under the Labourers' Act, held in Navan, county Meath, a number of claims were disallowed, owing to the fact that the claimants at present worked in the timber yard of Mr. Thomas Dignan, a tenant farmer, though evidence was given by Mr. Metge, Mr. Dignan's landlord, that such work was of a temporary character, that all the men so employed were practically agricultural labourers having no other calling, that they had worked in the fields from childhood, and would have nothing to fall back upon but agricultural labour if dismissed from Mr. Dignan's employment; further, that these men are actually employed by Mr. Dignan in all operations connected with his farm at the regular seasons; whether he is aware that one of the said claimants, Patrick Martin, not only had his claim disallowed, but has been served with a notice to quit by his landlord, because he had brought the condition of his cabin under the notice of the sanitary authority; and, whether he will take immediate steps to remedy this grievance?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, the Local Government Board had not yet received the Report of their Inspector on this matter. The decision rested with the Board, and not with the Inspector.



# ARMY (INDIA)—THE MEDICAL SERVICE.

MR. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he would lay upon the Table, and circulate as a Parliamentary Paper, the amended memorandum relative to the Indian Medical Service, and indicate by italics or otherwise what are the exact changes that have been made in the condition of that service; and, has it any, and, if so, what, application to the medical officers who entered the service before its date?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, I will lay the Memorandum in question, together with those which preceded it, on the Table. The last Memorandum makes no change in the conditions of service, but merely elucidates certain points regarding which misapprehension is alleged, although these points are identically the same as have been continuously notified since the year 1866.

MR. GIBSON: Then why was it issued?

MR. J. K. CROSS said, the Memorandum would speak for itself, and would be sufficient to satisfy the right hon. and learned Gentleman.

# ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT—SMOKELESS GUNPOWDER.

VISCOUNT NEWPORT asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, Whether he will direct the authorities to make such experiments as may be possible, with a view of endeavouring to adapt to the Military rifle some of the smokeless kinds of gunpowder now so generally used for other purposes?

MR. BRAND: Sir, experiments have been made with the principal smokeless powders known to the trade. These powders are chemical compounds, and their safety therefore depends, as does that of gun-cotton, upon chemical causes demanding the same precautions which are necessary in the case of dry gun-cotton. It is evident, therefore, that more risk would attend the general use of such materials for military purposes than attaches to the use of the present ordinary gunpowder.

# LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—RELIGIOUS PERSUASION OF OFFICERS, &c., IN DISTRICT ASYLUMS.

LORD ARTHUR HILL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant

of Ireland, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House, a Return giving the religious persuasions of the middle class officers, attendants, and servants, in all the district lunatic asylums in Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I think the presentation of such a Return undesirable, and, beyond that, I am not aware of any precedent for the granting of a Return involving personal inquiries as to religious professions. If the noble Lord wishes to ask a Question about any particular asylum, I will give him the information if it is in the possession of the resident Medical Superintendent, as I recently did in answering a Question put to me by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar); but I would not consent to any extended inquiry on the subject.

MR. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman says there is no precedent for such an inquiry. Did not he make such inquiry in the case of the Sub-Commissioners under the Land Act?

MR. TREVELYAN: There was no such Return, so far as I know, in the case of the Sub-Commissioners. The only Return anything like this was in the case of the Justices of the Peace in Ireland, and there was no personal inquiry made in those cases to get the information from themselves; all the information given was matter of notoriety.

# THE WAR OFFICE—THE ARMY PAY DEPARTMENT.

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, of the seven Departments of the Army, six have a representative at the War Office; and, whether the only Department without such a representative is the Army Pay Department; and, if so, what is the reason for treating this particular Department differently to all the rest of the Army?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes, Sir; the Army Pay Department is the only Department of the Army without a representative at the War Office. The reason is, that all the Departments, except the Pay Department, have executive duties to perform connected with the administration of their Departments, such as the supply and medical services of the Army. No such duties connected with finance at headquarters can be delegated to an officer of the Pay De-

partment. The only work which could be intrusted to him would be that connected with the posting and appointment of officers, and this would not be sufficient to warrant the employment of such an officer.

#### MERCHANT SEAMEN—PAYMENT OF WAGES AND RATING ACT, 1880.

MR. BURT asked the President of the Board of Trade, with reference to section 3 of "The Merchant Seamen (Payment of Wages and Rating) Act, 1880," sub-section 1, In what proportion of the agreements with seamen going on foreign voyages have stipulations been made for the allotment of any part not exceeding half of their wages to be paid monthly to their friends; with reference to the other sub-sections of section 3, in what proportion of the agreements with seamen have they been allowed to make monthly allotments of half their wages to savings banks; and, in how many cases have the Board of Trade prevented seamen whilst abroad withdrawing from the savings banks their half wages so lodged?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I am unable to state in what proportion of the agreements with seamen going on foreign voyages stipulations have been made for the allotment of part of their wages to their friends; but in almost every case of a vessel proceeding on a foreign voyage, allotment notes have been granted to some members of the crew. The only instances of seamen availing themselves of the power to allot a portion of their wages to savings banks have occurred at the Victoria Docks. The number of cases is 15, and the total sum received from owners and credited to the seamen's-savings bank is £246 10s. In no case have the Board of Trade prevented a seaman while abroad from withdrawing money from a savings bank in the United Kingdom.

#### CIVIL SERVICE CLERKS—THE LOWER DIVISION.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is proposed to modify the fixed triennial increments in the salaries of the Clerks of the Lower Division of Her Majesty's Civil Service, and to give effect to the recommendation contained in page 18 of the First Report of the

*The Marquess of Hartington*

Civil Service Inquiry Commission (1875), that the

"Salary should be low in the earlier years of the service, and should rise more rapidly as the clerk gets older, when his responsibilities in life increase, and the value of his experience becomes greater to the State?"

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, whatever the Commission in question may have meant by the words quoted in the Question of the hon. Member for Greenwich, it is sufficient to observe that the present lower division scale is that proposed by them, and therefore presumably carries out their views. There is no intention of altering it, or the regulations affecting it, at present, as there has not yet been sufficient time to watch and judge as to the effect of their operation.

#### LABOURERS (IRELAND) ACT, 1883—ERECTION OF COTTAGES AT ARKLOW, RATHDRUM UNION.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that the scheme for the erection of Labourers' Cottages in the Arklow electoral division of the Rathdrum Union, county Wicklow, was rejected by the Board of Guardians on an undertaking given by Lord Carysfort's agent that his Lordship would provide the cottages himself; whether it is true that it is proposed by his Lordship to give only a quarter of an acre of land with each cottage instead of the half acre prescribed by the Act; and, whether, if the labourers refuse to accede to these terms, they will be shut out from the benefits of the Act on a new application?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, it appears from the Guardians' minutes that the facts are as stated in the first paragraph of the Question. The Government have no information of the extent of the land allotted to each cottage, and the question of what occurs on the labourer's refusal cannot well be anticipated. I may observe that the half-acre mentioned in the Question is not laid down as the minimum limit. The words of the Statute do not mention any minimum limit.

#### METROPOLITAN POLICE—CASE OF DANIEL WALSH IN 1868.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in 1868, Daniel Walsh, then a

member of the Metropolitan Police Force, was charged with collecting money for Fenian purposes; and, whether, on investigation, it was proved that the only purpose for which he had collected was for a Roman Catholic church in Ballymoney, county Antrim?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, there was never any allegation made that this man collected money for Fenian purposes. He was charged with collecting money for a school, and as that was contrary to the Rules of the Police Force, he was reprimanded. He (Sir William Harcourt) would ask the hon. Member to consider whether a small question of discipline in the Police Force occurring 16 years ago was one that ought to occupy the attention of the House?

MR. O'BRIEN: May I ask, Sir, whether this man is followed up to this day by detectives, and prevented from obtaining employment in London by the repetition of this old story?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I know nothing about what the hon. Member refers to; and I am only surprised that I was able to get any information at all about a small reprimand occurring in the Force 16 years ago.

#### HOUSE TENURES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If Reports can be obtained from Her Majesty's Embassies and Legations in Europe on the system of tenure of dwelling houses in towns in the States where they reside; whether such houses are generally freehold or leasehold; and whether the system of letting land on long building leases prevails to any extent on the Continent?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, there will be no objection to furnish Her Majesty's Representatives with instructions in the sense desired, and the Reports when received will be laid on the Table of the House.

#### DOMINION OF CANADA—THE ORANGE SOCIETY.

MR. SEXTON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he has any information with respect to the report in the Press that, on Tuesday last, upon a Motion to read a second time a Bill to incorporate the Orange

Society in the Dominion of Canada, the Bill was thrown out by the Dominion House of Commons?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No, Sir; we have no information.

MR. SEXTON: On Thursday I will ask the hon. Gentleman whether he will inquire.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: It does not require an official inquiry to know what takes place in the Dominion House of Parliament.

#### PORTUGAL—THE CONGO RIVER TREATY.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can inform the House whether ocean-going vessels can get up the Congo to any port beyond the territory the sovereignty of which by Portugal will be acknowledged by Her Majesty's Government by the Congo Treaty; and, especially, whether such ocean-going vessels can get up to the station opposite Nokki, below which, M. Petre, in his telegram of February 25th (see C. 3885), says the Portuguese Government are willing to draw the line of their territory; and in case such ocean-going vessels cannot get up to the station before-mentioned, to what point in the river they can get? also, referring to Article I. of the Congo Treaty, which states that the inland eastern portion of the proposed Portuguese territory "shall coincide with the boundaries of the present possessions of the coast and riparian tribes," Whether there are now within this frontier any stations, the possession and sovereignty of which, having been conceded by the Native chiefs to the International African Association, are not by this Article conceded to Portugal; and, if so, how many such stations; and, whether there be within this frontier any of the Native chiefs with whom there are the Treaties with Great Britain, mentioned in the first paragraph of Article VIII.; and, if so, whether such Treaties acknowledge the sovereignty of such chiefs; and, if that be the case, what steps Her Majesty's Government intend to take, in the event of these chiefs declining to acknowledge the sovereignty of Portugal?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, in 1880 H.M.S. *Firefly*, of 455 tons, and drawing 10½ feet, went up to Nokki, and no shallow water was ob-



served in the track taken by the pilot. In March, 1883, H.M.S. *Starling*, drawing 10½ feet, also made the passage. Her Majesty's Government have no knowledge of any stations of the African Association within the territory specified in Article I, except that at Boma, on the Congo. No other is marked on the map of the Association, which is the only source of information. The existing Treaties with Native Chiefs were laid last year (Appendix to Africa, No. 2). They contain no express recognition of sovereignty, and no obligation to maintain it.

PRISONS (ENGLAND)—CHATHAM CONVICT PRISON—CASE OF DENIS DEASY.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is true that Denis Deasy, at present undergoing penal servitude at Chatham Convict Prison, is dangerously ill; and, whether the improbability of his recovery is such as to warrant his discharge from prison?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, this prisoner has been seriously ill, and, by the last Report, he was unfit to be removed. I have ordered a further account to be given to me in the matter, and will consider what is to be done in it.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—SCHOOL BOARDS IN LEWIS.

DR. CAMERON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether his attention has been called to a Circular addressed to masters of all the public schools in Lewis, informing them that at a large meeting of Conservatives held under the presidency of William Mackay, esquire, Chamberlain of the island, their names had been put upon the Committee, and requesting them to signify by return of post their willingness to act; and, whether the Mr. Mackay referred to is the Chairman of all the School Boards in the island; and, if so, whether the Education Department cannot protect public schoolmasters holding office at the pleasure of the School Boards over which Mr. Mackay presides from such solicitation?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, I have received a letter from Mr. Mackay, in which he states that, on the 20th of

February, he presided at a meeting, having for its object the formation of a Conservative Committee, and that, at the same time, he gave the meeting to understand that in the event of a Committee being formed he was not to become Chairman, nor even a member of it. Mr. Mackay further states that the names of several gentlemen were proposed as members of the Committee, among whom were some schoolmasters who were known, or were supposed, to be Conservatives. The clerk wrote to those whose names were proposed, but who were not present at the meeting, to ask them if they would be willing to serve upon the Committee. Mr. Mackay states that he

"Neither issued nor signed any circular whatever to schoolmasters or other electors, or even saw the circular issued by the clerk of the meeting."

He adds that—

"The Chairman of the Liberal Committee is also a member of a school board, and that circulars in his name and that of the agent for the Liberal candidate have been issued to the electors, including the schoolmasters."

I do not see any ground for complaint in this case.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—CONVENT SCHOOLS.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that, while the convent national schools are, according to Sir P. J. Keenan, the Resident Commissioner of National Education, "remarkable for their efficiency in secular teaching, and especially so for their moral and religious results," the nuns who teach in them are deprived of the advantages of the increase accorded to classified teachers; and, whether he will inquire into the matter, with a view to removing this inequality?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the matter was brought before the Commissioners of National Education on an early date, in consequence of a communication which I made to Sir Patrick Keenan. I may observe that this question has been more than once before under the consideration of the Treasury.

MR. W. J. CORBET said, that the right hon. Gentleman had not stated whether the subject had been recently

under the consideration of the Treasury. If it had been recently considered, perhaps he would state the decision.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that the subject had not been under the consideration of the Treasury this year, nor was it, so far as he knew, last year.

MR. W. J. CORBET hoped the right hon. Gentleman would answer the last part of his Question.

MR. TREVELYAN: The only reason for my not answering the Question of the hon. Member was, that as the information is contained in many Blue Books and Reports I thought there was no necessity; and, moreover, the hon. Member put it as an assertion. It is true the nuns are deprived of those advantages; but, surely, the hon. Member considers it a sufficient answer to tell him I had communicated with Sir Patrick Keenan, and that the Board of National Education were going to consider the matter.

#### COLLEGE CHARTER ACT, 1871—ST.

##### PAUL'S HOSTEL, CAMBRIDGE.

MR. CHARLES ROUNDELL asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether an application has been made for the grant of a Charter to an institution called St. Paul's Hostel, in the University of Cambridge; whether the documents relating thereto will be laid before Parliament, in accordance with "The College Charter Act, 1871;" and, whether in particular the University of Cambridge will have an opportunity of expressing its opinion on the subject before a decision is arrived at?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, an application has been received from Mr. Robert Potts, M.A., of Trinity College, in the University of Cambridge, for the foundation and incorporation of an institution to be called St. Paul's Hostel, in that University, which has been referred to a Committee of the Privy Council. If, on consideration by the Committee, it is found that the application comes within the provisions of the College Charter Act, 1871, the Petition and draft Charter will be laid before Parliament before the Report of the Committee is submitted to Her Majesty. The Petition and draft Charter lodged by Mr. Potts have been laid before, and have been considered by, the Council of the Senate of the University.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—OVER-PRESSURE IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is true that the Poor Law Medical Officer for Derby has reported to the guardians that he had lately had seven cases of illness of children through over-pressure in elementary schools, and still had three cases upon the books for medical relief; among the symptoms were night terrors; and, whether the Report is corroborated by facts?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, the hon. Member for Derby (Mr. Roe) sent me a report of the remarks of the medical officer to the Derby Board of Guardians, which has been transmitted to the Rev. Mr. Blandford, Her Majesty's Senior Inspector, with a request that he would investigate and report upon the matter. Mr. Legge, the medical officer, states that "seven" was a misprint for "several," and he furnished the names of four children for whom he had prescribed, and whose illness, in his opinion, had in a great measure been caused by overwork in their respective schools. The first was a boy, Thomas Walker, a scholar of St. Alkmund's National School, aged 11 years, in Standard II., the standard for a child of eight years. On the 22nd of February the master, observing that the boy looked poorly, allowed him to sit by the class-room fire. On the 23rd (Saturday) the master saw the boy in the streets, walking between two boards advertising a race, and expressed his surprise at seeing him thus employed after he had complained of illness the previous day. The boy said he had been sent out to earn money. The Inspector was also told by two other boys in the school, that Walker was sometimes employed at night selling evening papers. The boy came to school on Monday, the 25th, and on the 26th the medical officer gave a certificate that he was unfit to attend school. Mr. Blandford saw this lad in his own house; he seemed weakly and badly nourished, and suffering from cough and cold. His mother thought he had consumption—the complaint of which his father died. The second case was that of Sarah Ann Hayes, aged 12 years, in Standard III., the standard for children of nine. She was admitted to the board schools in

January, 1883, and left in November, and is now attending a private school. An application was made while at the board school, by the person with whom she resides, that she might absent herself, as on the day before she had got in a ton of coal and could not straighten herself. The girl came in the afternoon, and the schoolmistress stated that she could not hold herself upright. Her Majesty's Inspector asks—" Might not the pressure from the getting in of the coal have done her more harm than her school work?" Third. Sam Slater, a boy between 13 and 14 years of age, in Standard II., the standard for children of eight. Left school to go into Lincolnshire, harvesting with his father, on the 20th of July last, and remained there till the 10th of December. His illness came on about the 24th of February. The Inspector called at the boy's home; but found that he had gone to a village in the neighbourhood for change of air. His sister said that "his face had broken out." Fourth. Redmond Handley, in St. Ann's National School, a bright, intelligent youth, in Standard IV. No complaint made to the master that he was overworked. He stated to Mr. Blandford that he suffered from pain in the side, and a tightness across the forehead. The Inspector adds—

"I have complained more than once of the premises in which this school is held. The room is far too small, and the ventilation is bad. When I went into it yesterday (March 14) the room was almost unbearable from the number of the children and the closeness of the atmosphere."

The Inspector concludes—

"I have to make the following observations upon the facts recorded. I do not, of course, call in question the statement of the medical officer as to the mere fact of the illness of these four children. But from the inquiries I have made I think it highly improbable that their illness was owing, either in whole or in part, to the work they had to do in school or to the home lessons afterwards."

In that opinion I think the House will fully agree.

MR. J. LOWTHER asked, whether the House was to understand that, in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman, questions affecting the preservation of human life were beneath the notice of Her Majesty's Government.

MR. MUNDELLA: The right hon. Gentleman ought to know that I cannot answer questions of opinion, but only

questions of fact. If the cause of illness of every child on the roll of the elementary schools had to be investigated by the Inspectors, those gentlemen would have very little opportunity of discharging their ordinary duties.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—BOARD SCHOOLS AT GRAVESEND.

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is a fact that, on the 11th August 1883, the Education Department refused to receive a deputation from Gravesend on the subject of the erection of new board schools in that town, on the ground that it would be premature to do so, as proposals on the subject had been referred to Her Majesty's Inspector for report; and that, on the 10th October, the Department declined to receive a deputation from the same place and on the same subject, on the ground that, the matter having been settled, the proposed interview could serve no useful purpose; and, whether such refusal to hear local objections to the erection of schools is in accordance with the practice of the Department?

MR. MUNDELLA: Yes, Sir; the facts are as stated in the Question of the hon. Gentleman; but there is an important omission—namely, that on the 31st of July I received an important deputation from Gravesend, which was introduced by the hon. Baronet the Member for the borough (Sir Sydney Waterlow), at which both the supporters and the opponents of the proposed site for the board school laid the whole case fully before me; and I have received a letter from the hon. Baronet since this Question was put upon the Paper, acknowledging the great patience and fairness with which I listened to the different opinions of the two parties to the controversy. After this deputation, the question was referred to Her Majesty's Inspector, and his Report recommended the site selected by the School Board, which was accordingly sanctioned by the Department. In reply to the last part of the Question of the hon. Member, the Department never refuses to consider local objections. I have endeavoured as much as possible, by personal interviews and deputations, to arrive at the views and opinions of parties locally interested. I prefer this method, whenever practicable, to a long

*Mr. Mundella*



correspondence, and I believed I had disarmed objections by adopting it in the present case.

#### EGYPT—POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—THE MINISTERIAL EXPLANATION.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can now state when he expects to be in a position to make a general explanation of the policy of the Government in Egypt?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I do not think that I have ever undertaken, either on my own behalf or on behalf of the Government, to make what is described by the right hon. Gentleman as a general explanation of the policy of the Government in Egypt. I have, it is true, referred in recent discussions to the financial question in Egypt, and to the question of the future military defences of Egypt; but I think it is evident that at present, at all events, it would be quite premature to attempt to express an opinion as to when the Government will be in a position to make a general statement on these two very important subjects. With regard to the Soudan, to the recommendations which have been made by General Gordon, to the instructions which have been given to him by Her Majesty's Government, and to the position of General Gordon at Khartoum, we are at present very much in the same position as we were when we last discussed this question in the House. Owing to the interruption which has taken place in the telegraphic communication between Cairo and Khartoum, we have had no information from General Gordon up to a date later than that of our last discussion in this House, and we are not aware whether the most recent instructions from Her Majesty's Government have yet reached General Gordon. We stand, therefore, very much, with regard to all these questions of our policy in the Soudan, in the same position as we did when we discussed the subject at some length last Saturday week. What I said then holds good, therefore, now — that any statement which I could make on these subjects would only be a partial statement, and could not possibly be a complete one, and, being a partial statement, would in my opinion be both misleading and

prejudicial to the public service. I have already stated that, as regards the question of our policy in the Soudan, we are desirous to make communications fully to the House of our position as soon as we are in a condition to do so; but until we have further information as to the cause and the extent of the interruptions in the communication between Cairo and Khartoum, I am afraid it is not possible for me to inform the right hon. Gentleman when I hope it will be in the power of the Government to make any further statement on these subjects. I hope, however, to be able to make some statement to the House before it adjourns for the Easter holidays. Whether that will be a complete one or not does not lie in my power at the present moment to say.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I will repeat the Question on Monday. In the meantime, I shall be glad to know whether the noble Marquess can give us any further information with regard to General Gordon? Some information seems to have been received since the discussion referred to; and we shall be glad to know whether the Government have been able to give General Gordon the assurances which he expects?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the last information which has reached us from General Gordon was dated Thursday, the 13th of this month. It contained an account, substantially the same as appeared in the newspapers, of the relief of the garrison of Halfiyeh, near Khartoum, which appears to have fallen. That is almost all the information which we have received since the last discussion in this House. As to the last part of the right hon. Gentleman's Question, I think I can hardly give any information respecting the assurances which General Gordon seems to have expected without going into matters to which I have already adverted.

#### CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)— FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE (IRELAND).

MR. JAMES HOWARD asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact, as stated in *The Irish Times* of the 19th instant, that at present not a single case of foot and mouth disease exists in Ireland; and, if he will state how many animals

have been slaughtered in order to stamp out the disease; the amount of compensation paid to the owners; and out of what fund the compensation came?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, it is a fact that there is not at present a single case of foot-and-mouth disease existing in Ireland. In order to stamp out the disease four animals were slaughtered. The amount of compensation to be paid to the owners is £71. The carcasses sold for £28; and the balance is chargeable in equal proportions on the General Cattle Diseases Fund and the local rates of the union in which the animals were slaughtered.

#### EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.).

MR. LABOUCHERE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the statements that have appeared in the public press have any foundation in fact that the Government propose to recommend to Parliament either the guaranteeing interest upon any of the Egyptian loans, or intend giving an assurance that our occupation of the country will be a prolonged one, with a view to enable a new loan to be floated?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): Sir, in reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say that, for many months past, I have read in the newspapers statements as to the intentions of the Government in connection with Egyptian finance, but that I have not observed any novel guesses within the last few days. All I can say is, that if Her Majesty's Government should decide on making any recommendation about Egyptian finance to Parliament, they will state their intentions in the usual manner, and not merely in answer to an inquiry at Question time.

#### NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)— THE ROYAL SCHOOLS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the Royal School at Dungannon, with accommodation for 100 boarders, has only 9 boarders, and, although heavily in debt, pays £700 a-year in teachers' salaries, £270 for scholarships, and £95 for exhibitions and prizes; whether the Royal School at Enniskillen, with accommodation for 100, has only 21 boarders, but pays £1,000 in

teachers' salaries, £80 in scholarships, and £151 in school exhibitions and prizes; whether the Royal School at Banagher, with accommodation for 40, has one solitary boarder, and pays £100 for teachers' salary, and £10 for prizes; whether the Limerick and Monaghan Diocesan School premises, which, like the Royal Schools, are under the Endowed School Commissioners, are let from year to year at a rent to persons carrying on schools by way of private enterprise; whether the repairs to the Monaghan School House do not come to more than the rent; whether he can state the amount of rent received by the Commissioners from their Royal School property in the last three years, and how much of it was received under the Arrears Act, and also the cost of estate management for the same period; and, whether the Commissioners have for 35 years carried over against their tenants a year's arrears of rent dating from the time of the famine?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the figures as to Dungannon School are for the most part accurate. The number of boarders, however, is 11, not nine. It is not the fact that the school is heavily in debt. It is practically free from debt. With regard to Enniskillen School, the figures are also, generally speaking, correct; but the allowance for masters' salaries has been reduced to £850, and a still further reduction is intended. There are no boarders at Banagher School. The allowance of £10 for prizes has been discontinued. The statements as to the letting of the diocesan school premises are correct. Since the passing of the Church Act, the Commissioners of Education have had no funds for carrying on the diocesan schools. The Commissioners expend no money on repairs, the tenant covenanting in each case to do this. The amount of rent received from the Royal Schools property during the last three years is about £19,000. It is believed that about £1,000 of it was received under the Arrears Act; but this figure cannot at present be stated with certainty, as the Commissioners' agents have not yet furnished their rentals and accounts. If by the phrase "cost of estate management" the hon. Member means agents' fees and bailiffs' salaries, the amount during the last three years has been about £1,400. It is not the fact that the Commissioners have for the last

35 years carried over against their tenants a year's arrears of rent, dating from the famine. On two estates (Cavan and Raphoe Schools) they carried over such arrears for a number of years; but they have been written off with others of more recent date.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman, if these cases do not show a want of efficiency on the part of the Commissioners; and, whether he will take any steps to put a stop to such a state of things?

MR. TREVELYAN: We shall bring in a Bill as soon as possible dealing with the subject.

MR. HEALY: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether, after attention has been directed to this subject for the last few years, he has yet had any Bill drafted or prepared?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Bill is drafted.

MR. HEALY: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he has any objection to move the Bill for first reading?

[No reply.]

#### ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—PENSIONERS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there are some twenty Constabulary pensioners in the late district of Mountmellick, some of whom are between seventy and eighty years of age; whether, by a recent alteration, these old men are required to go to Maryborough, on the fourth day of every month, to receive their pensions; and, whether, since this entails for some of them walking from thirteen to twenty-five miles, often in bad weather, he will make some modification of the new arrangements?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Mountmellick district was dissolved eight years ago. It is not the case that any recent alterations have been made by which old men are obliged to go long distances to receive their pay. In Mountmellick district the arrangements are the same as in others. The general rule is that the pensioner attends himself to receive his pension once a month or once a quarter, at his own option, at the office of the district Inspector. But arrangements can be made for payments through a third party. Special forms are pro-

vided for the purpose, and sick or infirm men can thus, on application, if they wish, be relieved from attending in person, and receive their pay at home.

#### PORTUGAL—THE CONGO RIVER TREATY.

MR. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have been informed, officially or unofficially, that it is not the intention of the French Government to recognise the Treaty lately concluded with Portugal respecting the Congo and adjacent Territory?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have received no communication from the Government of France on the subject of the Congo Treaty.

MR. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, instead of the Treaty lately concluded with Portugal, but not yet ratified, Her Majesty's Government would consider the expediency of coming to an arrangement with other Powers interested in the commerce of the Congo and adjacent territories, for the regulation of the trade, and for maintaining order in that river as well as on the coast?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have no intention of abandoning the Treaty concluded with Portugal.

MR. BOURKE gave Notice that, on Thursday, he would ask, whether the Native Chiefs on the Congo had acknowledged the authority of Portugal, and whether they had been consulted respecting the Treaty?

#### UNIVERSITY (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK asked the Lord Advocate, When the University (Scotland) Bill may be expected; and, if there is any chance of a satisfactory arrangement being come to with the Treasury as to the financial part of it?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Communications are passing with the Treasury, which I hope will result in a satisfactory arrangement being come to with respect to the financial parts of this Bill. If these are completed, as I expect they will be, the Bill will be introduced before Easter.



AFRICA (SOUTH)—ZULULAND—THE  
NATIVE RESERVE.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, before Her Majesty's Government decide to extend the Native Reserve in Zululand, they will obtain the consent of the Zulu Chiefs who will be affected by such extension, especially of Mnyamana, the most powerful chief in Cetywayo's territory; whether he is aware that the Usutus have again asked Sir Henry Bulwer to allow Mr. William Grant to visit them; and, whether such permission will be granted?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, we have instructed Sir Henry Bulwer to ascertain the views of Mnyamana and others as to this question of the Reserve. I do not quite understand the second part of the Question, as the Usutus are a party scattered all over Zululand; but, as a matter of fact, we have received no such request since the death of Cetywayo. As far as our permission is required, it will depend not only on who asks for it, but on the how, the why, the when, and the where.

POST OFFICE (CONTRACTS)—THE  
WEST INDIAN MAIL SERVICE.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, with reference to his reply given on the 25th of February, Whether each and all of the different schemes of tenders for the West Indian Mail Service were submitted to the West Indian Colonies, or whether such reference was limited solely to the offer made by one Company?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the only tenders forwarded to the West Indian Governments for the West Indian Mails were Nos. 1 and 2 of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company—these being the only tenders which, in the opinion of the Post Office, Treasury, and Colonial Office meet the requirements of the service. They are sent to the West Indies, mainly in connection with the additional contributions asked from those Colonies, and to ascertain whether such will be forthcoming before any tender is accepted here at home.

In further answer to Lord CLAUD HAMILTON,

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, that several other tenders were sent in; but

they proposed to take the mails *via* New York, which was not a convenient course. The acceptance of the tenders took place here, not in the Colonies.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF  
GUARDIANS AT ROSCREA.

MR. MAYNE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that the clerk of the Roscrea Union, acting as returning officer, refuses to permit the National candidates to be present at the examination of the voting papers at elections for Poor Law Guardians in his union, giving no reason to them for his so doing, but merely a point blank refusal; whether, in accordance with Article 20 of the Local Government Board's Circular, dated 16th January 1863, which directs that clerks of unions, before excluding either candidates or their proposers from the examination of the voting papers, should be prepared to show some urgent reason for taking a step "which, generally speaking, would seem to be unnecessary and unreasonable," this gentleman has furnished the Local Government Board with any urgent or sufficient reason for his so excluding the National candidates; and, whether, in the absence of any such urgent reason for their exclusion, the Local Government Board will direct this returning officer to admit such of the candidates and their proposers as desire it to be present at the examination of the voting papers at the present and future elections?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Local Government Board inform me that it is the case that the Returning Officer has expressed his intention not to have the candidates present at the casting up of the votes, and he says this practice has been followed for many years in Roscrea Union. It is discretionary with the Returning Officer to admit or exclude strangers, and the Board cannot give him absolute directions on this point; but they have drawn his special attention to the views expressed in the circular to which the hon. Member refers.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRE-  
LAND) ACT—ROMAN CATHOLIC  
EXAMINERS.

MR. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What was the number of examiners under the Intermediate Education Act

in the years 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1883; and, what was the proportion of Catholic examiners to those of other religious denominations in each of these years?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the number of examiners in the years referred to were—46, 54, 56, and 51. The Assistant Commissioners state that they only do the ordinary work of the Department, and cannot, without authority from their Board, give the further information asked for; but they will submit the question to them at the next meeting, which takes place in a few days.

MR. LEAMY gave Notice that he would repeat the Question.

MR. SEXTON asked, if there was any objection to directing the Commissioners to state the reason why they waited to consult the Board?

MR. HEALY asked, would the right hon. Gentleman direct the Board to consider the question that day?

[No reply.]

#### ARMY DISCIPLINE ACT—FLOGGING (EGYPT).

MR. PARNELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in view of the infliction of the punishment of flogging under the provisions of the Egyptian Military Code upon persons subject to the provisions of the Army Discipline Act, he will give directions that for the future a punishment which has been recently abolished by Parliament shall not be inflicted by British officers upon persons subject as soldiers to the provisions of British Military Law?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I do not think it will be necessary to issue any such instructions as are referred to by the hon. Member, because the provisions of the Army Discipline Act are perfectly clear, and do not appear to require to be supplemented by any further instructions.

MR. PARNELL said, that, in consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of the reply, he should move in Committee on the Army Annual Bill an Amendment to make it an offence against military law for any British officer to inflict, under the authority of any foreign Sovereign or Ruler, any punishment not sanctioned by the Army Discipline Act.

#### STATE OF IRELAND—NATIONAL LEAGUE MEETINGS—INTRUSION OF THE POLICE.

MR. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that, on the 16th of this month, two constables insisted on entering the house of a farmer at Knockanore, county Waterford, in which a committee meeting of the National League was being held, and, on being asked to leave, stated they would not, as they were instructed to remain until they were removed by force; whether, on the meeting being adjourned to another house, the police followed and endeavoured to force their way in; whether they were instructed to act in this matter; if so, by whom; and, whether the Irish Executive approves of their action?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am told that the constables entered, without any opposition, the house of the farmer where the meeting was appointed to be held; and they remained because the owner, when appealed to, made no objection. The meeting was then adjourned to another house only a few yards away, on the other side of the street, the proprietor of which refused to admit the constables, who made no further attempt to enter. No force was used upon either occasion.

MR. LEAMY: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether one of the policemen did not declare that he would not leave the house unless compelled by force, and that they had instructions to remain, unless removed by force?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have already answered the Question.

MR. LEAMY: The Question I asked has not been answered; and I beg to give Notice that, as the right hon. Gentleman has not answered the Question, of which I have given full Notice—namely, as to whether the policeman stated that—

“He would not leave the house unless removed by force, and that he had been instructed not to leave unless removed by force”—

I shall ask it again on Thursday.

#### POST OFFICE—GOOD CONDUCT STRIPES FOR POSTMEN.

SIR TREVOR LAWRENCE asked the Postmaster General, What is the

cause of the delay in issuing the good service stripes, carrying an extra pay of 1s. a-week, promised some time ago to letter carriers who had served for five years; whether these stripes will be issued without further delay; and, whether letter carriers will receive back pay from the date on which they became entitled to these stripes?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, I think the hon. Member is under a misapprehension as to the bestowal of good conduct stripes on postmen. It was never intended that all postmen who had served for five years and upwards should have good conduct stripes; but a certain number of these stripes were allotted to each locality for distribution among the most deserving postmen. In cases in which there is any delay in filling up a vacancy, the postman upon whom the good conduct stripe is conferred receives the allowance which the stripe carries from the date of vacancy, or else from the date on which he completed the prescribed period of service. I may add that about 5,600 postmen are now the wearers of one or more good conduct stripes.

REGISTRY OF DEEDS (IRELAND) —  
FINAL REPORT OF THE ROYAL  
COMMISSION.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, With regard to the recommendations contained in the final Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Registry of Deeds, Ireland, that certain additional holidays and half-holidays should be given to the staff, that a certain measure of relief should be given to the transcribing clerks, and that certain improvements should be made in the accommodation of the office, whether such recommendations have been carried out; whether the Royal Commission also recommended that there should be only two classes of clerks, the second and third classes being united; whether this system of having only two classes is already in operation in the Irish Constabulary Office, the Office of National Education, and in the Offices of the Board of Works and Local Government Board; whether, recently, several clerks of the Registry of Deeds, being dissatisfied with their prospects, have applied for leave to be transferred to other Departments; and, whether, in

order to improve the position of the third-class clerks, and to remove the discontent at present existing in the Department of the Registry of Deeds, the Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury are prepared to unite the second and third classes of clerks, as recommended by the Royal Commission?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the extra holidays in this Department have been given, and the office accommodation has been improved. I am not aware that the copyists have any grievance; but inquiry is being made upon this point. The third class of clerks is being put an end to, lower division clerks being substituted as vacancies occur. Nothing is known at the Treasury of any discontent in the office.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)  
— PAYMENT OF RENT FOR THE  
SURFACE OF PUBLIC ROADS RUN-  
NING THROUGH HOLDINGS.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he is aware that the tenant farmers of Ireland complain strongly of having to pay rent to the landlords for the surface of the public roads which they are also heavily taxed to keep in repair; and, whether he will introduce a Clause in the Bill promised to amend the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act to remove this grievance?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he was prepared to answer the Question for his right hon. Friend the Prime Minister. When a bulk rent was payable for a farm, there could be no difficulty, because both landlord and tenant had agreed upon what its amount should be. Rents fixed by the Sub-Commissioners under the Land Act of 1881 were always bulk rents, and the amount of land occupied by public roads would be an element to be considered in the fixing of these fair rents. Where an acreable rent was reserved in lettings made since 1870, roads were included in the acreage according to the provisions of the Act of 1870. If the hon. Member's Question referred to new roads, contracted after the fixing of a fair rent by the Court, it must be borne in mind that the tenant would be compensated by Grand Jury presentment for injury to his land. It was not proposed to make any change in the law on the subject.

*Sir Trevor Lawrence*



EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS) —  
LOSS OF LIFE IN EGYPT AND  
THE SOUDAN.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON, who had given Notice to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, If he would have any objection to lay upon the Table of the House, a Return giving the number of Europeans and natives, respectively, who have met with violent deaths in Egypt and the Soudan since the commencement in 1882 of naval and military operations in that Country by Her Majesty's Government? said, he would postpone it in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, whether it is postponed or not, the only answer we can give to a Question of this nature is, that there is no information in our possession that would enable us to give such a Return as is asked for.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON said, that the only reason he put the Question was, that the Prime Minister, in his Mid Lothian speeches—["Order, order!"]—was able to announce—["Order, order!"] He would ask the noble Marquess whether he was aware that, in his Mid Lothian speeches, the Prime Minister was able to inform the people of that country of the number of Zulus, whom he estimated at 10,000, who had been slain under the auspices of the then Conservative Government; and whether it was, therefore, fair to infer that, if he could give such an estimate in his private capacity, he could, as Prime Minister, give the numbers for the war in Egypt and the Soudan, for which he was responsible?

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—  
GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he wished to ask the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which he had given him private Notice, Whether the Government have received any information from Khartoum confirming the intelligence in *The Times* of Saturday, that 6,000 of the Mahdi's followers were besieging Khartoum, and that General Gordon had said the rebels would be quiet if they believed the Government had any backbone; and, whether they approved of the description

Gordon was said to have given of them?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, as to the former part of the Question, it would be better that Notice should be given of it; the latter part of the Question involves a matter of opinion, and I am afraid neither that, nor an answer, would be in Order.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—  
ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM HEWETT'S  
PROCLAMATION (OSMAN DIGNA) —  
WITHDRAWAL.

MR. HEALY asked, What are the terms of the counter-Proclamation, withdrawing the reward of £1,000 offered for the body of Osman Digna, dead or alive; and, if the Government can give any assurance that Copies of the Document have been circulated as widely as the original offer of a reward?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the terms of the counter-Proclamation were as follows:—

"I hereby give notice that the reward of 5,000 dollars for the rebel, Osman Digna, is withdrawn; and that, in future, no money reward will be offered for him."

With regard to the latter part of the Question, I have no information as to the manner in which either the original or counter-Proclamation was circulated.

MR. HEALY: With regard to the term "no money reward," I wish to ask the noble Marquess whether there is any other description of reward to be given?

[No reply.]

ENDOWED SCHOOLS ACTS—CHRIST'S  
HOSPITAL.

MR. BRYCE asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether he can inform the House what progress has been made by the Charity Commissioners with the preparation of a scheme, under the Endowed Schools Acts, relating to Christ's Hospital, and when such a scheme is likely to be published?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, the Charity Commissioners report that they are engaged in the preparation of a fresh draft scheme, under the Endowed Schools Acts, for Christ's Hospital; and they anticipate that it will be published some time during the present year.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE  
HOUSE—ARRANGEMENT OF  
PUBLIC BUSINESS.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE asked, with reference to the second Order of the Day, the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, When it was likely that the Committee stage would be taken?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I should like to say, before the Orders of the Day are called on, that we propose, seeing that the second Order of the Day has been blocked by 10 hon. Members, to ask the House, knowing the great majority are anxious to make progress with the Bill, to take the Committee stage to-morrow at 2 o'clock, so far as to endeavour to get the Speaker out of the Chair. My right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson) has stated that important Amendments are to be moved in Committee; and a pledge has been given that there shall be full opportunity for their consideration, both by Members of this House and by persons outside who are interested. They will not be on the Paper until to-morrow; and, therefore, we shall not ask the House to make any progress with the Bill in Committee, but only to dispose of the Amendments standing in the names of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) and the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny). Still, we desire to make use of that opportunity, if it be possible, in order to take the stage of the Speaker leaving the Chair. Ample Notice will then be given of when it is intended to take the Bill in Committee. If the House should agree to a Morning Sitting for this purpose, my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer would find it convenient, both for this House and the House of Lords, to take the third reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill, which, probably, would not take a long time, as I do not apprehend there will be any discussion upon it. Immediately afterwards, we can proceed with the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill; and, should any further time be at the disposal of the House, it would be prepared to take the second reading of the Municipal Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Bill.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he was sorry that he should be almost compelled to oppose the taking of the Motion to go into Committee on the Contagious Dis-

eases (Animals) Bill to-morrow. It would seem to him to be a debate on principle, and it seemed doubtful whether any time would be saved until they saw the Amendments of the Government.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he had the first place for Tuesday, for a Motion of great importance, and he would not give way unless the Government would give him a day; therefore, he should oppose the Motion of the Government.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG asked, whether private Members were to understand that there would be a Morning Sitting every Tuesday? As holding a sort of semi-official position, he had already had an important Bill three times postponed, and he wished to know whether they were always to be put off? There was plenty of time after Easter to commence these Morning Sittings.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS hoped the House would not consent to a Morning Sitting to-morrow. It was quite unusual to resort to them before Easter.

MR. MAC IVER asked the President of the Board of Trade, what he meant to do with his Merchant Shipping Bill—whether he intended, or did not intend, to take the second reading of that Bill before Easter?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I can only say that I intend to ask the House to take the second reading of that Bill as soon as the state of Public Business permits. I cannot say whether it will be before Easter, or at a Morning Sitting.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked Mr. Speaker, whether it would be in Order, on the third reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill, to raise the questions of the position of General Gordon at Khartoum, the policy of the Government in Egypt, and generally to discuss the state of affairs in the Soudan?

MR. SPEAKER: I have to say, in reply to the noble Lord, that it is my duty to settle points of Order as they arise. If the question arises, I shall be prepared to settle it.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Then I beg to give Notice that, on the third reading of that Bill, I will draw attention to the state of affairs in Egypt, and to the position of General Gordon at Khartoum.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked, whether he had correctly understood the noble Marquess to say it was not

intended to consider the Amendments to the Cattle Diseases Bill to-morrow?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I said there was no intention on the part of the Government to ask the House to make progress with the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill in Committee except at a reasonable hour. As to the remark of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) that no time will be saved, I think he is somewhat in error, because, considering that Notice of opposition has been given by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arthur Arnold) and the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny), it is likely that whenever this Motion is taken there will be some debate on the Question that the Speaker do leave the Chair; and, at all events, we must make progress to that extent at a Morning Sitting. If the noble Lord opposite the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) intends, practically, to impede the progress of the Bill by raising a debate on the third reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill, of course the Government cannot be responsible for that. That is a matter for the noble Lord to arrange with the Conservative Party, who profess to be anxious to see this Bill pushed forward. In reply to the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg), I may say that the Government have formed no intention of asking the House to allow them to appropriate Tuesdays for Morningittings. We regret the necessity of doing it at all; but the House is perfectly aware of the peculiar position in which we stand, and how little time we have had since the most pressing necessities of Supply have been disposed of. We understand that the Bill is desired by a very large majority on the Opposition side of the House, and by a considerable number on the other side. Under those circumstances, the Government thought the House would prefer that some progress should be made with the Bill, even at the cost of some inconvenience, and of depriving some hon. Members of the opportunity of bringing their Motions forward.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he understood that, by the Rules of the House, when the Motion was carried that the Speaker do leave the Chair, the Bill could be brought on at any time of the night, independent of any block. He had no

wish to delay the Bill beyond the necessity of discussion; but the real discussion would take place on the Amendment of his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Dodson); and, therefore, he thought that, in assenting to the Bill being taken to-morrow, the House must ask for an assurance that the Committee stage would not be taken except at an early hour of the evening.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he had already stated that the Government would not ask the House to make progress with the Bill except at a reasonable hour of the evening.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE EDUCATION CODE, 1884.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON gave Notice that he would move an Address to the Crown to withhold its consent to the new Education Code in its present form; and as the Code would become law in four weeks unless such an Address was presented, he would ask, If the Government would give him an opportunity for the Motion by withdrawing or suspending the Code until after the consideration of the Education Estimates?

[No reply.]

#### MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL—OVER- INSURED SHIPS.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the President of the Board of Trade, If, in view of the discussion of the Merchant Shipping Bill, he will give the number and the names of the over-insured vessels which, to the knowledge of Her Majesty's Government, have been lost at sea during the period of the past five years?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, I am sorry to say I have no information as to the amount of insurance effected in the great majority of cases on the vessels which have been lost during the last five years. Insurance is a private contract, and I have no means of obtaining these particulars. Recently, I have instructed the Board of Trade Representatives to make special reference to insurance in all the inquiries held before the Wreck Commissioner; but where the owner declines to give the information asked for, I have no power, under the present law, to compel him to do so.



MR. O'DONNELL said, that on Monday he should ask whether, in the absence of such statistical information, the right hon. Gentleman still intended to have the Merchant Shipping Bill sent before a Committee from which a majority of Members of the House were excluded, and which was incapable of hearing evidence? He would now ask the Question on the subject of which he had given Notice—namely, Whether there is any truth in the statement which has appeared in the public Press, that the representatives of the shipping interest have proposed terms of arrangement to him on the subject of the Merchant Shipping Bill; and, if he can state the nature of those terms?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I have not seen the statement referred to by the hon. Member, and if such a statement has been made it is not true. Individual shipowners have offered suggestions, many of which I shall be glad to adopt; and I have always expressed my readiness to consider favourably any proposals for the amendment of the Merchant Shipping Bill which do not conflict with its main objects.

#### POOR LAW—REMOVAL OF PAUPERS TO IRELAND.

In reply to Mr. HEALY,

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that if the Guardians of the Londonderry Union desired an inquiry on oath into the charge connected with the deportation of a pauper to that Union from Plymouth, the Local Government Board would be willing to consider whether such an inquiry should be granted.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

#### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—[BILL 119.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.*)

#### SECOND READING. [FIRST NIGHT.]

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

LORD JOHN MANNERS, in rising to move—

"That this House declines to proceed further with a measure, having for its objects the addi-

tion of two million voters to the electoral body of the United Kingdom, until it has before it the entire scheme contemplated by the Government for the amendment of the Representation of the People,"

said: Sir, as in the course of my observations I shall have to run counter to the opinions of many hon. Gentlemen opposite, it is a satisfaction to me to think that I shall carry with me, at the outset, the assent and sympathy of the whole House in expressing regret at the absence of the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, sorrow at the cause of it, and hope that before this debate comes to a close he will be restored to his place, and to that part in the deliberations of the House to which his genius and eloquence so justly entitle him. I have heard this measure commended for its simplicity. I think its simplicity is owing mainly, if not exclusively, to its many omissions, and if I could lay before the House a copy of the measure complete in all its parts, I believe it would be admitted that, so far from being simple, it is complicated and far-reaching—more complicated and far-reaching than any measure of Parliamentary Reform ever submitted to the consideration of the House of Commons. It is admitted that it is proposed to add 2,000,000 electors to the existing constituencies; and yet in this Bill not the slightest hint is given how the addition of that vast number of voters is to be allocated. If I wished to place before the House the most convincing argument in favour of the simple Amendment I have to move, I would content myself with reading the speech which, in 1866, was delivered in this House by the present Secretary of State for the Colonies (Lord Derby). But as that course might not be altogether agreeable to the noble Lord, and might appear to be discourteous to his Colleagues on the opposite Bench, and as you, Sir, might interfere with my reading of that speech, I will content myself with quoting one single sentence of it, and then proceed, with the light, the very dim light, thrown on the Bill and its necessary consequences by the speech of the Prime Minister, to make those comments which the occasion seems to demand. After having stated the different arguments, which, he presumed, Her Majesty's Ministers would assign for not laying immediately on the Table

their scheme for redistribution, Lord Derby said—

“It comes to this—the pledge which the Government have given on this subject is simply a pledge to do a certain thing next year, provided that circumstances admit of their doing so, and provided also they do not in the meantime change their minds. . . . Who is to answer for the events of the next 12 months? . . . Who can tell what question, foreign or domestic, may arise, leading to a dissolution of Parliament after the passing of the Franchise Bill—supposing it to be passed in the present Session—and before the Bill for the redistribution of seats is brought on for discussion?”  
—(3 *Hansard* [182] 1168.)

This is the only quotation which I will give from “the unanswered and unanswered speech,” as it was truly called, of Lord Derby—believing that it is all-sufficient for the purpose I have in view in submitting my Amendment to the House. The Prime Minister, in his opening speech, appeared to admit that Lord Derby had then great reason on his side; and he proceeded to contend that, applicable as those arguments were in 1866, they would not be applicable in 1884. Certainly, there are great differences and distinctions in the provisions of the two measures. I admit it; I insist upon it; it is part of my case; and there are great differences, and distinctions likewise, in the circumstances under which these two great measures have been introduced. The measure of 1866 was confined to England and Wales. The measure of 1884 extends to Scotland and to Ireland. The measure of 1866 proposed to add something under 200,000 to the county constituencies of England and Wales. This measure proposes to add something like 1,300,000. That measure proposed no important change, either directly or indirectly, in the constituencies or representation of Ireland. This measure proposes a most gigantic and far-reaching change in the constituencies of Ireland, and will necessarily produce along with it an equally great and far-reaching change in the representative system of that country. This measure, in fact, creates the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) the Grand Elector for four-fifths of Ireland. That measure necessitated the very slightest change in the representation of England and Scotland. This measure necessitates, by the concession of all men, so vast a change in the representative system that it is very doubtful whether any borough under 40,000 will retain a Member; and therein I, for

one, see a reason why the Government are determined to conceal their policy with regard to redistribution. And now with respect to the differences and distinctions in the circumstances of the two epochs. In 1866 you had the most halcyon peace. There was not a ripple on the waters of Europe, or even of America. The Civil War in the United States had come to an end. Ireland was in that tranquil state that the only allusion made to her in the Queen’s Speech was a congratulation that she had escaped the cattle plague. With respect to the relations with Foreign Powers, and France especially, there was a notice in the Queen’s Speech of so unusual and significant a character that I shall be pardoned if I remind the House of it. Her Majesty was advised, in 1866, to use these very unusual words—

“The meeting of the Fleets of France and England in the Ports of the respective Countries has tended to cement the Amity of the Two Nations and to prove to the World their friendly Concert in the Promotion of Peace.”

If last year or this year Her Majesty had been advised to make reference in the Speech from the Throne to the meeting of the Fleets of France and England, in what language would that reference have been couched? Somewhat in this form:—“The meeting of the Fleets of France and England in the harbour of Alexandria has tended to prove to the world their divergence of policy in the promotion of peace.” The words of Lord Derby in 1866, to which I have referred, partake of a prophetic character, for the noble Lord would appear to have been looking forward in his mind’s eye to the events and circumstances under which Her Majesty’s Government, in 1884, have introduced their Reform Bill to a disturbed and startled House of Commons. I have shortly stated the distinctions and differences which exist in the two measures, and in the circumstances under which they have been presented to our notice. The Prime Minister also referred to the distinctions and differences, upon which he laid great stress. In order that I may not appear to misinterpret his arguments or misquote his views, I will ask leave to read that paragraph of the speech to which I have referred. The right hon. Gentleman said—

[*First Night.*]



"The franchise is not going to be absolutely identical, but it will be within a shade of it. Do not let us conceal that from ourselves. All over the country the occupiers, taken as a whole, will be, if I am right, five-sixths of the whole constituencies. What harm will happen to them, supposing you legislate on the franchise now? Supposing, through any accident, which I do not expect, this Parliament is prevented from legislating on redistribution, what would be the worst that could happen? Districts now rural might, in another Parliament, become towns. What would be the difference? They would exercise the same occupying franchise in a town instead of exercising it in a county; and their right to vote in the county in respect of a property franchise within the town they would retain as they have it under the present law. So, again, when Parliament found it necessary, in any smaller towns, to deprive them of the privilege of returning by their sole power Representatives to Parliament, those persons would still carry the same occupying franchise which they have heretofore had into the county. So that, in fact, that argument has practically vanished."—(3 *Hansard*, [285] 125.)

That is, Lord Derby's argument in 1866 has practically vanished. I think that is a mystifying statement. I am not sure that I fully understand its purport; but I assume, if it means anything, it means that when this Bill is passed every householder, and in Ireland every cabinholder, can exercise his vote, and that, therefore, it is a matter of absolute indifference how, where, and under what conditions, or what his constituency, or the number of Members he may vote for, provided he exercises the franchise. If that be the interpretation of that paragraph and argument, the Bill will do something more than the right hon. Gentleman indicated. He closes the paragraph by saying that the argument of Lord Derby vanishes. If it vanishes for this Session, it vanishes equally for next Session, for the next Parliament, and for every Parliament. How the Prime Minister can have fallen into an argument which is capable ultimately of so vast a development I cannot imagine. Thinking it over I can only find two possible reasons—first, that in the extremity of his argumentative distress no better argument occurred to him; and, secondly, that for the moment he fell into what I may call, without offence, the Birmingham fallacy of regarding a vote as an abstract right and not as a trust. But that would lead him to the position frankly taken up by the President of the Board of Trade of Manhood Suffrage. For my part—and I believe I speak the sentiments probably of the majority of the House—I do not

regard the franchise as a right. I do not think we ought to regard it in that light. In approaching a great organic change in the Constitution, we ought to think, not how it will affect the privileges of individuals, or even of classes; but how it will affect the stability of the Constitution and the well-being of the body politic—the State. And, viewing this great question from that point of view, I must ask the House to consider the direct effects of this Bill as it is presented to us, without any indication as to how the arrangements necessarily connected with it are to be carried out. In the first place, this Bill, as it stands, obviously hands over political power from those who at present exercise it in the counties of Great Britain to those who do not exercise it. That I apprehend to be a simple mathematical statement which admits of no contradiction. Secondly, it so enlarges a great number of the county constituencies as to render them absolutely unmanageable. A few figures will show clearly the truth of the proposition which I venture to lay down. The Southern Division of the West Riding contains 766 square miles, and it will, under this Bill, have about 66,000 voters. The South-Western Division of Lancashire will have about 60,000 voters; the South-Eastern Division will have about 65,000. In Scotland, the Northern Division of Lanarkshire will have some 40,000. In Ireland, Cork County, with 2,812 square miles, will have 45,000 voters. County Down will have about the same number, and Donegal about 35,000. I will ask—How are those constituencies, with anything approaching a personal knowledge of the candidates, to elect fit and proper persons to serve them in Parliament? How can any Member canvass a number of voters over that enormous area? How can the necessary expense be met? Those are only some of the more salient features. All over England we shall have similar, though not so vast constituencies, which will, in fact, render many county constituencies impracticable. Thirdly, this Bill, as it stands, will retain all the small boroughs precisely as they are, with the exception that in Ireland the electorate will be slightly increased. In Ireland we shall still have Portarlington, Ennis, and Kinsale, numbering under 2,000 electors, returning one more Member to Parliament than the great County



of Cork with 45,000 electors. So, Sir, in England the anomalies will be almost equally striking. But we are told that, in addition to its simplicity, this Bill will abolish all electoral anomalies; but I contend, and will show distinctly to the House, that instead of removing anomalies in the franchise it will largely increase them. Why? The Bill as it stands bristles with anomalies. The Attorney General told us the other day, in answer to a Question, that the anomaly—he used the word—of the borough freeholders voting for the county would be retained by the Bill. I now approach a very delicate subject, on which I do not wish to express any positive opinion—namely, the question of female suffrage. There is an anomaly under the present system, and what I want the House to consider is, will not that anomaly be greatly increased by this Bill?—I allude to the position of the female ratepayer. The present position of the female ratepayer with regard to the vote is most anomalous. She votes for municipal, school board, and Poor Law elections; but she does not vote at Parliamentary Elections. This is the position. Now, take the case of one large and influential section of the female ratepayers—I mean female farmers. The Census shows that in 1881 there were upwards of 20,000 female farmers in England. At the present moment not one of these has the vote for Parliamentary purposes. But, then, the labourer whom she pays, whom she maintains, and enables to live in his cottage, has no vote now; but pass this Bill, and what happens? Every carter, every ploughman, every hedger and ditcher, every agricultural labourer who receives wages from the female farmer will have the privilege of exercising the vote; but the female farmer who pays the wages, who sustains the labourer, who is so important a factor in the social economy of the parish, will remain without a vote. Will you tell me that that anomaly will not be greatly increased, and the sense of it embittered to the female ratepayer whom you are going to treat in this cavalier manner? And now I come to consider the most important question which is raised by this Bill, and that is the proportional representation of the Three Kingdoms. On this point we have had a little light thrown by the Prime Minister, though it was only “the light

which half conceals the shapes which it reveals to our meditative eyes.” What was the statement of the right hon. Gentleman? Scotland was to gain, England to lose, and Ireland was to remain stationary. England is the only part of the Realm which is not to have justice. And why? Let us look back a little. This Bill, which is to add 2,000,000 of voters to the present electoral body, was based on pure abstract geographical equality. England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland were all to be treated alike, whether the inhabitants lived in cottages, or houses, or mud hovels; whatever their characteristics or qualities they were all to have the vote—the loyal and the disloyal, the victims of outrage and the outrage-mongers and their abettors were all put on an equality. But, then, is representation to follow on the same lines? Are the Three Kingdoms to be treated on the same principle of equality? By no means. Ireland is to be favoured, Scotland is to have justice done; but England—unfortunate, unhappy England—is to be the country which is to receive less than justice. What was the argument which was to justify so preposterous an arrangement? It was said Ireland is further removed from the seat of power than the South of England; she is to have her full number of Members; and, therefore, the South of England must contribute Members to Scotland. I could have understood that before railways and steamboats were invented. At that rate, Orkney and Shetland ought to have a largely-increased representation. I would call the attention of the House to the effect of these figures, taken from Mr. Bernard’s valuable work, which show that Scotland has one Member to every 64,278 of the population, England one Member to 54,216, Ireland one Representative to 51,236, and Wales a Member to every 45,400 of her people. Starting with these figures, and properly amending them in accordance with the most recent official Returns, we should have at Midsummer, 1884, England and Wales with 496 Members, Scotland with 71, and Ireland with 91; and, in face of these figures, I ask whether the scheme, of which we have only had a dim foreshadowing, could be proposed seriously for adoption by Parliament? “Oh,” we are told, “Ireland is to maintain her full tale.” Scotland is to have, according to the

Prime Minister, a number of Members proportioned to her population and wealth; and it is England that is to make the necessary sacrifice for the purpose of providing the supply, in order that Ireland may retain more than her due share of representation. And not only is it England which has to do this, but it is the constituencies in the Southern part of the Kingdom which are to supply the principal part of the needed Members. The figures I have quoted show that if England and Wales are to be sacrificed to fulfil the wants of Scotland, surely it ought to be Wales, and not England, which should make the sacrifice. Wales is the most over-represented part of the United Kingdom at the present moment; and I ask whether Her Majesty's Government will not take away five or six Members from Wales to supply the wants of Scotland; and, if not, why not? The question which will be asked from one end of the country to the other will be as to whether Wales is further off from the seat of power than the North or the extreme South of England? There is, to my mind, some hidden political reason for this taking of Members from the Southern counties of England by this travesty of political justice. Can it be that Ireland is to be bribed into quiet and submission by this undue favour given to her, or that Scotland is to be rewarded for her hitherto faithful adhesion to Radical traditions by this large increase in her representation, and that the South of England is to be punished, and made to suffer, because the constituencies there have never shown any great devotion to the cause of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and have, in fact, shown a marked disinclination to his policy? Can it be that the South of England is to be treated in this way because Southampton, Salisbury, and Brighton have disapproved the policy of the right hon. Gentleman? I will now proceed to the next step in the consideration of this proportional representation. If Ireland is to be treated with undue favour with respect to the proportion of her Members, how is she to be treated with respect to their allocation within her own borders? Figures show that in spite of the fact that Dublin is by far the most populous city in the country, it is the Province of Leinster that is the most over-represented in the

country; and it is from Leinster, if political justice is to rule you in this matter, that Members will have to be taken, and it is to Ulster that they will have to be given. Are you going to do that; and, if you are, will you tell us in what degree and fashion you are going to redress the political inequalities which now exist within the four corners of the Sister Country? Then I go a step further, and ask, how are you going to treat that question which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister admitted in a short sentence had a great deal to be said for it; but upon which he was very guarded in his utterances—I mean minority representation? The right hon. Gentleman gave the House to understand that for himself he saw little or no reason to change the hostile view he has always expressed upon that subject. If the franchise remained as it is now, I, for one, should have no particular wish to see the minority principle pressed further than it goes at present; but if this gigantic and sweeping addition is to be made to the constituent body, I cannot but doubt that that large body of Members on both sides of the House who have bestirred themselves for minority or proportional representation, and have so much to say for the principle of the scheme which they favour, will insist that it is absolutely essential for the House to be put in possession of the views of Her Majesty's Government upon it. How can hon. Gentlemen opposite, who favour the principle of minority representation, reconcile it to themselves to pass the second reading of this Bill in total ignorance as to the views and intentions of Her Majesty's Government on the subject? How can they hope that in another Session they will be able to place their views favourably before the Government and the House, when the Government and the House alike will have sanctioned and passed a Bill which renders it a matter of indifference to the Government how all these subsequent questions are decided by a majority of the House of Commons? We are told that this question, and the whole question of redistribution, may be safely postponed until next year. I have read Lord Derby's prophecy as to what might happen next year; and I would ask what is the condition of affairs at the present moment? We are watching anxiously, day by day, and week by week, the progress of our second cam-



paign in Egypt; and everything we see and hear around us causes us to believe and expect that next year we shall have to consider the issues of a third campaign in that country. In what condition is Ireland now, and in what condition do the Ministry think that country will be next year? The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland told his constituents, not very long ago, that Ireland at this moment is kept from civil war only by a predominant military force, and by the severe operation of the most exceptionally severe Code that living men ever remember. Next year that exceptional Code expires, and Her Majesty's Government have given us no reason to believe that they have any confidence that next year they shall be able to govern Ireland without a recurrence to, at any rate, many of the provisions of that Code. What is the assurance that they and we have received from the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) on the subject? The Government cannot say that they have not received full warning on this matter. They know better than we do what are the real intentions of that hon. Member and his friends in Ireland on this point. These are the words of weighty warning which he uttered in Ireland on the 11th of December last year—

“This Coercion Act is running out, and we are living it down. There is one thing that it is very well for us to remember and to remind English people of—that if there be one fact more certain than another it is that if we are to be coerced again; if the present Coercion Act, or any part of it, is to be renewed; if the Constitution is not to be restored to us, these things shall be done by a Tory Government, and not by a Liberal Government, and shall carry with them, in the shape of increased taxes and foreign wars, penalties in excess of those inflicted upon us.”

The Government is, as I have said, in the middle of their second Egyptian Campaign. [*Laughter.*] That is the actual position, and right hon. Gentlemen opposite may laugh; but I think if the hon. Member for the City of Cork speaks in the course of this debate he will probably take an opportunity of qualifying one expression contained in the passage I have just quoted, and will say that he did not conceive it possible how far Her Majesty's Liberal Government could have gone in the way of “increased taxes and foreign wars.” And it is not the hon. Member for the

City of Cork alone who has given us this warning. No doubt he speaks for his Party; but there is a very influential personage who has not yet entered within these walls. Mr. Davitt, on the 2nd of March, said that as soon as the Coercion Act expired and the democracy had the power in their own hands under the new Reform Bill they could have the affairs of the country “settled on a just basis.” We all know what the Irish democracy means in the eyes of Mr. Davitt, and we can also form a tolerably accurate idea of what he would deem to be “a just basis” for the settlement of the Land Question. Not many days ago we had in this House a very animated debate, in the course of which the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) gave us another very significant warning, when, in the course of an eloquent speech, he threatened “a fresh crusade against rent.” Under the circumstances, I ask, do Her Majesty's Government really think that it will be so easy for them to pass fresh measures of Parliamentary Reform next Session? We have been promised a Bill on the subject of Registration, and the Prime Minister the other day advised a correspondent to wait until that Bill was before the House before he proceeded to discuss important points in connection with it. Therefore, we have a Registration Bill and a Redistribution Bill promised to us next year, unless something happens in the meantime which may render the Dissolution of Parliament necessary. I venture to think that, even if we do not have a Dissolution of Parliament, next Session may be so completely occupied by difficult questions relating to foreign affairs, and the necessity for legislating for the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, that Her Majesty's Government, with the best intentions, may find it impossible for them to fulfil their engagements with regard to those measures. I ask hon. Members to remember—I, at least, am old enough to remember—the agitation throughout the country in the years 1831 and 1832, when there was so much eagerness for Reform. What was the cry then? It was—“The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill. [“Hear, hear!”] Hon. Members below the Gangway say “Hear, hear!” to that; but what is the cry now? Your cry now is—“One-third of the measure, and not more than one-third of it.” Do you expect to agitate the country or excite



the constituencies with such a cry as that? This measure, as we know, as far as England and Scotland are concerned, affects almost exclusively the county constituencies. But what feeling has been exhibited in the counties in favour of this measure? Since the Gracious Speech from the Throne, and since Her Majesty's Government have announced their intention to introduce this Bill, we have had three vacancies in important county constituencies, and with what result? So little do the county constituencies on either side care for this measure that not a Liberal candidate was found to enter the field in opposition to my hon. Friend the Member for South Lincolnshire (Mr. Finch-Hatton), who has in a very short time made such a favourable impression in the House. But in West Somerset the Liberals had a distinguished candidate who contested the seat, who had been long before the electors, and who had everything to recommend him except his politics. And what was the result of that election? Can anybody believe that there was the slightest feeling in that great constituency in favour of the Franchise Bill? My hon. and learned Friend the Member for West Somerset (Mr. Elton) will, I have no doubt, support the Amendment which I shall have the honour of moving, and in doing so he will have the entire sympathy of the great body of the electors of the constituency which has sent him to this House. Take, again, the County of Cambridge—that is a large and a very mixed constituency. So little did the hon. Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. A. Thornhill), who took his seat to-day, think of the Reform Bill as influencing the opinions and feelings of his future constituency, that he did not even mention it in his election address. And yet the hon. Member was returned by a greater majority than any other Conservative Member has ever been returned by for that constituency for many years past. But if Her Majesty's Government believe that the country is in favour of their Reform Bill, why do they not appeal to the country? If they do so, perhaps they may find that support in the boroughs which they cannot find in the counties—although the result of the Brighton contest has not encouraged them to expect such support even in the boroughs as they anticipated. But Her Majesty's

Government, instead of appealing to the constituencies, prefer to rely upon the never-failing loyalty of their supporters. They have a never-failing source of comfort in the votes of the hon. Members behind them, and to them they are always appealing for confidence. Sir, in former days there were long debates on Occasional Conformity. I wonder hon. Gentlemen opposite do not begin to ask for a little occasional reciprocity in the matter of confidence. Lord Lyndhurst once said that confidence was apt to end in credulity; and I put it to them whether they do not think they have now approached that limit? The other night, in the course of a remarkable speech, the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), having condemned the policy and the action of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt in four-fifths of a very logical and severe speech, at length drew forth a cheer from hon. Members sitting around him by saying that he would not give a blank cheque to Lord Salisbury. [*Cheers.*] Ah! Hon. Members opposite cheered then louder than they do now. I do not think that anybody asked the right hon. Gentleman or Liberal Party to give a cheque, blank or otherwise, to Lord Salisbury; but they are asked now to give Her Majesty's Government, not a blank cheque perhaps, but a cheque for 2,000,000, made payable to the joint order of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade and the hon. Member for the City of Cork—a cheque which will have to be honoured before many days are over, without receiving any assurance as to its application. Will they give it? The result will show. We are told that it is most wrong and unjust to press Her Majesty's Government to include their redistribution scheme in their Franchise Bill. Sir, we do not make that demand. We do not ask the Government to insert a single additional clause. But are we not entitled to ask them to give us, in some deliberate, clear, intelligible, and authentic shape, their scheme for the redistribution of seats? We have been told by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that these two measures, taken together—I do not stand upon the exact words—are to bring about the greatest organic changes in the Constitution that have taken place in this country since 1689. If that is so, is it unreasonable that we should desire to know how this

change is to be effected, how this enormous addition to the representative body is to be welded into, and amalgamated with, the existing system, and how the classes now represented are to be safeguarded so that they shall not be deprived of every shred and vestige of political power? That is our demand. Can anything be more reasonable or more consistent with common sense? Under the present system of franchise great things have been accomplished. I am not here to say that the present system is absolutely perfect; but I can say that, under the present borough franchise system, labour is amply and fully represented. Even in those agricultural boroughs to which the hon. Member for Berkshire (Mr. Walter) alluded, the peasantry are also represented, to a limited extent possibly, but to that limited extent they are completely represented; while by the county franchise, property, and all that property is held to include, is not exclusively, but fairly represented. If it is thought necessary and wise to increase that representation of the peasantry, nothing could be more easily or more satisfactorily accomplished than by increasing the number of agricultural boroughs. The proposal of Her Majesty's Government, however, is to subvert the existing system, and to substitute for it something that will totally supersede it. We say, before you subvert the whole system and substitute a new one for it, let us see what your new scheme is in its details and in its entirety. It is, therefore, in no spirit of terror or craven fear—with no unworthy suspicion of our fellow-countrymen, and with no desire to shut our eyes to the shortcomings of our existing representative system, but as prudent guardians of existing institutions, as faithful Representatives of our constituencies, and as loyal upholders of the integrity of the Empire—that we claim full and complete knowledge and information on all these points which I have ventured to bring before the House, and I will conclude by making an appeal to Her Majesty's Government in the words of the ancient Greek warrior—

"Remove this cloudy darkness: clear the sky  
That we may see our fate, and die at least,  
If such thy will, in th' open face of day."

Sir, I beg leave to move the Amendment standing in my name.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House declines to proceed further with a measure, having for its object the addition of two million voters to the electoral body of the United Kingdom, until it has before it the entire scheme contemplated by the Government for the amendment of the Representation of the People,"—(*Lord John Manners*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: Sir, I observed in the speech which the noble Lord has just addressed to us several points on which he laid great stress. He began by reading a quotation from a speech made by Lord Derby from that Bench in the year 1866. I never thought the language important when I first heard it, and I cannot think it is of great importance now, because I have no doubt that Lord Derby has long since convinced himself that he was erroneous in the view he took at that time. Then the noble Lord laid great stress on the state of our foreign affairs. There is one branch and point of our foreign affairs which is distressing, I hope, to both sides of the House; but I might ask the noble Lord whether he could tell any time since he has been in Parliament—and he has been here long—when he would have thought that the condition of our foreign affairs justified the introduction of a measure of Reform from this side of the House. Another thing I observed in the speech of the noble Lord, and it was the following out of the course which was taken in the debate on the introduction of the Bill before the House. The noble Lord has very little to say on the question of the Bill before the House, and a great deal to say about a Bill which at some time may come, which he in a certain way makes pretence of urging violently that it should come, and which I have no doubt he dreads even much more than the Bill now before the House. During the discussion on the introduction of the Bill this was the mode of the discussion. The noble Lord follows it exactly. During the full hour that he has been addressing the House he has not given us the least idea by any word that he has spoken whether he is in favour of an extension of the county franchise or not.

[First Night.]

He left that question entirely unsettled. He has dwelt entirely upon a measure which is to him imaginary, but still has its terrors; and he insists upon it that the 2,000,000 of persons to whom this Bill is intended to give the franchise, and who, by a large majority of this House, are deemed worthy of it, should wait and should be unsatisfied until the noble Lord has seen some other measure which, whether it comes or whether it does not come at any time, leaves this fact undeniable—that the 2,000,000 are not enfranchised, as the majority of the House of Commons believe that they will have to be, and soon, and that this Bill, or a Bill like it, if this should fail, must at no distant period—almost immediately—become inevitable. Now, the noble Lord's scheme is the scheme of 1866. That was the kind of scheme which succeeds once, but often does not succeed a second time. Now, on that occasion, we know that the noble Lord and his Friends formed a very convenient combination with certain Gentlemen on this side of the House, and that they carried a Resolution very much like the Amendment which he has now proposed. [An hon. MEMBER: No; it was lost by five.] Practically it is the same thing. The Government were not outvoted; but the effect of that Division showed that the Bill could not pass through the House; and the combination succeeded in doing two things, which, no doubt, would rejoice the noble Lord still more than the object he immediately seeks for. The Resolution destroyed both the Bill and the Government. But what a triumph that was! We who sat on this side of the House remember the tremendous cheers which almost shook the walls of the House. What happened? The moment the new Government was formed they threw off entirely all their comrades—I had almost said their fellow-conspirators. I have had the most amusing accounts from some of the Gentlemen who were in that cave; and I recollect one of the most distinguished of them told me that if King David had had no better men to put in his cave than the Gentlemen on this side of the House who entered into that combination, he would have fallen a victim to Saul at a very early period. What was the result of that measure? The noble Lord and his Colleagues told us then what a perilous proposition the

Government of Lord John Russell had offered to the House, and yet within 12 months they brought in a Bill, and without at first proposing it, but in the hope of carrying some Bill and remaining in Office, they conferred the franchise upon—I know not the number—but upon the whole number of householders in all the boroughs of Great Britain. What the noble Lord says now about this Bill was said then about that Bill. It was not only perilous, but it was fatal. I do not recollect the noble Lord's peroration at that time, or exactly those of any of his Colleagues; but I doubt not it was much like that which he has given us to-night. I do not recollect the Greek quotation; but we were told what tremendous perils we ran by giving the franchise to so many men in the towns, and how shopkeepers, manufacturers, professional men, and all persons of wealth and culture would be swamped by that great addition to the constituency. And yet the noble Lord, having found out that there was not a word of truth in it, takes this course again! I appeal to my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), who was one of those who had fears. He was not one of those who went into the cave; he was much too sensible for that. But my right hon. Friend at that time—as he will acknowledge, and as I think he did acknowledge the other night—had his doubts about that great measure. I do not complain of those doubts, for many honest and sensible men had doubts as to the extent to which that measure went. But my right hon. Friend admitted the other night, as I understand, that the disasters he apprehended had not followed; and, therefore, as I gathered from what he said, he felt not the same hostility to the extension of the franchise now proposed that he might have done if he had not had the experience of the measure passed by hon. Gentlemen opposite in the year 1867. My right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon, then, may be taken to be one of the converted in regard to this matter. Hon. Gentlemen opposite need no conversion; they were converted in 1867. They had none of the apprehensions of my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon. On the contrary, they went joyfully on, following Mr. Disraeli, their then Leader in this House, in support of the proposi-

*Mr. John Bright*



tion which he offered to the House. If they were converted then surely they need no conversion now. The noble Lord endeavoured to draw a picture of terror at what might happen if there should be a General Election after the passing of this Bill, and before any re-arrangement of seats had taken place. I do not think it is at all likely that there will be one; but if it is at all likely it will be the fault of hon. Gentlemen opposite, because, no doubt, as the Government have proposed this Bill, and expect and intend to carry it through this Session, so with equal certainty they propose to introduce their Re-arrangement or Redistribution Bill next Session; and surely, as the Government and all their Party may be supposed to be in favour of its being carried, if it is not carried, and if the noble Lord's calamities should ensue, it will be entirely owing to himself and his Friends who sit on that side of the House. Now, I am obliged to come to the conclusion that really there is nobody against this Bill. I believe it to be a great Government Bill, drawn up with statesmanlike sagacity and wisdom, and I believe that that is the general opinion of it throughout the country. I might put it to hon. Gentlemen opposite whether they are not convinced that throughout the country, during the discussion of the last six months, there has been a more unanimous expression of opinion in favour of the extension of the franchise in the counties to householders than we have had on any political question for very many years. ["No!"] I think I could prove that if it were necessary to go into proof. But now hon. Gentlemen opposite themselves are not agreed in opposition to this Bill. And it is therefore that this Amendment is proposed. If it were otherwise, why have you not said "No," or agreed to say "No," when the Question was put? Why have you not done what is commonly done, and moved that the Bill be read a second time this day six months? You recollect—many Gentlemen opposite must recollect—the expression Mr. Disraeli used so far back as 1859, when he brought in one of his abortive Reform Bills. I will read a quotation to the noble Lord; I am not sure whether he was a Member of the Government at that time. Mr. Disraeli was explaining what the Government intended by the Bill.

"Her Majesty's Government have given to this subject the most anxious consideration. I may say that if labour, if thought, could assist us to arrive at a proper solution, neither labour nor thought has been spared. Is there any principle on which we can restore the county constituency to its natural state and bring about that general and constant sympathy between the two portions of the constituent body which ought to exist? We think there is a principle, the justness of which will be at once acknowledged, . . . and . . . we find that principle in recognizing the identity of suffrage between county and town."—(3 *Hansard*, [152] 991.)

Well, now, are you ready to follow the Leader whom you profess greatly to revere? Are you ready—

"To bring about that general content and sympathy between the different portions of the constituent body"

which Mr. Disraeli thought so important that he actually sacrificed two of the most respectable and respected, and honoured Members of the Cabinet rather than surrender that principle? The House knows very well that Mr. Henley and Mr. Walpole retired from the Government of Lord Derby at that time because they would not consent to equalize the franchise between counties and boroughs. It was not exactly on the question of lowering the franchise; but they thought that there was some Constitutional principle involved, and that the county representation should always be maintained, if it could be, as being more Conservative than the boroughs. However, Mr. Disraeli took that view—the Cabinet and his Party, I have no doubt, took that view—and I do not wonder that they do not feel themselves very strong in opposition to this measure. This measure will bring about a "general content and sympathy between the different portions of the constituent body." I met the other day—I have heard of two, but I met one—a Conservative Peer, and he said he thought the Bill was a very good Bill. I heard or read an account of a speech by another Conservative Peer, not long ago, and he spoke, not so strongly, perhaps, as I should, but still in a manner which indicated that he thought the Bill reasonable, and that it would have to be granted. If this is so, hon. Members opposite are taking a very reasonable course in not taking any direct objection to this Bill; and I believe that if they moved now that the Bill be read a second time this day six months, in-

[*First Night.*]

stead of moving this insidious Amendment of the noble Lord, they would not carry the whole of their Party into the Lobby against it. I say so, because among hon. Gentlemen opposite I am bound to believe there has arisen on this question some glimmering of common sense. The noble Lord had some figures before him. He did not draw our attention to many of them; but I would ask hon. Members to remember one fact. It has been stated in a good many of the publications which industrious men have made lately that there are 150 towns or districts, whose area is so limited as to be like towns, that in the counties are not represented, and that these towns contain a population of more than 1,500,000. These people who live in these small unrepresented towns are just the same kind of people as those who live in the towns that are represented. The householders are of the same quality, the same industries, the same intelligence, educated in the same manner, under, as a rule, the same influences; and if you can give—as the noble Lord himself consented to give—the franchise to all the householders in the boroughs, surely you need not be so terribly alarmed at the prospect of the present Government's extending the franchise to the counties. Then with regard to the labourers. The noble Lord was speaking of women who are farmers—widows probably. I am told they are very little liked by the landowners because they cannot vote. I had the other day a letter from a lady, the widow of a farmer in Warwickshire, and she said that the only reason why she was not allowed to keep her farm was because she had no vote. However, that matter will be easily settled when this franchise is extended, because it will be so enormous in its numbers throughout the country that it will not be worth the while of landowners to do so foolish and harsh a thing as to get rid of a woman who is a tenant farmer because she has no vote. The noble Lord drew a picture of what would happen when this lady farmer paid a week's wages—her shepherd so much, her labourer so much, her gardener so much; and all these men under this Bill would have a vote and she would not have a vote. I do not know whether he would wish to excite our sympathies for the mistress of the farm, or

rather contempt for the persons to whom the vote was to be given. But seeing that these labourers have had the example and presence during part of the year of country gentlemen who exercised great influence over them, and that they live in the same parish with the clergyman whom the State has provided for them—that they have had the advantage, such of them as are not old, of having been educated in what in the counties are almost universally Church schools—I affirm, then, that we have a right to say, and you have no right to deny, that these labourers are themselves just as qualified to possess and exercise the franchise as the vast numbers to whom you gave the franchise in 1867. Now, there is no indisposition to discuss another question, which is the question of redistribution—especially as it is connected with Ireland. In fact, I think that the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) himself, and others, have spoken with more force and more earnestness upon the Irish branch of this question than upon any other. If the House will permit, I should like to ask their attention to the question for a few minutes. Now, objectors to this Bill are objectors who would wish to proceed with the management of Ireland entirely upon the old lines. Ireland has always been treated differently from England with regard to this question, and the object now, and the proposition, is to continue that different treatment. This was done even when there was nothing of that strong assumed disloyalty in Ireland, and nothing of the sore disturbance that there has been within the last three years. During the Government of Lord Melbourne, from 1835 to 1841, on this side of the House the Whig Administration of that day made many efforts to do some things that would be useful and just in Ireland; but all these efforts were thwarted by hon. Gentlemen opposite; and if by any good luck they escaped from this House and made their appearance in the other House, they were very soon rejected and destroyed. But it is upon record that Mr. O'Connell during those years put an end entirely, for a time, in Ireland, to the agitation with which he had been concerned, and gave his most honest assistance to the Government in order that some measures might pass that might

tend to the pacification of the country. Those measures were not passed. Until the time when the present Prime Minister became Minister at the end of 1868, there was no strenuous and resolute attempt to force measures of that kind through Parliament. Now this evil policy has been continued. It began, I may say, a couple of centuries ago, perhaps more. But it has continued ever since. It has not been entirely rejected until within very recent years. If there be in the world, or if there be within this Empire, any plot of ground upon which the principles of the Tory Party have had full and undisputed play, that plot of ground is in the Kingdom of Ireland. Well, Mr. Disraeli told us in a very remarkable speech that in Ireland you had an alien Church. What is an alien Church planted among an alien people but a source of irritation and constant outrage? You had then, with regard to the land, a great bulk of the land within not a very remote period confiscated, and the whole under your system of laws in a close monopoly, so that it could never be dispersed among the people of Ireland. Then you had absentee proprietors, who cared little, for the most part, for the education of the people, or for the true interests of the population; who had no sympathy whatever with the religious teachers of the people, and who cared—nobody will suppose I include everybody—generally only for the collection of rents. And then they had a Government in Dublin Castle, which, whether you had an official from this side of the House or the other, from one Party or the other, was very much the same, for it was all carried on through magistrates of one particular colour. We know—Gentlemen opposite know—the House knows, or ought to know by this time, that the Government has been one in Ireland. I say that the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) knows that what I am saying is true, that the Government in Ireland has been a Government, until recent times, exclusively composed of Members of the Party of which the right hon. and learned Gentleman is so distinguished a Member. But during all this time their representation was a farce. When there was a county contest in Ireland there was a local civil war; and if you turn to the

Blue Book which gives the evidence before the Ballot Committee in 1869, you will read that military officers in Ireland led parties of soldiers all over the counties in order that the peace might not be disturbed. The English people have conferred on them the machinery of the Ballot; and one clear consequence is that elections are much more tranquil than they were in past times. What was the natural result of all this? It is that the people are discontented and disloyal. They have been so for more than 50 years; but as none of us are responsible for anything beyond that time I will confine my observations to that period. In 1884 we have an hon. Gentleman from Ireland, representing one of its chief cities, and of great influence in that country, speaking of himself here as a foreign element. [*Irish cheers.*] That cheer is not very enthusiastic; but there are no Gentlemen who have repudiated that statement, that they were here as something like a rebel Party. I am coming to an argument on this question, and therefore may be permitted to speak with a little freedom. It is said that there is a Party in Ireland who are in league with persons in a distant foreign country, who, as far as their stupid, malignant, and wicked ideas will enable them to do it, are determined to make war upon this country. This is not a thing of to-day—it is a thing of 100 years ago. In this House of Commons Lord North, in a speech made on the occasion of the American War, deplored the fact that some of the bitterest enemies of the English Crown were to be found among the Irish people who had emigrated to the American Colonies. This is what I want to ask the House. I would ask my right hon. Friend and everybody who has a doubt in this matter, whether it is worth while going on with Ireland upon the old lines? Is there anything in the political history of this country that is so complete, so painful, and so shameful a failure as the Government in Ireland—not by the Imperial Parliament—for it was as bad, and I am afraid even worse, when they had a Parliament sitting in Dublin. I ask, then, whether we should go upon the old lines, or whether we should try some new line? I am for a new line. You may, if you like, give justice and equality to all your people throughout the Three King-



doms; or you may act with injustice and contempt as far as regards the 5,000,000 of people of Ireland. You may rule, as you have ruled for centuries, that great country as if the people were to be for ever as a conquered people; or you may rule them as a portion of a great and free nation. You may keep up your rule by force—and force is the great remedy of the Party opposite. ["Oh!" and "Withdraw!"] Yes; I am sorry to disturb the equanimity of the hon. Gentleman who says "Withdraw;" but really, if he is not acquainted with the fact, he ought to be sitting on this side of the House. I say you may, if you like, rule in Ireland by force—there is nothing you cannot do there by force; you can put down all insurrection and rebellion; you may defy the efforts of Irishmen who hate England, whether they be in Ireland or on the American Continent; you have power, if you like, to sustain, or even to make more severe, your absolute power for the government of the Irish people. I am speaking now of that power to which Mr. Dillon referred when speaking from the opposite Benches three or four years ago. He said that he appeared here to carry on a war which he would have preferred to carry on upon an arena not open to him. It is known by every sensible Irishman—there is no hon. Member, however violent he may feel towards us at times who does not know—that what they get from England they do not get because it is impossible for England to withhold it; they know that England could be, if it were possible, more cruel than she has been before; that she has more power to do anything she likes to do; but, depend upon it, that is not the wish of the English people. If ever there was a people in the world who had political associations with another people, and who wish that other people well, it is at this moment the people of Great Britain. But if the ancient lines are to be worked upon, and Ireland is to be by no means tranquillized and united to this country, then I can only wish—to use a simile I once before used in this House—that she could be unmoored from her fastenings in the deep and moved 3,000 miles to the West. I ask the House if there is not another and a better plan, if England does not approve a better plan, and if it will not be more

satisfactory to the people of this country if we do full justice and if we have confidence in the full justice with which we intend to treat Ireland in regard to this question of representation? We have removed the grievance of an alien Church. We have given the Irish cultivator of the soil security which he almost never hoped for—a security which is about as good as the freeholds which hon. Members opposite wish they could induce him to buy. If that be so, if we have done all this, what shall we do with regard to the franchise and the power of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament? The noble Lord points to the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and speaks of the terrible influence he will exert upon the General Election. I do not believe in those terrible influences; the hon. Member for the City of Cork is not a fool. No doubt he has wishes—honest, good wishes, though in some respects different from mine—in regard to the country with which he is connected; but, depend upon it, you will not be worse off, however complete be the fair representation of Ireland within the walls of this House. If any Party in this House attempts to do what the noble Lord suspects or fears, depend upon it the vast majority of the 550 Members representing Great Britain will find out a way to meet whatever difficulty may be interposed by any number of men, however ill-disposed, who come here from Ireland. My opinion is that the course I am recommending is the only one which is likely and certain in the long run to bring about that change which we all so much wish for. What we desire—what I am sure the Prime Minister desires to do by this Bill with regard to Ireland—is to purchase tranquillity, not by any special sacrifice from England, but by measures which may win her people from disorder, conspiracy, and revolution to a happy union with the three nations in whose name and by whose authority we assemble in this House. Any Member is at liberty to say that the thing is absolutely impossible; I am at liberty to say that I know it to be possible, and I know the other plan to be impossible; that has been tried longer than the lifetime of the oldest among us; and, therefore, I am anxious that the House of Commons should try whether it is not possible by a new plan to unite Ireland to this coun-

try as Wales and Scotland are united to it at this moment. I have spoken about the franchise. Two sentences about redistribution of seats. My right hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Goschen) has qualms about it, and the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) has written a letter which I believe was inaccurate; but it is difficult to be accurate on a matter of this kind, for I find that nearly everybody has a different story from everybody else. I am willing to accept the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who said, I think, that 96 or 97 Members was the proper number for Ireland, having regard to the comparative population. I am not at all particular about two or three Members. London has a population of 4,000,000, which will soon be more; Lancashire and Yorkshire have more than 6,000,000; London, Lancashire, and Yorkshire have, therefore, 10,000,000, or one-third of the whole population of Great Britain. The Prime Minister did not propose—I think he rather discouraged the idea—to give that population of 10,000,000 a proportionate number of Members; and I should not recommend it—it is unnecessary. How many Members of this House live more than half the year in London? How many newspapers are there not in London giving instructions, using persuasion and menace, and putting pressure on the Government and on all Parties? The influence of London with this vast population, with so many Members of Parliament living in London, with so many newspapers published here, upon the Government is far too great, and I believe is a source of very many and grievous errors which our Administrations make, especially in dealing with foreign questions. Ireland has a certain claim in respect of number, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland says that that claim may be fairly met by 96 or 97 Members. The Reform Bill of 1832 added five Members to the representation of Ireland. Two of them vanished, and Ireland has now 103 Members. Have hon. Gentlemen ever thought of the Act of Union? The noble Lord did not mention it, nor has anybody else mentioned it; but it has been present to my mind ever since we discussed this question. I say the Act of Union is

final with regard to this matter. The Act of Union declares in one of its clauses that the Protestant Church of Ireland is to be united for ever with the Church of England. We know what “for ever” means in such a document. The Act of Union, though it was something like a Treaty, was a Treaty made entirely on one side. It was made by Great Britain the powerful nation, and offered to the Irish nation. I am bound to say here that, notwithstanding the corruption and wickedness of that transaction of the Union, still it is, to my mind, a great proof that there was a sense of justice in the English Government at that time—a sense of justice which is remarkable, and not to be forgotten—when they put into that Act of Union that Ireland should send 100 Members to the Imperial Parliament. They might, if they had chosen, have fixed it at a smaller number; and there would have been nobody to contest it. But the number was, in my opinion, according to the population at that time, in excess of the then claims which Ireland would have made. [*Cries of “No!”*] I will not dispute that; but it is my opinion, and it makes no difference to my argument. It, however, makes this difference—that it removes the blame which we pass on Pitt and his Government when we remember that they did an honourable, and even a generous and a just thing, in offering the Irish people the representation of 100 Members in this House. Now, I wish the House to answer me this question. An hon. Gentleman has spoken of the Irish Church. The more powerful party to a Treaty or to an Act has a right to surrender anything which afterwards it believes to be unjust to the weaker party. We surrendered the Irish Church as an Establishment, because we knew it was a grievance to the Irish people, and that it would be an advantage, not to the Irish people only, but to the Church itself, if, as an Establishment, it were removed. What has happened during these three past sad years in Ireland? You never heard a word from any person connected with the agitation—Land Leaguers, Fenians, or whatever they may be—and I doubt whether anything has been written in their newspapers, attacking the clergy of the Protestant Church in Ireland. Is not that a proof that they have been

removed from a position which they never should have occupied? I believe that the Bishops and clergy, and thousands of their more intelligent laity, if they could come upon the floor of the House at this moment, would say that it has been an advantage to Protestantism, to Christianity, and to the tranquillity of the country that the Irish Established Church has been removed. The Government of England, therefore, were at liberty to do that, because it was a concession to the Irish people. Then, I say, there is nothing on earth will ever persuade me, except I see it done, that this Imperial Parliament, which is representative of the people of Great Britain, will lessen the just, the Act-of-Union-settled representation of Ireland in this House. The population of Ireland, reduced as it is, is, I believe, very nearly the same as it was when the number of 100 Members was originally fixed. Some hon. Members say that the population of Ireland is diminishing. It has been diminishing up to the present time. I am not quite sure that that diminution is to go on. I shall be disappointed with the operation of the Land Act if it does not, to some extent, retain men upon their farms and in the country. That is rather my view. I have observed with great satisfaction that the name of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) appears in an advertisement which has been forwarded to me as Chairman of the Company which is intended to buy estates and transfer them to tenants; also to remove persons from what are called congested districts into districts where there is room for them. He has obtained the names of three or four Members of this House—I am not sure whether they are not all English Members—and, what is more, he is acting under an Imperial Act of Parliament, and is obtaining money from Imperial funds. That does not look like a foreign element of a rebel Party. It looks rather as if hon. Gentlemen opposite and the hon. Member for the City of Cork were willing to unite themselves with Englishmen—on this side of the House it may be—to take Imperial funds, under an Imperial Act of Parliament, to do that which I hope will help in some degree to prevent the constant diminution in the population of Ireland. If that be so, I want to ask the House whether the statement of my right

hon. Friend at the head of the Government was injudicious and unwise? I believe, when the thing comes to be fairly discussed, when the opinions of Irish Members are heard, and the opinion of the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gibson)—for I am not sure that he may not take the same view as I have taken, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman is the Representative of a constituency all of whom have votes elsewhere—I think I may call upon him and his Colleagues to take not a Liberal only, but a just view of this question. For myself, I am determined to stand by the Act of Union. Nothing shall persuade me to vote for any smaller number; and if by reason of the separation of Ireland from Great Britain, the difficulties of intercourse, and the less power they have to influence Parliament and opinion in this country, it be thought necessary by the Government to keep the representation as it is, I shall have no difficulty in supporting it. This I must declare most solemnly—that I think the House would commit a grievous injury, a grievous affront, a grievous insult, and a grievous wrong if they departed from that great Act of Parliament which is called the Act of Union. Upon all the rights which it guarantees surely the Irish have a right implicitly to rely. I think I have finished everything I have to say. There are two paths open to us—the Union by force and on the old lines, and the Union with justice, and, notwithstanding what hon. Gentlemen opposite may say, with, I believe, at no remote period, prosperity and peace. The one path leads to disloyalty, discontent, conspiracy, insurrection, and anarchy. Our past conduct has led to all those calamities. The line which I would point out to the House is a different one. I run all the risk of doing justice to Ireland. I believe it is only by that and by that confidence that you will overcome the disturbed state of feeling that has been created, and at some not remote time bring Ireland into the same harmony with England that Scotland now exhibits. Sir, this great measure of right which we are now discussing was explained a short time ago and defended in a speech great as the subject with which it dealt. It has, I am convinced, the approval of the vast majority of our people. I trust and believe the House will give its hearty

*Mr. John Bright*



sanction to it, and that it may prove hereafter to be a new charter of freedom and union to the three nations in whose name we sit here, and for whose dignity and welfare it is our duty and our honour to labour.

COLONEL DAWNAY: Sir, the population of Ireland has diminished by some 3,000,000 during the last 50 years, and it is possible that it may dwindle 3,000,000 more in the next 50 years. Does the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) mean to say that when the population of Ireland comes down to 103 it shall still be represented by 103 Members? I cannot help thinking that since hon. Gentlemen opposite have had time to consider the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister's scheme of Reform on its merits—and apart from the artificial aid of his eloquence and power of persuasion—a good deal of the enthusiasm which greeted his opening speech on the subject, now nearly a month ago, must have evaporated. I quite admit that it is welcomed by one section of the Liberal Party with the deepest gratitude; but it is the gratitude with which drowning men catch at straws, because they fully recognize the fact that in this measure is their last hope of prolonging their political existence, and therefore they cling to it with the desperate energy of self-preservation. Now, I think everyone must agree that the necessity for this measure—involving, as it does, such vast Constitutional changes—ought to be very clearly proved; and the Prime Minister has pointed out to us three considerations which he tells us, in his opinion, render this measure necessary, and which have induced him to bring it forward at this particular time. In the first place, it is to fulfil a pledge made by the Leaders of the Liberal Party before and during the last General Election. Secondly, it is to meet the desires of the unenfranchised classes; and, thirdly, it is to add strength to the State. Now, I venture respectfully to submit that not one of these reasons will bear looking into; or, if they are looked into, two of them can easily be proved to be worthless, while the third will be found to be utterly fallacious. Now, with regard to the first reason, we are told that this measure has been brought forward in fulfilment of a

pledge. But what about all the other unfulfilled pledges? I hardly think that the present Government—which was brought into power to put an end to war and bloodshed, and to inaugurate a new era of peace and economy—need be so particular about one unfulfilled pledge more or less, amid the multitude of broken pledges which is around them. That fairy tale which so charmed the Mid Lothian audiences has proved to be a tale of unfulfilled prophecies and broken promises, and the Government need hardly strain so much at this one little gnat after swallowing such an enormous number of camels. But we are told that it is to meet the desires of the unenfranchised classes. Now, I should have thought that, on a question so serious as this, it is not the desires of the unenfranchised classes, but the safety of the State, which ought to be considered. But I entirely dispute this statement of the Prime Minister, that this measure will meet the desires of the unenfranchised classes, because the unenfranchised classes number 6,000,000, and the Prime Minister only proposes to enfranchise 2,000,000. Therefore, it is only a small minority of these classes whose desires the Prime Minister proposes to meet. The great majority are to be left outside in the cold, and if this measure were passed to-morrow the same argument would be equally valid and forcible in favour of "Manhood Suffrage" or any other measure of Reform which may be proposed hereafter. We are very often told that the country demands this measure of Reform; but I should like to ask hon. Members opposite what is meant by the country? The country, so far as regards its Representatives in Parliament, means the existing constituencies. Have the existing constituencies shown any great anxiety about this measure? Has York, or Brighton, or West Somerset, or Cambridgeshire betrayed any very eager desire for it? Why, they have every one of them rejected the Reform candidates by crushing majorities. So far as the country has had an opportunity of expressing its opinion, it has declared dead against Reform. If Ministers have any doubt upon the subject, let them appeal to the country, and I venture to prophecy the answer would not be very satisfactory to themselves. But the third reason adduced by the Prime Minister

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in favour of this measure is the strangest of all. He claims our support upon the ground that it will add strength to the State; but does the Prime Minister's experience of Ireland, during the last four years, bear out this expectation? Does it teach that lowering the franchise will strengthen the Queen's Government in Ireland, and rally the Irish peasantry round the Throne? Why, there is not a man in this House who is not convinced, from the bottom of his heart, that it will do the exact opposite, and that, instead of strengthening, it will swamp and destroy the loyal classes in Ireland. No one knows better than the Prime Minister that Ireland is the rock on which this measure is destined to split. No one knows better than he that his proposals with regard to Ireland have given rise on all sides to a deep and general feeling of apprehension and dismay. He has made a tremendous bid for the Home Rule vote, by holding out hopes to Ireland of a representation out of all proportion to her population and revenue. He has promised to increase the representation of Scotland; and, in order to redress the balance, he threatens to deprive England of a considerable proportion of her present electoral power. England—Conservative England—is to be sacrificed to Radical Scotland and Revolutionary Ireland. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) is to be reinforced by 500,000 fresh followers, and the effect of that will be to open up the floodgates of sedition and disloyalty over the one remaining loyal Province—the Province of Ulster. It means the complete and utter overthrow of the Protestant Party, and the handing over that unhappy country body and soul to the anti-English faction. The Prime Minister tells us that this measure will rally all classes round the Throne and the Constitution; but how does this prediction tally with the famous prophecy of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, when he declared last December in Dublin that—

“This generation shall not pass away until it shall bequeath to those that come after the great birthright of Irish national independence.”

The prophecy of the hon. Member appears to be approaching fulfilment even more speedily than he anticipated, for, when he uttered those words, he was not aware that the Prime Minister was about to offer him his powerful

assistance and co-operation. Truly, the Home Rule Party have reason to be grateful to the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government. He, first of all, superintended their political education. He taught them how to bring Irish questions within the range of practical politics, and explained to them the most efficacious method of ringing the chapel bells. He next struck down and ruined the Irish landowners, thereby severing the connecting link of loyalty between England and Ireland; and now, at one stroke of the pen, he raises up fresh forces of disaffection to overthrow the last remaining strongholds of Irish loyalty, and lay them helpless at the mercy of their enemies. The Government has very often lately been taunted with inconsistency; but, at any rate, upon this occasion they have shown a very remarkable consistency in their policy, for the principle of this measure and the principle of the Irish Land Act is one and the same. In both measures the loyal are to be sacrificed to gratify the greed and satisfy the vengeance of the disloyal. The only difference is, in the one they are despoiled of their worldly goods, and in the other of their political privileges. The faithful supporters of the Government in Scotland are to be rewarded; the irreconcilable foes of every Government in Ireland are to be bribed; and they are both to be paid out of the same exchequer—out of the rights and liberties of the English people; and the Prime Minister has explained to us his reasons for this treatment of England, for he goes on to propound this extraordinary doctrine—that the inhabitants of London are not entitled to so large a proportional share of representation as those in the outlying parts of the United Kingdom, because the action of political power is quicker in London than in the more distant parts of the country. He lays it down, as a novel principle, that the ignorance and barbarism of the Orkney Islanders or the Mayo peasants are entitled to a fuller share of political power than the cultivated intelligence of the electors of Westminster or the City of London. I shall be curious to see, during the course of this debate, how far the Metropolitan Members agree with and support this doctrine. I only wish to say this one word more. Even if the condition of Ireland were as



peaceful and law-abiding as that of the rest of the United Kingdom, it would be a monstrous injustice that wealthy and populous England should be partially disfranchised in order that the dwindling and poverty-stricken population of Ireland should retain that full share of representation which was awarded to her in her more prosperous days; but when, in addition to that, this measure will strike a blow at the integrity of the Empire, and endanger the very existence of the Constitution, it is more than injustice. It is, in the memorable words of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, "simple madness." None the less now that madness has extended to themselves; and, whatever be the verdict of this House of Commons, whatever be the fate of the measure in this House, I am confident it will be rejected by the common sense and patriotism of the country.

MR. H. S. NORTHCOTE said, he very much regretted the absence, at that moment, of any Member of the Ministry, not from any feeling of personal vanity, but because there was a question involving a practical difficulty connected with the Bill upon which he should have been very glad to be enlightened by some responsible Minister of the Crown, and that was as to what the practical working of the Bill would be should it pass in the present Session. As he understood it, if the Bill passed it would come into operation on the 1st of January, 1885; but the Prime Minister had told them that it must be supplemented by a Registration Bill, as well as by a Redistribution of Seats Bill. Now, the first registration affected by the Bill would take place in June, 1885, assuming the Bill to pass in the time expected; and the overseers of different electoral districts would prepare the list of names and claims, and submit them for the consideration of the Revising Barristers in September, 1885. From June up to August, they would be occupied in drawing up lists of claims, &c., and in September the Revising Barristers would decide upon their merits. The registration provisions would come into force on the 1st of January, 1886; but new Registration and Redistribution Bills it could not be reasonably supposed would have become law before June, 1886; and the result might be that, in June, 1885, the overseers would be preparing lists of

those claiming to be entitled to vote, and they would have the Franchise Bill in operation under the present registration system. If the Registration Bill were not passed until the autumn of 1885, then it would have no practical working until January, 1887; and, of course, a General Election was to be looked forward to before that time. The Election that would be held, presumably in the autumn of 1886, would therefore be fought on a register made up as if no new registration or alteration of constituencies were contemplated. If he might venture to put the matter in a tabular form, he might say that what would happen would be this—first, the present Bill, say, came into force on January 1st, 1885; then, the overseers prepared lists of claims for the coming year in June, 1885; then, the Registration Bill passed and came into effect in August, 1885, and the Revising Barrister decided in September of the same year on the June claims. The new Registration and Redistribution Bills would have become actual law by the 1st of January, 1886; but, as regarded their practical operation, the Registration Bill would not operate until the autumn of 1886. It would be in the latter year that the overseers would be drawing up their claims, and these lists of claims would be submitted to the Revising Barrister. The new List, therefore, would not be completed before the 1st of January, 1887. Well, as they might take it, a General Election would take place, at the latest, in 1886; and the real effect of delaying the Registration and Redistribution Bills to another Session would be, that the next General Election would be fought upon a register which would not represent the new and complete register which the Government aimed at. As regarded the more general questions dealt with by the Bill, he should like to remind the Government that this Redistribution Bill must inevitably and entirely be fought with the utmost keenness and such Party spirit as to very seriously endanger its passage through the House. It was quite possible, if the Government maintained their proposal of retaining the whole of the present Irish representation, that they might be able to retain the whole of the 103 Members for Ireland; but he (Mr. H. S. Northcote) thought that no sensible man could doubt that, in the Bill which they proposed to intro-

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ducenext year, they would find it necessary to very materially redistribute the seats now held by the Irish Representatives. The noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners), who commenced the debate that evening, alluded to the fact that three small Irish constituencies would be able to outvote several large Irish constituencies as they at present wished; but the noble Lord did not push the argument quite as far as he might have done as regarded the very extraordinary anomaly of the present system of Irish representation. Taking a rough calculation from *Dod*, he (Mr. H. S. Northcote) found that there were 23 Irish constituencies at the present moment returning 24 Members to the House, the total of whose nominal electorate was 10,000 all told. But the House would see that those 10,000 electors returned one-fourth of the whole number of Irish Representatives. He did not suppose that, under any measure which the Government proposed, they could possibly allow such an extraordinary anomaly to remain as that 23 small constituencies should return to Parliament one-fourth of the whole representation of Ireland. On the other hand, he could hardly suppose that Her Majesty's Government were sanguine enough to imagine that that proportion of 24 Irish Representatives would allow themselves to be disenfranchised without a very keen struggle; and he thought the Government could have hardly realized what a hornet's nest they would be raising about their ears, if they attempted, in the last presumable Session of Parliament, to carry out a measure which would inflict what the people of Ireland must consider so great a wrong upon them. On this question of redistribution, the only light that had been vouchsafed to them by the Prime Minister had been that Ireland would lose none of her Members, and that the South of England was to be the principal sufferer. But, as a South of England Member, he (Mr. H. S. Northcote) objected very strongly to the doctrine that the interests of his constituents should, to some extent, be sacrificed for the benefit of Ireland. He thought there was one singular and significant omission in the Prime Minister's speech, in that he had made no allusion to the Welsh Members. If they examined the statistics, they would

see that, at present, the Principality was over-represented in a degree greater than Ireland, and in a still greater degree than England and Scotland. If this question was to be dealt with on mathematical principles, they ought to be impartially applied. One part of the Kingdom should not be favoured, because it returned Liberal Members, at the expense of another portion in which there might be a large number of Conservatives; and, as a Member representing a constituency in the South of England, he would protest against the injustice of disenfranchising constituencies there, while this over-representation of Wales was allowed to continue. There was another matter connected with Ireland which the Government should bear in mind; and that was that, in any scheme of proportional representation, they would not find their difficulties less if it were intended to take away the small constituencies in Ireland from the disloyal parts and add their Members to the representation of loyal Ulster. The Government would do well to consider carefully their proposals, or they might succeed in bringing in a Redistribution Bill which would be so objectionable as to excite at once the opposition of the Conservative Party, of a considerable section of their own side, and of the Party following the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). The Government, he thought, should not run the risk of leaving the question of redistribution to be dealt with by another Parliament, for such a grave and important matter as that ought not to be deferred until the last Session in which Parliament would have to sit. The Members for the South of England had a right to ask whether the principles upon which they were to be dealt with were those of total or partial disfranchisement; and, in the case of the disfranchisement of the constituencies, whether they were to be grouped with others of the same size, or whether they were to be thrown into the county districts? He should like to learn, for example, from Her Majesty's Government whether such constituencies as Tiverton, Taunton, Truro, Penryn, and Barnstaple, were to lose their Representatives; whether a grouping was to be made, and the electoral area enlarged; or whether they were to be wholly disfranchised and thrown into the respective

districts of the county in which they were situate? The same remarks applied to the small boroughs in Wilts and Cornwall and the South and West of England generally; and he thought the Government would even gain in strength by giving them some information of the lines upon which their Redistribution Bill was going to proceed. If they would give them an approximate idea of what the unit was to be in dealing with this question of representation, it would be more than acceptable. According to a rough calculation he had made from *Dod*, he found that there were about 70 seats in the United Kingdom in which the population was over 10,000; about 65 where the population was between 10,000 and 20,000; about 30 where the population was between 20,000 and 30,000; about 25 where the population was between 30,000 and 40,000; and about 40 where the population was between 40,000 and 50,000. He had stopped at 50,000, because he was aware that 50,000 constituted a unit at which a great many hon. Members and others who took an interest in this question of Parliamentary representation thought Parliamentary representation ought to begin. But the House would see that there was an enormous margin between the 70 seats in which the population was under 10,000 and the 230 seats where it ranged from 10,000 up to 50,000; and he ventured to think that the Government would gain materially if they would only indicate whether they were going to take the 10,000, the 20,000, or the 50,000 as their unit. Many hon. Gentlemen might be willing to consider the 10,000 unit a fair one, but would strongly object to see the same law applied to the larger constituencies; and the feeling of uncertainty which must prevail until they had some more definite information on that point from the Government would, he believed, be a greater hindrance to the passing of that Bill than any that might arise from the opposition of the Members for the boroughs that might be sacrificed. Then, again, they were told by the Prime Minister that it would be impossible that London should be represented at all in the House in proportion to its numbers; and the reason given was that, because of the contiguity of London to St. Stephen's, the London Representatives had a more than ordinary oppor-

tunity of impressing their views and bringing active pressure to bear upon the Government and the public mind. But that language of the Prime Minister was singularly at variance with that to which they were habitually treated by the supporters of the right hon. Gentleman and that portion of the Press which generally represented Liberal ideas, because they were always told that they must not look to London for the expression of public opinion. If, as they were told sometimes, they had to look to Manchester, Birmingham, or Leeds for robust Provincial Liberalism, as representing public opinion, he thought it was a little hard that London, having these enormous constituencies, was not to have an increase of her Representatives, because they were able to bring such immediate pressure upon the Ministry. And yet, when they brought that pressure to bear, they were enjoined to regard that pressure as not representing the public feeling of the country. There was another point on which he should like to say a word—namely, the idea that if Ireland continued to have its present share of representation no harm would result. It was said that if the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), as the result of that Bill, had to lead a Party of 70 or 80 Members in that House, there would certainly be intestinal divisions and disunion among them, and that, therefore, matters would be no worse than they were now, for the hon. Gentleman would be then no more powerful than he was now, leading, as he did, from 30 to 40. He (Mr. H. S. Northcote) could not see what advantage Britain would gain if, instead of having to deal with one Home Rule Party from Ireland led by the hon. Member for the City of Cork, it had to deal with two, of 30 or 40 each, one led by the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and the other by the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), or some other aspiring Irish Member. Then, in regard to the storm which was to be raised throughout the country if this Bill fell through in the House of Commons, or still more in "another place," it appeared to him that that storm, if it was created, would be entirely of a factitious kind. He could not see any such state of excited public feeling as undoubtedly existed in 1831, and again in 1867; but, of course, it

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was quite easy to get up a cry against Gentlemen who might be sitting in "another place" on this ground—that Her Majesty's Government and their supporters were willing—as they would go and tell the country—to have given the people something; but that another branch of the Legislature refused the boon. In the same way, it might be possible for one manufacturer to excite feeling against others who were living in harmony with their *employés*, by saying to his own *employés*—"I should have liked to have given you a rise in wages; but these other manufacturers will not consent to give a rise to their *employés*." There was no reason for disturbing the state of harmony and content which existed at present, until they had overwhelming proof that it was generally desired throughout the country. He should have very much preferred if the Government, instead of bringing in this far-reaching and extensive Franchise Bill, had seen their way to deal with the question by the appointment of a Boundary Commission. There was one remark of the Prime Minister with which he entirely agreed. The right hon. Gentleman had instanced the Glasgow shipbuilders, who had to extend their yards further and further down the Clyde until they were outside the city boundaries. He (Mr. H. S. Northcote) would admit that their workmen could not fairly be kept out of the enjoyment of the privilege which their fellows within the city boundaries enjoyed. He should be very glad if, in his own constituency, by an extension of the boundaries, a certain number of voters were admitted, whom they would be glad to have as constituents; and he believed in a large number of towns in the Kingdom an extension of the Parliamentary boundaries would be an advantage. He was, therefore, sorry that the Government did not first try the experiment of a Boundary Commission, which he believed would have satisfied the claims of those men who were said to be desirous of obtaining the franchise, and whom it was generally admitted should have it. The Government having brought in this wide measure, it was too much to expect that they could by any possibility withdraw it and substitute another. However, considering the state of affairs, notably in Ireland, he was bound to say that unless this Bill were

accompanied by a judicious measure for redistribution, the dangers which it involved so far outweighed the advantages it could confer that he should have not the slightest hesitation in giving his vote with the noble Lord, and go fearlessly before his constituents and defend it.

Mr. BAXTER: Sir, having voted in support of every measure for the extension of the franchise introduced into this House during the last 30 years, I cannot refrain from expressing the great pleasure and satisfaction which I shall have in voting for this Bill, which, in some respects, is the greatest and best of them all. I am one of those who are of opinion—and have always been so—that each householder should only have one vote, and should simply vote for the house in which he resides; and I dare say it is very probable that our children, or our children's children, will give legislative sanction to that opinion; but I always keep in mind that this is a very old country—the oldest Constitutional country in the world—and I, therefore, have never seen any reason why we should assimilate all our laws and practices to those of the Australian Colonies or the United States of America. Some of our ancient franchises are difficult to defend; but they have come down from an olden period, and are cherished by large classes of the people of this country. What is more, Sir, they have been very useful to the cause of liberty and progress in the past, and they may be found very useful in the future; and therefore I am not at all sorry, although an advanced Liberal, that there is no disfranchisement in this Bill. In my opinion—whatever hon. Gentlemen opposite may say—and there have been some signs to-night of what is to come—it is an eminently conciliatory, Conservative, and just measure; and in my belief, notwithstanding theories of my own, it is the very best and wisest that could have been in present circumstances, all things considered, brought by Her Majesty's Government under the consideration of the House of Commons. I believe that if this Bill passes into law it will settle the question of the franchise in all our time. No doubt, we have heard something about manhood suffrage. Theoretically, there are people who believe that manhood suffrage is the correct principle. I am not here to deny that after



this generation, and probably another, have passed away it may possibly be safe; but I wish to say to-night emphatically that, in the present time, long before the great Education Act has had time to have its proper effect, when masses of the people are in great ignorance and utterly unable to give a vote which they understand, it is not only idle, but it is mischievous, to talk of that principle as within the range of practical politics. I shall state very candidly that there are two points on which I cannot concur with the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister in the very able and remarkable speech which he made in introducing this Bill to the notice of the House. In the first place, I hope this House will never, under any circumstances, no matter what may be the temptation, consent to an increase of its Members. The Prime Minister distinctly said that such a contingency was on the cards. The House has too much the character of a mob already, and I rather fancy it would be glad to see a reduction in point of numbers, and I want to recall the attention of hon. Gentlemen who have been some time Members of this House to what took place in 1867. I then had the honour of moving an Instruction to the Committee to disfranchise all the English burghs under 5,000 of a population, in order to give additional Members to Scotland. That was felt in the House at that time to be, and myself admitted that it was, a very high-handed proceeding; and the present Prime Minister looked at it, from a Constitutional point of view, in a very doubtful light; but, all the same, I carried my Instruction by a substantial majority. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire, whom I see opposite, will recollect it quite well—[Mr. J. LOWTHER: Hear, hear!]  
—and I am sure he will bear me out as to what was the reason. The House could not refuse justice to Scotland. We were very much under-represented; but so strongly did the House feel that it could not increase its numbers that that Instruction, high-handed as I admit it was, was carried in a very large House. Now, the other respect in which I cannot agree with the Prime Minister, nor with my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham, who has spoken to-night (Mr. John Bright), is in regard to the pro-

portionate representation of Ireland. Hon. Gentlemen opposite, I know, will say—it has been said in the country since the Prime Minister's speech—that the idea of giving more Members to a distant part of the country, on account of the distance from the capital, was a new idea and invention of his in order to gain the Irish vote. I can bear testimony that that is not the case, because, nearly 20 years ago, I had an argument with the right hon. Gentleman upon this very point. I do not think much of the idea; and, notwithstanding the eloquent speech which we have heard to-night from my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham, I cannot agree that, because we, in Scotland, or the people in Ireland, are distant from London, therefore we should have additional Representatives. At all events, any Scotch Member who hears me to-night will bear me out in saying that Scotland wishes nothing of the kind. All we ask in Scotland is, that on any intelligible, fair, rational basis—say, for example, on the basis of taxation and population combined, or on the basis of the number of electors—we should have the same proportionate representation as that enjoyed by other portions of the United Kingdom. I am not going to produce any figures to the House. I am quite sure that before these discussions have ended the House will have figures *ad nauseam*. Suffice it for my argument to say that, no matter from what point of view the question is looked at, or the manner in which the representation is calculated, there is no reasonable, candid, sensible man in the United Kingdom who will not admit that Scotland is under-represented, and Ireland is over-represented. As for the Treaty of Union, I do not believe any living man in Scotland cares what the provisions of the Treaty of Union are in regard to the number of Representatives; and I am not such a Tory as my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham to stand here to-night and say on no account whatever will I give up the number fixed at the time of the Union. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was candid enough, in this House, to admit that Ireland had six or seven Representatives too many. I think most impartial people who make the calculation will say that, if Ireland had 90 Members,

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she would have more than her proportionate number; and, certainly, a great deal more than her proportion when the next Census is taken. These, however, are all really details. They do not affect this Bill which is now before the House; and, were it not for the Amendment of the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners), probably, Sir, you would have ruled that reference to any such matters was out of Order. I think it is only candid for me to state, and Her Majesty's Government should know, the opinions held by many on this side of the House; but as to making these minor differences—differences about redistribution—a reason for opposing this Bill, or proceeding to embarrass the Government, I cannot understand such a position being taken by any British statesman. I know what the public will say of such opposition. They will say that the men who take that line have a feeling of secret hostility, and are only too anxious to find some ready pretext to give it vent. We stand united in regard to this matter of the franchise. When the Redistribution Bill is introduced, we shall hold ourselves entirely unpledged to take whatever course we think proper and just, and the House will recollect the words of the Prime Minister. He was careful not to commit even his own Colleagues, but spoke his own individual opinion; and probably he and my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham will both find, when this Bill is passed and the Redistribution Bill is introduced, they will be in a minority on the Irish Question. As to the idea of settling the question of redistribution as well as of enfranchisement in one Session, there is no man sitting on the Opposition side of the House who does not know that the thing is absolutely impossible and impracticable. [Mr. E. CLARKE: No, no!] The hon. and learned Member has only been a few years in this House, and if he had heard as many discussions about Reform Bills as I have heard, probably he would be of a different opinion. That being so, I regard the Amendment moved to-night by the noble Lord opposite as merely one of obstruction and delay; but hon. Gentlemen opposite will not succeed in this game. The wisest and coolest heads among them make no secret of their opinion in private that this Bill cannot be opposed. It never could be opposed

by the whole strength of the Tory Party. It is too just, too deferential to ancient usages, too Conservative in its spirit; and I feel certain that it will be sent up to "another place" by such a sweeping majority that our Friends there—who are not nearly so stupid as some Radical Members say—will think twice before they throw it out. It is not so very long ago since they refused to follow the lead of Lord Salisbury in so destroying the Agricultural Holdings Act that the Government would not have gone on with it; and I, for one, believe the Peers of England have courage and patriotism and sense enough on this far greater occasion to take a similar course. The hon. Gentleman who last sat down (Mr. Northcote) said something of registration. It is rather a dull subject; but I want to say something about it too. I was very glad to hear what the Prime Minister said, in his remarkable opening speech, about the subject of registration; and I feel satisfied that no part of that speech will give greater satisfaction to the House and the country than that part in which he said that the Government had a Bill ready for making the new household franchise a self-acting franchise. I want, however, to correct a mistake into which the Prime Minister fell. Not like his usual accuracy, he said that it had never been found practicable yet to combine a proper system of registration with the franchise in such a way as to make the registration a public and national affair, and not an affair of the individual. The Prime Minister is a Scotch Member, and not only so, but he is a pure Scotchman; and he has quite forgotten—for he must have known—that Scotland has been in the possession for a great many years of that very excellent boon which he is now prepared to confer upon the less enlightened portions of the United Kingdom. More than 30 years ago there was an Act passed for Scotland, by which the whole property of the country was valued once a-year; and about 20 years ago, I think, the Valuation Roll became the Registration Roll as well; and it is now the duty—a duty, I must say, most admirably and punctually performed—of the public officers to see that every man who has a right to vote has his name on the Register. Candidates, political Parties, and agents have nothing in the wide world to do with it. I recollect very

well the meeting of Scotch Members in the Lord Advocate's Chambers when that proposal was first made, to make the Valuation Roll become the Registration Roll. All the Scotch Members, I think, attended; and it was soon found that there was very great difference of opinion, the county Members, chiefly Conservative, holding to the old system, whereas the burgh Members supported the change. Mr. Blackburn, then Member for Stirlingshire, said — "If you burgh Members want this change, take it; take the counties out of the Bill, and pass the Bill for the burghs alone." I instantly rose, and advised the burgh Members to close with that proposal, and they did so. The consequence was that when the counties found how inexpensively and admirably the new system worked for the burghs, they insisted on bringing in a Bill to put the counties in the same position. Well, Sir, this, I believe, is a most admirable measure—a measure which, to gather from the speeches made on the other side to-night, is really accepted by the Conservative Party. No doubt, there are Gentlemen amongst them—though, I think, these are decreasing in number every day—who are lamenting the democratic wave passing over this country. [Mr. WARTON: Hear, hear!] The hon. and learned Member for Bridport is, no doubt, very sorry for it; but, nevertheless, he and his Friends must face it. You cannot educate the masses of the people without giving them votes. You must have regard to the suffrages in other Constitutional countries beside your own. Surely history has taught us, in trumpet tones, in all time that Commonwealths are not endangered by trusting the people, but by withholding from them rights. Every measure of enfranchisement which we have passed has shown the wisdom of widening the basis of political power. When I entered this House 30 years ago, I was strongly of that opinion, and now that my political life is much nearer its close I feel it even more strongly still; and I have no doubt in my own mind that, in a very few days, the present House of Commons will pass this Bill by a very large majority, and show to all the Constitutional nations of the world that this great measure is practically safe, and will soon become law.

Mr. C. ROSS said, he must ask the indulgence of hon. Members while he stated briefly the reasons which induced him to support the Amendment now before the House. In the first place, he considered that the Bill was not generally required by the country; secondly, that it was inopportune, and yet did not hold out the promise of finality; and, lastly, that it was incomplete. No hon. Member of the House would assert that, up to the present time, the people had shown themselves animated by any keen desire for the extension of the franchise. He found that popular feeling was represented by 61 Petitions and 2,962 voters. From recent elections, he thought they were right in assuming that there was absolute indifference, if not dislike, on the part of the constituencies to this gigantic scheme. He called to witness the elections in Cambridgeshire, Huntingdon, and West Somerset; and although bye-elections and Petitions might not be absolute indices of the mind of the country, still they were the only indications they had up to the present time. The constituencies seemed to be busying themselves with other matters. They were considering the affairs of Egypt and the Soudan, Gordon's proclaiming peace at Khartoum, and Graham slaughtering the Soudanese by thousands near Suakin, Gordon's offer of a Crown to the Mahdi, and Hewett's offer of a price for the head of Osman Digna. The people in towns were thinking much more of the state of trade, the improvement in the dwellings of the poor, the long-deferred better regulation of the liquor traffic—if the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) would allow it—and the enfranchisement, on an equitable basis, of the urban leaseholders. The people in the counties were sighing for relief of local burdens, and the speedy stamping out of the cattle disease, and, perhaps, casting wistful glances back in the direction of Protection. The second objection he made to the Bill was, that it was inopportune, and offered no final solution of the difficulty. He did not assert that the country was dead to Reform in 1880. Reform was one among many other important questions, most of which still remained untouched, and which would not be advanced one inch by the most drastic reform. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose (Mr.

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Baxter), in the course of the remarks he had made, spoke of this Bill as one which would settle the question. He (Mr. Ross) was astonished that a right hon. Gentleman who had succeeded Mr. Hume should have pronounced such an opinion. Once take the ground that franchise was a right, and not a privilege, and why should they stop short at household suffrage? Pass this Bill to-day, and the agitation for manhood suffrage would commence to-morrow. The Prime Minister, in introducing the Bill, described it as final. He (Mr. Ross) was amazed at such an assertion coming from the lips of one who had been for 50 years a maker of his country's history. The Reform of 1832 was to be a final settlement. Yet 15 years had not passed before the question was once again prominently brought before Parliament by Mr. Hume, who was one of those who, in 1832, had been the loudest to clamour for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Nor did it rest. Almost annually it was, more or less, the cause of agitation in the country, which was allayed, but not stopped, by the Reform Bill of 1867, and since then they had heard constantly of the assimilation of the franchise. Then as to woman suffrage. If they passed this measure without giving the franchise to women, Parliament would know no rest until the demand was granted, and if they were to deal with the franchise as a right he could not see by what logic they could refuse the suffrage to women. In a country ruled over by a woman, in a country the most brilliant pages of whose history would be found recorded under the Reigns of Elizabeth, Anne, and Victoria, in such a land to deny to women, possessed of the proper qualification, the right to vote was an anomaly which, as reasonable beings, they could only tolerate on the ground that the franchise was not a right, but a privilege. Were they wise, then, to plunge into all the troubled waters of a Reform agitation? Would it not be well to stay on the banks, and finish the many tasks still remaining almost untouched? Lastly, the main objection to this Bill was contained in the Amendment before the House. The cry of redistribution had been raised before, and its justice had been oftentimes substantially admitted; but never was the justice of this demand so palpable as on

this present occasion. The greatest transfer of political power that had been made since 1688 required a corresponding re-adjustment of the political machinery, or a catastrophe might ensue. By the Bill they made an immense addition to the electorate of Scotland, they were effecting a complete metamorphosis of the English electorate, and in Ireland they were creating a complete revolution. Was it too much to implore the House to pause ere it took this irrevocable step? In reality, vast and important though the change would be, a Redistribution and Extension of Franchise Bill, taken together as a complete measure, would not give rise to half the anxiety nor cause half the violent rancour of Party feeling that would and must be caused by an ill-judged measure such as the present. Though there might be danger in a complete scheme, the danger would be as nothing compared to that of flinging 2,000,000 voters on to the old system, without providing new channels by which they might give intelligent expression to their aspirations. It might be contended that the House should be satisfied with the sketch presented to it by the Prime Minister of his idea of redistribution; but was the House to pass this Bill on the chance, and in the hope that the sketch of the Prime Minister would, when the shading was put in by the Members of the present Cabinet, meet with general approbation? Even the Premier's sketch did not improve on acquaintance. It disclosed much that was alarming. In fact, the Premier said at once too much and too little; not enough to satisfy, and yet too much to allow them any further peace. The main outlines of his sketch were these— Ireland was to remain as she was; the number of Members for Scotland was to be increased; the North of England was also to be increased; and the balance wanting was to be made up from the South and West of England. Now, upon what fair basis was the South of England to be sacrificed for Ireland? The reason given was a geographical one—namely, that because Ireland was so far from the centre of government, she should retain a larger representation than she was entitled to. He (Mr. Ross) would only say, in passing, that coming as he did from, perhaps, the most distant constituency in the Kingdom, a

constituency situated not far from the Land's End—he considered he had a strong claim, not merely to retain the single representation of the borough of St. Ives, but a claim for one Colleague, if not for two additional Members for that borough. It did not want any very great shrewdness, he thought, to see through the arrangement held out by the Prime Minister to the Irish Members. It might, perhaps, be described as the third volume of the novel called *The Kilmainham Treaty*. The first volume was entitled *Force is no Remedy*; the second was entitled *The Resources of Civilization*, and the third *The Reward for Disloyalty*. He had no wish to base his argument with regard to Ireland simply on the ground of her disturbed condition. He wished to deal with her as if she were contented and loyal, and he failed to see one single reason for taking seats away from the South and West of England, and leaving Ireland intact. Was it on the ground of population? Even on that ground she was over-represented, and in a few years, if emigration continued at its present rate, she would be immensely over-represented, independently of the increase in the English and Scotch population. Nor was it on the score of Ireland's contribution to Imperial taxation. Still, in order that Ireland might be rewarded, the West and South of England were to be deprived of their ancient privileges. Such was the policy that was held out to the House as an inducement to pass the Bill. He had never looked upon Esau selling his birthright as a very wise personage; but Esau selling his birthright was a very wise and prudent individual compared with the Members for small constituencies, if they parted with their birthright for the mere indication of such a mess of pottage as this sketch which the Premier had drawn and presented to them. He appealed to Members on the other side, who, like himself, represented small constituencies, and he besought them to pause before they gave votes upon which the character of this Bill depended. Once the principle of this Bill had been allowed to pass, their constituencies would have lost their power, and would become condemned constituencies. Never again would they have the powerful opportunity for doing good that they now had, and he asked them seriously to con-

sider this question for themselves and the country. He did not put it on the selfish ground that by voting for this Bill they were committing political suicide. He put it on the ground that they held a great trust for their country and the Empire. As surely as they recorded their votes in favour of this Bill they signed their own death warrant. But that was little. They destroyed the privileges of the ancient constituencies they represented. But even that sank into insignificance compared to this—that their constituencies would reproach them—their consciences would upbraid them—all history would record it against them, that at a time of a great national crisis they had for Party purposes failed in their public duty, not from want of knowledge of the danger into which they might be plunging the Constitution, not from want of ability to avoid that danger, but from the greatest fault that could beset public men—from want of moral courage.

MR. E. A. LEATHAM: Mr. Speaker, I think that a great question is never, perhaps, in greater danger than when everyone who addresses himself to its discussion begins his speech, if not with the admission, at least with the persuasion, that it is thrashed out. We are apt to omit, and even to forget, the arguments which have made it great, and so to allow the whole volume of our contention to lose itself in a multitude of side issues. The truth of that remark was never, perhaps, better exemplified than in the success which, for a time, attended the speeches with which Mr. Lowe approached what had then become the venerable question of Borough Franchise Reform. It was not that his arguments were conclusive, but that the answers to them had been forgotten. Now, I think that the question which is before the House runs similar risks. I have observed a distinct desire on the part of hon. Gentlemen to get away from the real point at issue, and to allow the controversy to turn upon secondary considerations. Why do we demand Reform? Our motive is not in order that we may arrive at better government, although, as Liberals, we believe that at better government we shall arrive. Our motive is to redress a great and manifest injustice. We demand this Bill, because you have surrendered every pass of argument that leads up to it,

[First Night.]

and because, of all the anomalies which beset our electoral system, the exclusion of the rural householder from the franchise is the worst. So long ago as 1859, as my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) has pointed out, Mr. Disraeli dwelt forcibly on "the feelings of dissatisfaction and distrust" which existed between the two great sections of the electoral body, and his remedy was uniformity of franchises. And in 1860 he stated positively that, in his opinion, you could not admit the working classes to the franchise in towns, and exclude them in the counties. But when we propose to admit them in the counties, how are we met? We are met by speeches which turn entirely upon secondary considerations—like the speech of the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners). He had a good deal to say about the inconveniences which must arise if Government should pass this Bill, and fail to pass a Redistribution Bill before the Dissolution. Now, no doubt, it would be better if, when we go to the country, we should have a constituency which does not partake in any degree of a provisional character. But until this whole question is satisfactorily dealt with, that is an impossibility. The constituency is provisional now. It has been condemned by Speeches from the Throne, and by the voice of public opinion. But the real answer to the noble Lord is, that it is impossible to deal with this question in any other way than that in which it has been dealt with by the Government. I put it to the candour of hon. Gentlemen opposite whether it is possible to deal in one Session of Parliament with both halves of this question, and, at the same time, with all the correlative questions to which it is sure to give rise? There was a time when it would have been possible to have so dealt with it; but that was before the insatiable thirst for information seized upon hon. Gentlemen opposite. In order that it may be possible so to deal with it now, we must have two things. Hon. Gentlemen must renounce their thirst for information, and the Government must renounce their redistribution scheme, and substitute for it a scheme more in accordance with the standard of recent Reform Bills. Now, we dare not hope for the first, and the second we should emphatically condemn. So that the only practical question remaining is

which half to deal with first. And I submit that the half to be dealt with first is the half requiring the longest time to come into operation if enacted—this half which requires the registration and revision of voters. Surely, Sir, we must "cut our coat according to our cloth"—we must see first what the new registers will give us, and then redistribute—not redistribute first, in the hope that the new registers will bear us out in what we have done. Nor, from a purely Party point of view, have hon. Gentlemen opposite any right to complain. If the redistribution scheme of the Government could be, in any way, regarded as a counterpoise to this Bill, I could understand the anxiety that the one should be passed without the other. But when the reverse is the case, and when the redistribution scheme is calculated to emphasize rather than to counterpoise the popular tendency of this Bill; if, by any chance, the one should be taken and the other left, it is we, not they, who would be the losers at a Dissolution, and therefore we, not they, who ought to complain. My right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) made, a few days ago, a speech which, if it is to be regarded as a speech against this Bill, was a speech which turned almost entirely on secondary considerations. But are we to regard it as a speech against this Bill? My right hon. Friend concluded his speech by a nautical peroration. We heard about the angle of vanishing stability, and the angle of danger. I wonder that we heard nothing of a phrase in this connection, which I am sure must have been upon the tip of his tongue, a phrase which has also sometimes a political significance—I wonder that we heard nothing about "trimming." I read the speech of my right hon. Friend twice over without arriving at its drift. I came, at last, to the conclusion that he was in full retreat the whole time. He conducted his retreat over very difficult ground; he brought off most of his ammunition; but he abandoned all his heavy artillery early in the day. He began by making very startling admissions of a total change of opinion with regard to the working classes in towns. He thus surrendered three-fourths of the position against this Bill, for three-fourths of the persons enfranchised by this Bill will belong to the class



whom my right hon. Friend is willing to trust. Let us hope that more mature observation will bring conviction to him also with regard to the agricultural labourer, and that some day we may be edified by the spectacle of my right hon. Friend taking to his bosom, with equal effusion, the man whom he now thinks stands in need of an apprenticeship, like the slave, before he arrives at freedom. The startling admissions with which my right hon. Friend began his speech were not by any means all which constituted his retreat. The retreat became something like a rout when, amid the ironical cheering of hon. Gentlemen opposite, he announced the conditions upon which he was prepared to support the Bill. But though my right hon. Friend was in full retreat all through, from time to time he turned upon his pursuers "*versis equis Parthus animosus*"—which I hope no hon. Gentleman will translate, "this Parthian with an animus"—and inflicted wounds and anguish upon them. He had a great deal to say, like the noble Lord opposite, upon the necessity of representing minorities, and, because this Bill contains no special provisions for representing the loyal minority in Ireland, he seemed half inclined to refuse it his support. Now, the particular question upon which it is so necessary that the minority in Ireland should be represented, the very question upon which their views are represented with overwhelming force by the majority upon this side of the Channel. It would have been impossible to have found a more crushing illustration to prove how completely the views of a minority in one part of the Kingdom are represented by those of a majority in another, than the illustration which was produced by my right hon. Friend for our discomfiture. My right hon. Friend appears to have convinced himself, by some process of arithmetic in which I was unable to follow him, that English seats were to be taken in order to swell the representation of Ireland. I was under the impression that the Irish representation was to be left as it is, and I am glad of it, because any diminution just now in the representation of Ireland would be accepted by everyone in Ireland, and by everyone in the civilized world, as a penal act. No doubt, Sir, through the pressure of circumstances—many of

which we hope to remove—and of a great dispensation of Providence—which all of us pray may never recur—the population of Ireland has shrunk below its normal figure, and those who are eager to seize upon every advantage are ready with the cry—"Pare down to the lowest possible limits the representation of this disaffected portion of the Kingdom;"—"Hear, hear!"—and from that cheer I gather that there are hon. Members here who are of that opinion. I do not share those views for many reasons. One of them is that, Radical as I am, I am not such a Radical as to desire to impose upon this country that device of the American democracy, by which the representation shifts with shifting population, so that your representatives may be here to-day and gone to-morrow. We should never have heard of this proposal, but for the peculiar policy of hon. Members who sit below the Gangway on the other side of the House. Much as I regret that policy, I am not prepared to visit it with such a penalty as this. Still less am I prepared to except Ireland on such grounds from that full and fair Representation of the people which we demand for England and Scotland, and I have the less hesitation in saying so, because I am not one of those who have ever played with the hopes of hon. Members who sit in that part of the House. I regard the obligation to maintain the unity of the Kingdom and the integrity of the Empire as absolute and vital. For this supreme end I would shrink from no sacrifice, and there is no exercise of necessary force from which I would recoil. But the very conditions which would alone justify our having recourse to these extremities, are the conditions which compel us to share with our fellow-subjects in Ireland every scrap of that freedom, and every shred of those privileges which we insist upon for ourselves. It is because we all form part of the same indivisible nation, that we must all live under the same laws and enjoy the same rights. Sir, we must grasp Ireland with both hands—with the hand of authority, no doubt, but also with the hand of patient and scrupulous justice. If we do this, I am sanguine enough to hope that the grasp will soon be mutual, and that the embrace will last for ever. So much for the indirect arguments against this Bill

—we have heard very few direct arguments against it—but there is a strong undercurrent of fear running through the speeches of hon. Gentlemen. Why are they afraid? The people whom we propose to enfranchise are the people about their own doors; they wear their flannels, and they eat their Christmas beef. Whatever they are, they have made them so. They have had the whole moulding and manipulating of this class, they and their forefathers, for centuries. No modicum of information has reached it, except through patent filters of their own construction. As my right hon. Friend (Mr. John Bright) has pointed out—the young rustic still sits at the feet of their Gamaliels. He enjoys peculiar advantages in the form of instruction as to his conduct through life. He knows very well that he has to “honour and obey the Queen,” “to submit himself to his spiritual pastors and masters,” and “to order himself lowly and reverently to his betters,” by which in all gravity we mean ourselves. Do you think that this system persisted in from generation to generation can have left no traces? Ever since the memory of man I may say, you have had this whole class in the hollow of your hand, and yet you tremble in its presence when we propose to give it votes, and would postpone, to the latest possible time, the opportunity for which, no doubt, it yearns off, restoring seven-fold into your bosom the blessings which you have heaped upon it. Sir, I admit that when I regard this Bill, I too have fears, but they are not of this type. When we remember how vast have been the electoral changes of the last 50 years; how enormous is the interval which, politically speaking, separates us from the age of rotten boroughs, yet how minute have been the corresponding changes in the great institutions of the country—in the Throne, for example—in the House of Lords, in the Church, even in the Bench of Bishops, what ought to be the anxieties which should oppress us now? We are approaching the last phase of enfranchisement; what ought to be our fears? Lest the corresponding changes may be too sweeping, or lest they may be too slender? Sanguine indeed must be the Reformer who can call to mind the influences which have hitherto been brought to bear upon the classes to be

enfranchised, and which, with ten-fold force, will be brought to bear upon them hereafter; and yet who does not tremble—tremble, Sir, for what? For the great institutions of the country? No; but lest we may have exhausted the whole reforming force which still remains outside the Constitution; lest we may drain, to the very bottom, the vitality which is to be gained from the infusion of the only fresh blood remaining, and yet fail of those reforms which we still think to be necessary and just. Sir, this is the true view to take of the Bill, and these are the genuine fears of those who are earnest but moderate Reformers. But if the arguments of the noble Lord, who usually sits opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill), are to prevail, how long will this state of things continue? The noble Lord says that he will not support this Bill, because there is no force to the front which can make him do so. Whenever I hear that kind of argument I am reminded of what was once said by my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham. “Everybody,” he said, “who does not want reform says that no one wants reform;” and when my right hon. Friend was told that there were few Petitions for Reform, he asked the House whether they knew how many Petitions were presented before the great Reform Bill. “In 1821 there was one, in 1822 12, in 1823 29, from 1823 to 1829 not one, in 1830 14;” and then he turned to hon. Gentlemen opposite and asked—“And what took place in 1831 and ’32? You were flying for your lives!” It is not until the noble Lord is flying for his life; “not,” he says, “until the agricultural labourers march on London, and pull down the park palings,” that he will support the Bill. And what, I should like to know, would be the position of this House then? We should no longer be the Representatives of the people, calmly deliberating upon what we believe to be for the public welfare. We should have become the whipped pack of a victorious democracy, cringing before a master who had something to forgive, and who might think that he had something to avenge. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance from a Conservative point of view—and I use the word in its best sense—of settling the question now, when all is orderly expectation, and when the argument of

terror, which the noble Lord invites, forms no part of our calculations. Now, Sir, there are some hon. Members who are opposing this Bill, not so much because they think that the Bill itself will do any harm, but because it may lead to measures of a much more revolutionary character. The noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners) has told us to-day that the argument of the Prime Minister tends in the direction of manhood suffrage. We are told that if we once let go our "safe moorings," we shall find no resting-place for the franchise short of manhood suffrage. Well, we were told so before, when we were dealing with the borough franchise. But we did find a logical resting-place short of manhood suffrage. We found it in the ancient franchise of the country, a recurrence to which was advocated by Mr. Grey and Mr. Fox at the close of the last century. Mr. Disraeli contended that the householder possessed relations with the State distinct from those possessed by any other individual, and on that ground he gave him the franchise. In proposing household suffrage in the counties, it is we who are erecting the barrier of principle against manhood suffrage; while you, who cling to a £12 occupation franchise, are in fact holding on by your eyelids to a crumbling ledge which, if there be no logical resting-place in household suffrage, positively overhangs the abyss. It is contended that this Bill will lead to electoral districts. I think we must have a great deal more than anything which is to be found in this Bill before we can persuade the constituencies to surrender their individuality, and merge themselves in an electoral district. There were some attempts in this direction in the last Reform Bill; but they have not been attended with any very marked success. An amusing instance came to my own knowledge. In the West Riding of Yorkshire there have sprung up, side by side, two flourishing manufacturing towns, and it requires an expert to tell where Dewsbury ends and where Batley begins. By day, the incense of their industry ascends together, and by night, they slumber under the same impenetrable canopy of mutual smoke. Lord Beaconsfield, surveying, probably from some passing train, this vast conglomeration of streets and mills, and churches and chimneys, determined that "they

twain should be one flesh," and should return one Member to Parliament. There never was a greater mistake. It instantly appeared that the choice of Dewsbury was the conspue of Batley, and that the man whom Batley delighted to honour Dewsbury felt bound to reject—and this although the same rich river of Radicalism runs through both places, watering and fertilizing both with alluvial impartiality. The traditions and associations which build up and fortify the individuality of great communities are stronger than your Acts of Parliament. You cannot cut and carve an old country like England into blocks and squares, the *genius loci* is too strong for you. Each county, each borough, has its own political history, and thinks its own political history a vast deal better than that of any other county or borough; and the politicians who would move these ancient landmarks will incur a vengeance as formidable as that which proceeded in the old times from the god Terminus himself. Nor is there any demand for electoral districts in the constituencies themselves. The utmost that they ask for is something like common fairness in the apportionment of Representatives. Give a man a vote, and he cares very little whether he belongs to a small or a large constituency. If to a small one, he thinks more of his own importance; if to a large one, more of the importance of the great community which he has joined; but give him no vote at all, and the whole world of politics goes on outside him, in a country in which politics are everything. And now, Sir, I do not know that I can conclude these few remarks better than by a quotation from one of the speeches of a right hon. Gentleman, now a noble Lord, who used once to be regarded as the arch-enemy of Reform. Mr. Lowe said—

"The only practical mode of dealing with this question in a manner worthy at once of the dignity of this House and the character of the English people is to guide our course by the light of experience."

Sir, it is because this Bill thus deals with it, because it is emphatically the light of experience which is our guide, experience gained in our own country, and from the operation of the very measure which Mr. Lowe condemned, because this Bill is the legitimate offspring of the great measures which went



before it—because, like them, it is frank, generous, and effective, building up to the very summit the electoral edifice of the Kingdom, that I support this Bill. Mr. Fox once said—

“In order that the Government may be strong, the people must make the Government.”

And then he asked the question—

“Is confidence to be always against the people and never for them?”

He spoke those words in support of household suffrage 86 years ago. We ask the same question now. He asked it at a time when English liberty was dead, when the hand of the people had been withdrawn from the sceptre, when the Red Terror still reigned in France. We ask it in very different times. The clouds through which the genius of Fox could penetrate have rolled away. The sky is clear over our heads. The people have justified the confidence of Fox. The British Government is strong because the people have made it. In asking you to pass this Bill we only ask you to crown that confidence, and to redouble that strength.

Mr. MULHOLLAND said, that, while joining most cordially in the aspirations expressed for the future happiness of this country, he deeply regretted that his views as to the means for obtaining that end differed widely as the poles from those of the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. E. A. Leatham). He (Mr. Mulholland) fully agreed with his noble Friend who had moved the Amendment (Lord John Manners), who had gone over the whole general question, and clearly showed that, in effecting a great change like that proposed by the Bill, the House ought to be made acquainted with the whole of the Government scheme before they committed themselves to any part. He would not, however, follow the noble Lord over the wide area, but address himself to Ireland particularly, and he must say that the proposal to include that country in the scheme was a most objectionable one. A few days ago the Prime Minister, in introducing the measure, said that its object was to strengthen the State. It could scarcely be supposed that that speech of the Prime Minister had been composed before the objections of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, to Ireland being included in the Bill, had been overruled in the Cabinet. A Liberal Mem-

ber, speaking with unusual frankness, had said that the object of including Ireland in the Bill was to consolidate the Liberal Party, while another hon. Member had said that the object was to induce the Home Rule Party to vote in favour of the Bill. In his (Mr. Mulholland's) opinion, in the present condition of things, it would be a great mistake to throw 500,000 new voters of the lowest and most ignorant class into the constituency of Ireland; and to do so would not be to strengthen, but to weaken the State. Would it not be better to wait a little longer for a Reform Bill for England and Scotland, rather than it should be carried by the assistance of a Party whose avowed object was its greatest condemnation? It was idle to talk of the necessity of identical legislation, when it was only three years ago that exceptional legislation was justified for Ireland on the ground of dissimilar circumstances altogether from England. The principle of household suffrage for Ireland was deliberately refused for Ireland 15 years ago, with the approval of the Prime Minister's Colleagues, and the different treatment of rating was taken into account in fixing the details of the franchise. It was the existence of a large class, too poor for the payment of any rates, that had to be taken into consideration in both cases. Mr. Chichester Fortescue (now Lord Carlingford) stated, in that debate, that he considered it was reasonable that some limitation should be applied. He (Mr. Mulholland) thought that, under all the circumstances of the case, that was a wise proceeding, and he wished to ask the House whether the circumstances of the case had altered since then? Had there been anything in the history of Ireland during the last 15 years that would induce the House to believe that it would be reasonable now to endow that large class with votes, and thus give it supreme political power? Certainly, there was no deficiency of the popular element in the Irish representation in that House. He would ask the House whether, within its walls, the most extreme views had not been represented? Was it not the case that, over a great part of the country, the representation now was almost monopolized by one class—that it was not only landlords and capitalists, but the middle class, who had no share in political

*Mr. E. A. Leatham*

power, and that they were being gradually unrepresented? It was to perpetuate that evil, and to intensify it, that the present Bill, if carried into law, sought to do. He asked hon. Members opposite was it reasonable, could it be for the good of any country, that the classes which possessed the best interests in the State, the most intelligence, property, and education, should be permanently deprived of political influence, and divorced from public life? He had ventured to touch upon this line of argument last year, when he moved the rejection of the Borough Franchise (Ireland) Bill, and he was answered by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. Trevelyan), by the statement that all this might be very true, but the Liberal Party had pledged themselves to support the measure when they were in Opposition. Now, he would ask the House, did not that amount to this—that the interests of Ireland were to be subordinated, if not sacrificed, to the interests of the Liberal Party? The elements of which that Party was composed were generally a little deficient in cohesion, and it was not the first time that disintegration had been made the signal for an attack upon the Irish people. He thought experience, as well as the precedents of former legislation, instead of being in favour of this Bill, constituted the strongest arguments which could be adduced against it. Was there any reason to believe that if they were to confer the franchise upon the 500,000 of people to whom it was now proposed to give it, that it would make Ireland more loyal or more peaceable? Was there any reason to believe that the electors they would now enfranchise would exercise the power that would be conferred upon them to strengthen the State? It was only within the week that they had heard an hon. Member there advise the people of Ireland not to pay the lawful taxes, and that advice was deliberately repeated and confirmed by the hon. Member who was supposed to influence the majority of elections in Ireland, even under the present system. He must remind the House that the men whom it was now proposed to enfranchise would outnumber those already entitled to the franchise by more than two to one. The present electorate of Ireland consisted of about 220,000

voters, and the estimate for the number that would be added by the present Bill varied from 400,000 to 500,000. And that, no doubt, would really amount to the disfranchisement of all those who were now really entitled to the franchise. Besides this, it was known that certain sections of the Irish Party would not be satisfied with the Bill, but would merely take it as an instalment, and use it as a means of getting separation and an independent Government. When the Prime Minister proposed, therefore, to put a new weapon into their hands, he must do so with the full knowledge that that power would be used for the purpose of breaking up the British Empire. If the Prime Minister's object had been to make Parliamentary Government impossible, and to prevent the progress of Public Business in the House, he could not have adopted any more certain and effectual means than the introduction of the Bill; for, after providing for the reduction of the quality of the Irish Members of Parliament, he proposed to increase their number. How would the special interests of Ireland be affected by the measure? He was afraid that the special interests of Ireland were generally of minor consideration. Ireland was not even now very prosperous; for how could a country be prosperous in which there was no confidence in the future, where contracts could not be enforced, and where the majority declared themselves in favour of separation, and were directly favoured by the policy of an influential English Party? What was the class of houses that was proposed as a qualification by the Bill? The last Census stated that, in Ireland, in 1881, there were 66,000 houses of the first class, 422,000 of the second class, 384,000 of the third class, and 40,000 of the fourth class. The fourth class consisted of mud cabins of only one room, and the third class of mud cabins of two or more rooms, so that there were 425,000 houses, or within 3 per cent of half the whole number of houses in Ireland, which were only mud cabins, and yet which were to confer a vote upon their occupiers. It was the first time that mud cabins had been proposed for enfranchisement, and the qualification, he would repeat, was not merely a fair share, but a far overruling share. The Reform Bill of 1867 was described at the time as being a



"leap in the dark;" but he would say that this Bill for Ireland would be a deliberate leap over a precipice. Anyone, who had studied the structure of English society in 1867, must have observed that the Reform Bill of that year was of such a nature that, even under household suffrage, there must come a thorough representation of all classes of the nation. But, in Ireland, the lowest class, about to be enfranchised, would, in the case of many boroughs, be as two to one. Then we were told that we had experience of the class of electors about to be added in England to the electorate; but that was not the case in Ireland, because the borough franchise did not extend to that country. He was free to admit that, in many cases, the change in Ireland might not make much difference. Over a great part of Ireland, unfortunately, even the present electorate had shown themselves incapable of resisting the demoralizing influences brought to bear upon them. But, even then, the case might be worse, and the lowest class might be still open to the delusive doctrines placed before them. Now, there was a part of Ireland which had hitherto resisted this influence, and where at least one-third of the population was intensely loyal. It was that portion of the people that must be looked to in the future to leaven the disloyal sentiments of the rest of the inhabitants, and who must be depended on to maintain the Union with the United Kingdom. What was to be done with this class under the present Bill? Why, it would be virtually extinguished. They did not now receive very much encouragement from the Party opposite. In time of difficulty and danger, that class was appealed to; but when the difficulty and danger were over, they were too often discouraged and even insulted. Right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite must feel, nevertheless, that they were an important factor in the Irish Question. Every political system was, of course, imperfect; but he would ask, what was to be the complexion of the minority for the future? Had the Government any plan or proposition to lay before the House for the purpose of abating the mischief inherent in their plan? One indication had certainly been given by the Prime Minister, as to the principles on which redistribution would be settled; but, so far as his

disclosure went, it was not at all reassuring, for it really amounted to this, that no other consideration whatever would influence the Government except the purchase of the Home Rule vote. If the Government were so much swayed by the fear of the influence of the Home Rule Party now, how could we expect, when the Leader of that Party had doubled his following, that they would have the courage to oppose unequal representation? By that time, the political influence of the loyal Party would have become extinct. On behalf of that Party, he would ask the House to decide, on every principle of justice and expediency, that their plan of redistribution should be disclosed, and that the Amendment of his noble Friend should be assented to.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, that the speech of the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Mulholland) had been full of vague alarm. If the observations of the hon. Member were correct—that the persons it was proposed to enfranchise in Ireland were the lowest and most ignorant in the country—it was because they had not been hitherto considered worthy of the franchise. But he (Mr. Collings) declared that nothing so much illustrated the courage and determination of the Government, and he much admired them for it, than the steps which they had taken to mete out equal justice to Ireland. It had been said that the Bill would add 500,000 of the poorest and most degraded people in Ireland to the electorate. But was it not the smaller danger to bring those people within the Constitution rather than to leave them out? Granted the necessity, was it not better to govern a country by ballot-boxes than by bayonets? The latter system had undoubtedly failed, and would always fail; and, surely, it was time that the former was tried in its place. To his mind, the greatest danger was in longer keeping the Irish people out of the franchise which was to be possessed by their fellows in this country. He did not base the claim of justice to Ireland only on the Act of Union. Years ago there was a population of 8,000,000. If there were still that population, no objection on the score of the numbers of Members for Ireland would have been heard of. But why had the population diminished? It was in consequence of the grossest injus-



tice and misgovernment on the part of this country; and it was not for England, because the population had diminished, to say that the number of Members for Ireland should be diminished. The Bill was in every respect an honest measure; it was honest on the one hand, and conciliatory on the other. For his own part, however, he should have preferred that the Bill should have swept away all property qualifications, substituting for them one uniform household and lodger franchise throughout the country; but all criticism was disarmed at the admission of 2,000,000 voters to the electoral roll to which they were entitled. The Bill had swept away the faggot vote, and had created a new and most beneficial franchise—the service franchise—at which he did not rejoice the less, because it would probably benefit the Conservative Party. Any alarm at the present proposals was unreasonable. In 1832 and in 1867 terrors were conjured up of the results which would follow the Bills of those years; but the success of those Acts had shown that those terrors had no foundation in fact. They certainly were never realized. On the contrary, experience had shown that both those Acts had contributed to the benefit and safety of the nation; and now there was little of such alarm expressed, which was a proof of the general confidence which was reposed in the classes about to be enfranchised. Both the earlier Reform Bills had tended to the safety and the welfare of the nation, and he anticipated great good from the extension of the franchise in the way of the legislation which would be the result of the enlarged electorate. Immediately after the Reform Bill of 1867 came the measure of National Education which was passed in 1870, and which might not have taken place so soon but for the new power in the hands of the electorate. The form and basis of the opposition to the Bill was that it did not contain a whole and complete scheme; but he maintained that a measure dealing with the franchise alone was complete in itself, and had no absolute connection with the redistribution of seats. Indeed, its operation in the increase of voting power required to be ascertained before you could consider the redistribution of that power. No doubt, the two had a consequential reference; but the fran-

chise was a measure which was buoyant and would swim, and it was sought by the Amendment of the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners) to hang a stone about its neck so that it would sink and drown. Hon. Members might say what they liked about it; but the country would look upon the voting in that House in only one light—namely, as for and against the franchise. If it were true that labourers and other dwellers in villages did not know how to use the franchise, that would be no reason why they should not have it. The way to teach a man to use a responsibility was to give him that responsibility, and the agricultural labourer would never know the full responsibility of a vote until he got it. American statesmen said—"We must give the negro a vote, in order that he may know how to use it." There was abundant evidence that our rural population would know how to use the vote. At many meetings which he had attended they had exhibited marvellous political instinct and intelligence. A farmer of 500 or more acres wrote to him that the labourers would make as good voters as the tenant farmers. But we had no right to judge whether or no a man was fit to exercise what was a natural right belonging to every man who was of age and of sound mind—namely, the right to exercise the privileges of citizenship. A man who paid taxes ought to be allowed to vote. The Reform Act of 1867 made the Bill of 1884 imperative. No power on earth could prevent the extension of the franchise to the rural districts. Hon. Members opposite had stated that it was a tremendous thing to give the franchise to 2,000,000 of people. That might be so; but it was a still more tremendous thing to hold it from them. In the future how would they proceed to the settlement of the great Land Question without having in their Councils the great body of men who lived, toiled, and died on the land. It was urged that there was no demand for the franchise on the part of the agricultural labourers, and that there was, in fact, no outside pressure in favour of it; but *The Labourers' Chronicle* contained reports of 414 meetings held in January and February, at each of which the Bill was urgently insisted upon as a burning question. They regarded the measure as a certainty, and they were, therefore,

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patiently waiting for it. He urged the Government not to be led away by any difficulty, but to go on, and persevere with the measure. No matter what might happen, and however they might be defeated upon any other question, they were bound to go on and take the sense of the House of Commons upon this Bill, which was the most defined and most solemn of their pledges to the people of England. If they failed to proceed with the measure, they would be guilty of an act of treachery to the people of England, and would betray those who were unable to help themselves at the present time. He gave his hearty support to the Bill.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, the House has just listened to a novel Constitutional doctrine; for the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) has told the Government, speaking with all the authority which he possesses as a prominent Member of the Liberal electoral organization, that, whatever happens, they are to proceed with this measure, and to continue to hold Office, no matter what may overtake them in the way of censure, whether in reference to their policy in Egypt, or any other subject. In the few remarks which I am about to make to the House, I shall endeavour, as I always have done, to approach the question entirely apart from the spirit of Party. I do not mean that I would not be guided by any regard to the political principles which I profess; but what I mean to say is, I will endeavour to keep in view my political principles without being led to the right or the left by mere political exigencies. [*Laughter.*] I may remind hon. Gentlemen who laugh that, in my place in Parliament, I denounced what has been called "the Conservative surrender" of 1867. I denounced that surrender, because, in my opinion, it was an arrangement not framed to the advantage of the community; and, in the same way, I would oppose any Bill, from whatever quarter it might emanate, which, in my judgment, partook of the same characteristics. In that year I could not bring myself, in the language of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), to be "converted" to doctrines which I have always held in the reverse of favour. I could not see any great charm in what was called "the personal

payment of rates." I could not bring myself to entertain so low an opinion of my countrymen as to believe that they would ever allow a paltry, partial, local Vestry Act to stand between them and what Parliament called their rights. I was so far borne out by the result; the payment of rates and other subterfuges vanished. The experience which we have gained since then has, I hope, made us wiser, and we shall not, I think, feel inclined to place any reliance upon the assertion of Ministers. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham made a charge, which, no doubt, he thought most effective, against my noble Friend (Lord John Manners), when he said—"Why did you not venture to move the rejection of the Bill?" The right hon. Gentleman, with his knowledge of Parliamentary history, must know perfectly well that if my noble Friend had adopted that course, he would have run counter to almost every precedent that can be cited. The right hon. Gentleman must know that, in the case of all the Reform Bills which have been introduced during his career in Parliament, they have been met, not by a direct negative, but by some Resolution or Amendment substantially on all fours with that of my noble Friend. I think I am right in saying that, in 1859, the Bill of the Government of that day was met by an Amendment to the effect that it should not be proceeded further with, on the ground that it limited, to some extent, the privileges of a class who have been somewhat disrespectfully spoken of by hon. Gentlemen opposite—I mean the 40s. freeholders. The right hon. Gentleman, however, I am bound to admit, as the great patentee of the principle of the creation of faggot votes, has not joined so vociferously as many of his Friends in this outcry; but as an historical fact, in connection with the Bill of 1859, he will, no doubt, recall to mind that it was upon the side issue I have referred to that he and others prevailed, and the Bill of the Government was rejected. The right hon. Gentleman has also entered at considerable length into another branch of the subject—namely, the application of the Bill to Ireland. In the right hon. Gentleman's treatment of that branch of the question there was a good deal which did not startle me, because I had heard something not very dissimilar

before. The right hon. Gentleman followed up the subject by the introduction of various topics, as to which it would be presumptuous in me to say how far they are relevant or not; and it would be discourteous to express any personal judgment as to the accuracy of the right hon. Gentleman's allegations. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the Tory Party as having, up to a few years ago, had its own way in Ireland; and he challenged the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) to contradict his statement. Upon that point the well-known *dictum* of O'Connell, as to the degree of gratitude which the Irish people owe to the Whig Party, is too vividly in the recollection of the right hon. Gentleman to make it necessary that I should go into that matter now. The right hon. Gentleman turned aside for one moment from the conciliatory action which he had recommended to himself for the treatment of Ireland, and the old leaven cropped out when he spoke of the stupid malignity of the wicked men who represented the popular opinion in Ireland. But the right hon. Gentleman said what was more to the point, when he repeated the phrase, already become historical, and emanating from himself. "The Rebel Party" from Ireland were, he said, banded together, avowedly and consistently, according to their own statement, for the purpose of dissevering the connection with other portions of the British Empire. Though the right hon. Gentleman imparted some information not altogether novel, yet he did introduce some novelty into his treatment of the subject. He said—"By force you can do anything in Ireland." But I think I have heard that "force is no remedy." I commend these words to the amended judgment of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman proceeded to say, as one reason why his arguments were sound, that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was no fool. That hon. Gentleman is exceptionally fortunate; he has the good fortune to differ on some points from the right hon. Gentleman, and still to be exempted from the category in which those who differ from the right hon. Gentleman are generally placed. The right hon. Gentleman, it seemed to me, somewhat mistook the argument of the right hon. Gentleman

the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). The right hon. Member for Birmingham seemed to twit the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon for having advocated proceeding with regard to Ireland upon the old lines. What I understood the right hon. Member for Ripon to do was to ask the House to deal fairly and squarely with Ireland, in common with the rest of the United Kingdom, instead of proceeding upon what he termed the "old lines" of special and exceptional treatment of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham spoke of 2,000,000 of persons waiting outside the portals of the Representative Body, who are demanding to be admitted; and he asked why they should be kept outside any longer? The 2,000,000 of capable citizens, as the Prime Minister called them the other day, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, on a former occasion, referred to as a residuum.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: Never.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Does the right hon Gentleman say "Never?"

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: Yes; never.

MR. J. LOWTHER: The denial of the right hon. Gentleman certainly surprises me.

MR. GORST: Is it not in *Hansard*?

MR. J. LOWTHER: I heard it myself. At any rate, that is what I understood the right hon. Gentleman to say. The right hon. Gentleman certainly made use of the phrase; but perhaps he objects to the way in which I have applied it?

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: Perhaps I may be allowed to explain what it was that I did say. I argued that there was always a residuum in every class, and that, in the poorest class, there would always be a residuum of ignorant and abject persons, to whom probably it would be no good to give votes. But I never applied the word to the working classes, or to any class. I said there was a residuum in every class. I have known a residuum in this House.

MR. J. LOWTHER: The right hon. Gentleman, at any rate, is not alone in that view; but when he spoke of the residuum, he was referring to the class which came between the £6 limit occupation franchise and the householder's occupation franchise as applied to boroughs in the United Kingdom, and he was referring to that class, and to no other, when he spoke of the residuum. By the



Bill before the House it is sought to introduce these 2,000,000 of people to the franchise with no reference as to how their votes may be distributed, and the effect they may have upon existing interests. The right hon. Gentleman entirely loses sight of the 3,000,000 of capable citizens at present on the electoral roll. He seems to have no concern for them, but is willing to introduce 2,000,000 more, without any regard as to how far they may swamp the present constituencies. For my own part, representing as I do an agricultural constituency, I may say that the Bill, as now drawn up, will practically annihilate the agricultural interest in Parliament. ["Hear, hear!"] Some hon. Members, I know, hold that to be desirable, and a beneficial ingredient in the measure. I assert that the farmers, whether occupying tenants of land or occupying freeholders, will be practically disfranchised. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): No.] The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite says "No;" but, perhaps, his dissent was only meant to be made in a stage whisper which ought not to have been heard. If so, after some others we have heard of late, we may congratulate ourselves on the aside being of so harmless a character. I am certainly prepared to say this—that if you introduce into the county constituencies an element which is altogether disconnected in many cases from the land, and certainly from the occupation of the land, you, to all intents and purposes, destroy the voting power of the occupying classes in the county constituencies. With regard to Ireland, we have heard a good deal from the Prime Minister, and to some extent also from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, as to the reasons why Ireland should receive a greater proportion of Representatives than the rest of the United Kingdom. [Mr. JOHN BRIGHT: No, no!] The right hon. Gentleman dissents. I think he must have forgotten that he dwelt upon the undesirability of disturbing the present numerical representation of Ireland, which comes to the same thing. I do not propose seriously to deal with what has been called the centrifugal system, which has been invented by the Prime Minister. I have no doubt that that system, like many others, has already had its day, and I doubt if we

shall hear very much more of it. In these days, not only of railways and newspapers, but also of telegraphs and telephones, I think it must be admitted that, with its compact organization both inside and outside this House, the Irish Representation, so far as what is called the National Party is concerned, represents an interest more concentrated than, perhaps, any other in this House; and to say that Ireland should have a greater representation than any other portion of the United Kingdom is absolutely indefensible. It is, as I have just pointed out, by no means a case of scattered communities, with little or no means of communication among themselves, and yet it is said that, on account of their great distance from the centre of representation, the country ought to be afforded a larger and disproportionate share in the representation. It is well known, with regard to the representation of Ireland, that, if this Bill passes, something like 80 or 90 Members will be practically returned by one stroke of the pen; and, therefore, I think the contention of the right hon. Gentleman, if followed to its logical conclusion, would act the other way. As the Leader of the great Liberal Party, the Prime Minister, when he made his statement, approached this subject of the redistribution of seats in the most timid way, casting furtive glances behind him at his Colleagues. He said he thought he might say that he made the declaration on his own behalf; that, at any rate, he thought he should not be saying anything that his Colleagues would not agree to, though he distinctly declined to pledge himself on behalf of his Colleagues. I should like to know to what extent the right hon. Gentleman does speak on behalf of his own Party, and how far the Leaders of the Liberal Party endorse the Prime Minister's opinion? The right hon. Gentleman is sometimes fond of dwelling upon the fact that he represents a school of politicians who have not a long future before them. I hope the House will not think me guilty of insincerity when I say that we shall all gladly welcome the Prime Minister back among us, and may he long remain. But the right hon. Gentleman talks of men of the future, and disassociates himself from the schemes which may be founded by their means. We have a right, therefore, to

inquire how far the men of the future represent the Liberal Party under the guidance of the right hon. Gentleman. If the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had been present earlier in the evening, although only in a thin House, he would have heard a most interesting and sensible speech from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose (Mr. Baxter). Unfortunately, however, the noble Marquess was not present; and, indeed, the empty state of the House bore some testimony to the national interest felt in the subject. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose had taken a very active part in the discussions on the subject in a previous Parliament, especially with regard to the representation of Scotland. What said the right hon. Member for Montrose? He said, in distinct terms, that on the subject of the inordinate representation of Ireland, the Prime Minister and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham would find themselves in a small minority. Those were the words of an ex-Minister, the Member for Montrose, one of the most loyal of the loyal Members of the great Liberal Party, and I think that the right hon. Gentleman is by no means alone in the sentiments he utters. I think the House has a right to demand, before the second reading of the Bill, some more authoritative statement as to the views and intentions of the Government on redistribution; not merely given in the form of a Ministerial utterance, which may be recalled or forgotten, but within the four corners of a Bill which they are prepared to place before Parliament. The Government are at present attempting to run the House and the country in blinkers. I think that Parliament has a right to know what are the intentions of Her Majesty's Government with regard to this most important subject. Not only have the Government declined to inform us as to their ulterior intentions with regard to the redistribution of seats, but they have also refused to inform us of their intentions in regard to some important questions that cannot even momentarily be disconnected from the franchise. The hon. Member who has just sat down (Mr. Jesse Collings) has spoken of the Bill as a complete Bill. [MR. JESSE COLLINGS: No.] The hon. Member certainly spoke of this as a complete Bill, and I am glad to

find that he now thinks better of it. He certainly said it was a complete Bill as regards the franchise; but I would point out that the question of the representation of minorities, the question of the fair and adequate representation of the different classes and sections of the body politic, have been wholly omitted from the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. I, for one, confess that I attach great importance to the fair and adequate representation of minorities in this House. When a Bill was introduced by the right hon. Gentleman who is now Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan), I, myself, placed on the Paper an Amendment, inviting the House to decline proceeding further with the measure until it had before it an adequate scheme for the representation of local minorities. I would venture to urge upon the House another consideration which I am afraid too often escapes our attention—namely, as to how far the introduction of unlimited numbers of one class, and one class alone, would tend to place other classes of the community at a disadvantage. Formerly, in 1866 and 1867, we used to have Question upon Question and Motion upon Motion calling for statistics as to the class in life and the position of various elements about to be placed upon the electoral roll; but I have not heard a word of that in the present discussion. It is taken for granted; it does not matter now what class the electors belong to, so long as they are electors, and will vote for a particular Party in the State. I have frequently ventured to invite Parliament and the country to consider whether it might not be possible to terminate the exclusion of a large class of the community from the franchise without, at the same time, placing them practically in sole possession of political power and depriving all other classes of their due political weight in the Constitution of the country. Now I am frequently told, when I urge that this should be kept in view, that it is impossible to bring it about. Now, I have always thought that it was an old Constitutional doctrine that taxation and representation should be co-extensive, and that the degree of contribution to the Revenues of the State should be kept in view when the representation is apportioned; but now I am told that it would be practically impossible to

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frame any enactment to carry out that view. If I may be permitted to do so, following the example of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, I would make a remark which I have made before, and I would take the liberty of suggesting to the House that this has already been done. An Act of Parliament has been passed for the representation of the people, with the view to the election of Poor Law Guardians, in which that great principle has been kept in view. In that Act, framed by Mr. Sturgess Bourne, taxation and representation have been made co-extensive. I see the hon. and learned Attorney General in his place. In reply to some remarks of mine made outside the House on this subject, the hon. and learned Gentleman endeavoured to amuse himself, although I fear he did not amuse his audience, by attempting to make fun of this proposition. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that, according to my proposition, a man would have votes in proportion to the number of pints of beer he drank and the number of pipes of tobacco he smoked. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I did not say that.] I am afraid that I am quoting from a Tory paper, and it may only have the remarks of the hon. and learned Gentleman briefly and concisely; but I did see in *The Times'* report of his speech some observations very much of the same character. At any rate, it is manifest to the House that it would not be indirect taxation of the kind referred to by the hon. Gentleman when I say that the principle laid down in Mr. Sturgess Bourne's Act might be made the basis of the franchise. The hon. and learned Gentleman and others say—"This is an old Act of Parliament; an old musty-fusty Statute you are dragging up from oblivion." But I maintain, on the other hand, that the principle has worked admirably ever since the passing of that Act; and although almost every Act of Parliament and almost every Institution of the Realm have seriously been called in question during the years which have elapsed since that Act was passed, I think I am right in saying that no serious proposal has ever been made to Parliament to repeal the special provision of that Statute which gives plural votes to the electoral body. I am not now speaking, of course, of the subsidiary provisions

of that Act; I am not speaking of voting papers, in regard to which I may have something to say at a later stage of this Bill; I am not speaking of every element of machinery connected with it, but only of that great principle that representation should be multiplied and preponderate according to taxation. I am told that the English working classes would never stand so glaring an inequality. It is all very well to tell me that the English working classes will not stand a glaring inequality. I will undertake to say that the English working classes are by no means so permeated with these levelling doctrines which find favour with Continental Socialists, and with a certain section of the Party opposite. On the contrary, I venture to say that nothing is further from the mind of the industrious and intelligent English working man. I am not speaking of your sham working man; those paid agitators dressed in broadcloth—an imitation of gingerbread without the ginger—that working man who never works; I am speaking of the *bonâ fide* working man. Nothing is further from the mind of the true working man, than that everybody should be dragged down to one dead level, from which neither he nor anybody else should ever be permitted to rise. That, I say, is by no means the feeling of the working classes of the country. [Mr. LABOUCHERE was understood to say that he had never held that.] The hon. Member for Northampton is far too intelligent to say that; but there are those who have not the acumen and sagacity of the hon. Member. And this I do undertake to say, that the working classes would entertain no objection to having put before them this fact—that by industry, by perseverance, and by discharging their duty in life, they would be, from time to time, enabled to place themselves in a higher position in the electoral as in other scales. That is, however, a matter on which I will not now dwell in full detail. I shall feel it my duty to afford the House an opportunity of expressing a deliberate judgment on that issue, but this is not the time when it can be properly referred to in detail. We have heard a good deal in debate throughout this Session—and before the Session began, the note of warning was sounded in didactic tones "elsewhere"—that the Tory Party must beware how it laid itself open to the



charge of Obstruction. I do not think that those menaces will weigh heavily with any of my Friends in this quarter of the House any more than with myself. We, Sir, have an easy conscience in the matter. But I will tell the House that I could not, as I have done, lay claim to an easy conscience, if I were to ask the leave of the House of Commons to introduce a Bill which I was positively assured beforehand could, under no conceivable circumstances, be passed into law in the present Session. If I were to demand the unlimited time of the House for the discussion of that measure; if I were to put aside for it other Bills which I might have in charge, even Bills which I and my Friends said were introduced for the purpose of saving human life, or contributing to the welfare of the people; or if I were to persist in urging on a Bill which I knew, as long as the present Parliament exists, had not the slightest ghost of a chance of passing; if I were to adopt such a course, I certainly should be the last to attempt to defend myself against the charge of Obstruction.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Mr. Speaker, I certainly think it will be admitted that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. Lowther), in the speech which he has just delivered, has successfully vindicated the statement he made at the commencement of that speech, that he would not treat this question in any Party spirit, for I have observed that a considerable portion of his speech was occupied with a condemnation of what he has termed the surrender made by his Friends and Party some years ago. I congratulate the right hon. Gentleman, however, on having apparently instructed the Party to which he belongs better than it was instructed in 1867; and I suppose, if I may take the concluding declaration which fell from the right hon. Gentleman as representing the opinion of the Party to which he now belongs, that, whatever may be the fate of this Bill in this House, it is not, under any conceivable circumstances, to be permitted to pass through "another place." That is an announcement which I think the right hon. Gentleman would have shown better discretion by keeping till a later stage of the discussion. The right hon. Gentleman defended the action taken by the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners), in opposing the second reading of this Bill, by quoting

a Parliamentary precedent, and he said that it had not been usual to meet measures of this kind by a direct negative, but by an Amendment couched in some such terms as those proposed by the noble Lord. He said that had been the Parliamentary practice, and he cited the Resolution moved by Lord John Russell in 1859, in reference to the Reform Bill of the then Conservative Government. The right hon. Gentleman, I think, did not quite accurately describe the Amendment of Lord John Russell, for, if my recollection serves me right, that Amendment stated, very distinctly and clearly, that the objection taken on the Liberal side to that measure was not only on the ground of its interfering with the rights of the freeholders, but it also clearly and distinctly stated that we should be no party to a measure which did not contain any reduction of the borough franchise.

MR. J. LOWTHER: The noble Marquess has misunderstood me. I spoke in reply to the objection taken by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), who complained of my noble Friend (Lord John Manners) for not having moved that the Bill be read a second time this day six months.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am quite aware of that; but what I maintain is, that the Amendment, which was moved by this party to the Reform Bill brought in on the other side of the House, was an Amendment which clearly stated the real grounds of the objection taken to the measure, and which did not attempt to defeat it on a side issue, such as I maintain this to be. The right hon. Gentleman is the first speaker to-night, or during the debate, who has entered a direct objection to the principle of the extension of the franchise in the counties; and he has told us that, in his opinion, this measure, if it be passed into law, will annihilate the agricultural interest. It may be admitted that this measure, if it be passed into law, will terminate the supremacy which up till now has existed at the county elections in the tenant farmers. But the statement put forward by the right hon. Gentleman, that this measure will annihilate the agricultural interest, is a very grave statement, and one which, I think, will hardly be endorsed by all those hon. Gentlemen who sit near him. It is a

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serious thing to be told by a Representative of the tenant farmers in this country, that a measure which will place a greater share of political power in the hands of the agricultural labourers will be a measure that will annihilate the agricultural interest. Are we to believe that the tenant farmers have so conducted their business—have so managed the agricultural affairs of this country—that a Bill which places some political power in the hands of their labourers—surely no inconsiderable part of the agricultural interest—is one which *ipso facto* will annihilate the agricultural interest? The right hon. Gentleman has told us that the Constitutional practice is that representation and taxation should go together, and he held out, as a model for our imitation, the Act under which the Guardians of the Poor are elected, and which, he thinks, should be adapted to our Parliamentary system. I was glad to hear that the right hon. Gentleman intends to give practical effect to his opinion, and that he intends to take the sense of this House of Parliament on the subject. I doubt whether the right hon. Gentleman will get more support from his Friends upon that subject than he did when he denounced the Conservative surrender of 1867; but, at all events, if he considers that the principle of Mr. Sturgess Bourne's Act is the principle which ought to guide our representative system, the course which he ought to take is to vote for the second reading of this Bill, and then introduce into Committee the modification he desires. [Mr. J. LOWTHER: I will, if you undertake to accept it.] I cannot undertake to do that. Even, if in the present House of Commons, he is not able to secure the acceptance of this doctrine relating to representation and taxation, the right hon. Gentleman, from what he has told us this evening—that the working classes of this country are not permeated by any doctrine of Continental Socialism, and, as far as I can gather from his speech, entirely approve of the principle he is going to propose—may rest assured and feel confident that if the agricultural labourers and the working classes of this country, animated with the opinions which he has described, have the suffrage bestowed upon them, they will themselves be the first to support him in his endeavour, on some future occa-

sion, to amend the electoral law, so as to bring representation and taxation into conformity. Except the right hon. Gentleman, I believe there has been no Member of this House who has opposed the main principle of this measure—the extension to the county householders of the suffrage now enjoyed by householders in the boroughs. The two grounds, I take it, upon which this measure is objected to by the Opposition are, in the first place, its incompleteness; and, in the second place, its inclusion of Ireland without its being accompanied by any scheme of redistribution. As to the incompleteness of this measure, I am prepared to make what may be considered an admission. I fully admit that the reform of the representation of the people in Parliament, or rather the completion of our representative system, is one great object of which the franchise is only a part. Certainly, Sir, I admit that no measure of Reform will be complete until measures have been passed which deal not only with the franchise, but also with the relations of political with electoral power, in the first place, as regards the Three Kingdoms themselves, and, in the next place, as regards the various districts and areas included within those Kingdoms. As regards the redistribution of electoral power, as between growing and populous districts, and again, as between the great and growing cities of these Kingdoms and those small boroughs which are neither great nor growing, but still possess an almost equal share of electoral power with those greater cities to which I have referred, it is most desirable that all the branches of this great question should be dealt with as nearly consecutively as may be. It is most desirable that they should be dealt with by one Parliament; and I also admit that it would be desirable, if possible, that they should be dealt with by one Parliament in one Session, and, it may be, by one Bill. But there is only one way in which such a thing can be accomplished, and that would have been by the existence of some general agreement upon the subject, some admission on the part of the House generally, that the time had now come when the measure which had been granted in 1867 to the boroughs must be extended to the counties, and by an equally general admission that

the most grave and glaring anomalies which still exist in the distribution of political power must also be redressed. Well, Sir, if an agreement of that sort was not an impossibility, no one can doubt, on whichever side of the House he sits, that, sooner or later, the time must come when the extension of the franchise granted in 1867 to the boroughs must be extended to the counties; and no one can suppose that the arbitrary and utterly unequal distribution of political power as between the various districts and communities of this country can be permanent. But, Sir, there has been no indication on the part of the Opposition of any such general agreement, or any such desire to co-operate in the settlement of this question, as would give to any Government the hope and the assurance that it would be possible to deal with these great subjects which I have described within the compass of a Bill in a single Session. The noble Lord who moved the Amendment to-night spoke, it is true, of the great changes in the distribution of political power which would be rendered necessary by the passing of this measure; but a very short time ago the opinions of the noble Lord on the subject of redistribution appeared to be of a most limited character. Addressing his constituents a month or two ago at a banquet at Loughborough, in Leicestershire, he stated his views on the subject of redistribution, at all events, as regards boroughs, and he said—

“As to the boroughs, there were two anomalies—the first, that great towns had sprung into existence which had no representation. But he wished to point out that when the Conservative Party left Office, they left some 6 seats vacant on account of bribery, and 7 or 8 had been added to the number, making 12 or 14 vacant seats. Well, from the Returns which had just been published, he found that there were 8 unrepresented places which had a population exceeding 40,000; so that they had at their command sufficient materials to put an end to that anomaly.”

If these are the opinions really held by the Conservative Party as to the redistribution of political power, I am not surprised that there is an absence of that agreement which, as I have said, can alone enable a complete settlement of this subject to be arrived at in one Session; because I think the House generally, at all events, will be quite certain that an overwhelming number of Members of all shades of opinion

who sit on this side of the House are unanimous in the opinion that no such paltry redistribution of political power as between over-represented and under-represented communities would, in the least degree, tend to settle this part of the question. The noble Lord, as I expected, relied much upon the celebrated speech made by Lord Stanley on moving an Amendment to the Reform Bill of 1866, and he concluded his speech, somewhat to my surprise, by saying that he did not ask the Government to add a single clause to this Bill, or to embody our proposals in the form of a Bill.

LORD JOHN MANNERS: I beg the noble Marquess's pardon. I expressly asked that the Government would place their proposals as to redistribution in the form of a Bill, so that they might be laid upon the Table.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Well, whether the scheme is laid on the Table or not, I do not understand that the noble Lord, from what he said this evening, is prepared to insist that this scheme, whether it were laid on the Table in the form of a Bill or in any other manner, should be passed into law during the present Session. On the contrary, he only desires that the views of the Government should be indicated by the scheme of the Government being laid on the Table in the form of a Bill. But the speech of Lord Stanley, to which reference has been made, if it exposed anything, exposed the futility of any proceeding of that kind. We did, or had promised to do, in 1866 what the noble Lord has asked us to do now. We did promise that, before the House was invited to go into Committee on the Franchise Bill of 1866, the scheme of the Government as regards redistribution should be laid on the Table. But did that satisfy the noble Lord or his Friends? Did it satisfy Lord Stanley, who was at that time the mouthpiece of that Party? In the speech to which the noble Lord has referred there is a passage, almost preceding the one which the noble Lord quoted this evening, in which Lord Stanley showed how entirely inadequate such a procedure as that would be. He said—

“Who is to guarantee the identity of the plan of 1866 with that of 1867? Will the Government themselves say that, in a matter of this kind, they will accept no Amendment,

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listen to no suggestion, and pledge themselves not to reconsider their perhaps hasty first thoughts? As sensible men, they cannot hold such language; and if they cannot hold it, then we must regard this Bill to be laid on the Table, but not proceeded with in the present Session, as a pure work of fancy, worthless as a practical guide for our action, and attended with this additional inconvenience—that if the Franchise Bill should go through Committee, and if Members disliking that measure, but approving the Bill for the redistribution of seats, should support the one for the sake of the other, and that afterwards into the other alterations should be introduced, then charges of inconsistency and want of good faith are sure to be made—not, perhaps, deserved, but plausible on the face of them, and which it may not be easy to meet.”  
—(*3 Hansard*, [182] 1167-8.)

But, Sir, the noble Lord (Lord John Manners) now comes down, and says—“We do not ask you to encumber your Bill; we do not ask you to add to it a single clause; but all we ask of you is to let us see, in the shape of the Bill laid upon the Table, what you intend to propose in the way of redistribution.” Now, I maintain, on the other hand, that the necessity for combining a measure of redistribution with a measure for the extension of the franchise is less now than it was in 1866. It is less for the reason indicated by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, in his opening speech. My right hon. Friend pointed out that, so long as you maintain in counties and in boroughs two franchises, which are entirely distinct, the question of redistribution becomes actually a question of enfranchisement. Upon the extension of your redistribution depends the extension of your enfranchisement, and the character and scope of your enfranchising measure must be completely altered as to its enfranchising clauses by the operation of a subsequent measure of redistribution. But when it is proposed to make the suffrage in the counties and the suffrage in the boroughs not, perhaps, absolutely identical, but, at all events, to a very great extent identical, then that consequence does not follow—when the question of redistribution, which we shall have to face next year if this Bill is passed, is one of exactly the same kind as—though, perhaps, larger in degree than—the question of redistribution which confronts us now, and which ought to be dealt with before any redistribution of electoral power as between the larger and smaller borough constituencies. There is, therefore, in my

opinion, far less reasonable ground for saying that a measure of redistribution ought to accompany a measure for the extension of the franchise in 1884 than there was in 1866. At the same time, the difficulty of the two measures would be far greater. I am not referring now to what must be present to the mind of every hon. Member who has taken any considerable part in the proceedings of this House during some years past. Certainly, the facility of passing any important measure, much less a measure of this kind, is not greater in the present state of the Parliamentary Business than it was in 1866; and no one can suppose that, in the face of an active and bitter opposition, two measures of this kind, one of which would be successfully run against the other, could possibly have any chance of getting through the House in any reasonable time. Besides that, putting aside that consideration, there is a further consideration. In the Reform Bills which have been introduced up to now, questions of redistribution have, no doubt, excited the warmest controversy in this House, but still they have been, to a very great extent, questions rather of a local than of a national importance; but of late there have been large groups of questions which have excited very great attention in the minds of Members on both sides of the House, which may be classed under the head of proposals for the representation of minorities, or, as it is called, proportional representation. But it is quite certain that, whenever we come to discuss the question of redistribution, we shall have a great number of proposals with that object and of that character which will demand, and, I do not deny, will require a great deal of consideration, and will occupy a great deal of the time of the House; and, therefore, it is also quite certain that a wholly new and distinct class of questions of a much wider and of a more national importance than those which formerly surrounded the question, have sprung up and have added to the difficulty of dealing with the question of redistribution, and have, of course, added to the difficulty of dealing with the questions of the extension of the franchise and redistribution combined. In these circumstances, the Government had to consider how best they could deal with and carry out a work to which

they were pledged by the promises they had given when they were elected to the present Parliament, and for dealing with which they thought then, and think now, that the time is ripe. They had also to consider how best they could carry into execution that work which they believed could be settled in a spirit of calmness and moderation now, but which, if delayed, might perhaps lead to dangerous excitement, and might have to be finally settled under conditions in which the public temper was not so calm, so moderate, and so judicial on the subject as it now is. It was, in their opinion, impossible, for reasons which I have stated, to carry through in one Session of Parliament a complete measure dealing with both questions; and it was their duty, desiring as they did to make an effort to settle the whole question in one Parliament, not to sacrifice that which they considered an important and essential object to the vain endeavour to do that which might be desirable in itself, but which, under existing conditions, might not be either practicable or possible. The noble Lord has asked what proper opportunities, in the pressing condition of foreign and domestic affairs, Parliament will have to devote to this subject during the next Session? Well, Sir, I think I may adopt the answer of my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright); and I ask, under what condition of foreign, and under what condition of domestic affairs, the Party opposite would consider the time ripe or fit for dealing with any question of Parliamentary Reform? At all events, I think we are entitled, if we are to be met by issues of this character, issues which will, without directly traversing the objects of the Bill, impose conditions upon us which would make our task impossible, to put to them one or two questions. I think we are entitled to ask them whether they do, or do not, now think that the time has come for completing their own work, by extending to the counties the franchise they have given to the boroughs? We may also ask them whether they do, or do not, believe that the anomalies which now exist in the distribution of political power can be permanently maintained; and, if they do not believe that the present distribution of political power can be maintained, we are entitled to ask what

conceivable object can be attained by further delaying the settlement of the question? I will state, in a very few words, how far I think that the demand which the Party opposite make is a reasonable demand. It appears to me that there is in that demand an element of reason. While I have endeavoured to show that the attempt to carry, or even to submit, a complete scheme to the House would be to insure the certain defeat and failure of the measure, I think that the House is entitled to know, not the details, not even the extent of the measure which the Government will propose with regard to redistribution, but the general lines and objects of that measure; and such information was, I think, contained in the speech of my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister. Speaking for myself, I may say that if I believed that the Franchise Bill were introduced merely as a step to prepare the way for a total reconstruction of all our electoral areas, for a total reconstruction which would involve the destruction of the separate political existence of all but the largest cities and counties, by a measure involving the redistribution of political power between the inhabitants of the great cities and the rural populations scattered over areas of great extent—if I believed this, and that an attempt would be made to introduce some uniform system, such as that of equal electoral districts, then I would not be prepared to support this Bill. I certainly have no desire to see introduced into our electoral arrangements either mathematical exactness, or any attempt at theoretical perfection. We have not endeavoured thus to mould our system in the past, and we are not likely to do so in the future. We have made some progress in redressing the unequal conditions of our electoral arrangements; but we have not been restricted to any cut-and-dried system in our attempts in that direction. Take the case of the Metropolis. We have provided some additional representation for its great population, not by creating one vast Metropolitan constituency, and giving to it a large number of Members; but by dividing it into electoral areas, still too large, still inadequately represented, but yet more manageable than would be one great Metropolitan constituency. Take, then, the case of the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and



Lancashire. We have provided, to some extent, for their claims to an increased representation in a manner almost identical; so that we have divided Lancashire and Yorkshire, which 50 years ago were single constituencies, returning to Parliament only two Members each, in the one case into four and in the other into five districts, returning 8 or 10 Members to Parliament. Take, again, the case of some of the great cities. We have met, to some extent, their claims for additional representation by the enfranchisement in some cases of their large suburbs, as was done in respect of Manchester and Newcastle, when electoral representation was conferred upon Salford and Gateshead. Take, again, the method by which the number of seats required in consequence of these changes have been supplied. In some cases we have proceeded by the total disenfranchisement of the smallest boroughs; in other cases by the partial disenfranchisement of some of the larger boroughs; and in other cases by the grouping together of smaller boroughs we have done something to correct the inequalities and anomalies of our electoral system; and similar processes to these will, I conceive, be adopted in the future for the correction of those anomalies which have been brought once more prominently into view, and which, no doubt, have been increased to a large extent by the great enfranchisement of 1867, and which will be, no doubt, to a further extent increased by the greater enfranchisement of 1884. I do not expect that the sketch which has been given by the Prime Minister will satisfy the Opposition that the Government in Office can have any object in proposing electoral changes, except that of perpetuating its own power and serving the interests of its own Party; but I think we may expect that the declaration of the Prime Minister, made with the assent of his Colleagues, will satisfy those who profess to feel confidence in the intentions of the Prime Minister and his Colleagues. It is said that the declaration is the declaration of the Prime Minister alone, and that it is not binding on the Cabinet. As to that, it will not be denied that the Prime Minister is the most powerful Member of the Liberal Party, and that the declaration which he has made of his own intentions on this subject carries with it a weight which

attaches to the declarations of no other man in this House; and, further, I may say that this declaration was made with the assent and concurrence of his Colleagues, not necessarily as embodying the actual definite intentions of the Cabinet—not, perhaps, expressing the personal wishes and desires of every Member of the Cabinet, but still being a declaration generally accepted by, and concurred in by, the Members of the Cabinet. I do not say that the declaration was regarded as embodying everything they might wish to see carried into execution, but as embodying everything that was considered necessary and, under the circumstances, possible. My right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), in his speech on the first reading of the Bill, did not advert to the scheme of redistribution as generally stated to the House by the Prime Minister. I do not conceive that that statement of the Prime Minister would, in any degree, conflict with the opinions of my right hon. Friend; for, although we have unfortunately been at issue with him on questions respecting the franchise, I believe that my right hon. Friend is in complete harmony with the Government, and with the Party generally, upon the necessity of redistribution, and that upon a considerable scale. But my right hon. Friend fastened, with considerable impetuosity, on one point of the Prime Minister's declaration, in which he said that, in his opinion, a reduction of the number of Irish Representatives would not be desirable. Well, Sir, that declaration has also been attacked by the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners), and other hon. Gentlemen who have spoken; but it appears to me that the declaration of the Prime Minister has not been taken as it ought to have been taken—as a whole, and that it conveys a very inadequate idea of that declaration to pick out one particular portion of it for examination, without taking into consideration the rest. My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister said not only that, in his opinion, the number of Representatives of Ireland ought not to be reduced, but he also stated that, in his opinion, the principle of remoteness from the centre of government ought to be taken into consideration, both as regarded Ireland and as regarded Scotland; and he further expressed his opinion that the



easiest, if not altogether the most advantageous, method of meeting the claims of Scotland and the claims of some districts in England for additional representation, would be by some moderate increase in the number of Members of this House. ["No, no!"] That was the opinion which my right hon. Friend expressed. Well, Sir, if the declarations of the Prime Minister are to be quoted or canvassed at all, let them be so treated as a whole. I am not going to maintain that if the two latter propositions, which, as I have stated, were put forward by the Prime Minister, are not accepted by the House, the whole declaration with regard to that part of the question requires reconsideration also. I have said that I do not wish to discuss that part of the subject now; but it appears to me that a somewhat undue importance is attached to the possible reduction of the number of Representatives from Ireland. I can understand that hon. Members who desire to bring representation into the strictest and most accurate form of numbers may be very anxious to see this principle carried out as between England, Scotland, and Ireland; but, certainly, I am not desirous of insisting upon an exact proportion of representation as between the Three Kingdoms. I do not see how it would be possible to stop there. The remaining point to which I have to refer is the question of the extension of the franchise, not only in England and Scotland, but also in Ireland. In my opinion, the inclusion of Ireland may be defended partly, if not entirely, on the same grounds as the extension of the franchise in England and Scotland. As regards legislation affecting the wants and requirements of the people of England and Ireland, I think it is admitted that we have derived great advantage from every successive extension of the franchise, and that the more we have been able to become directly acquainted with the wants of the people as represented by Members in this House, the more have we been able to legislate for the advantage and welfare of the people. Sir, these advantages have been derived in the case of England and Scotland by previous extensions of the franchise. I do not know that there is any reason to doubt, with regard to the representation of Ireland, that results of the same character may be anticipated from placing the

election of Members in the hands of the whole people, instead of in the hands of a limited class. But in England and Scotland we have, by the extension of Parliamentary privileges, obtained more than this. I think that we may say that every successive extension has been accompanied by an increase of contentment and loyalty on the part of the people. I admit that it would be rash to expect that any similar result would follow an extension of the franchise in Ireland. The minds of the people of Ireland have been too much poisoned against the Government of this country to permit us to be sanguine as to such a result. On the contrary, I think it possible, as has been asserted by hon. Members opposite, that the immediate effect—perhaps the permanent effect—of this measure will be to increase the number of that Party which is opposed to the British connection, and which has done, in this and in the late Parliament, its utmost to make Parliamentary government impossible. That may be the result of this measure; but I by no means admit that it will be the certain result of it. Some of us may be inclined to take a more hopeful view of the matter. The Parliamentary constituencies in Ireland are, under existing circumstances, extremely easy of manipulation; and, as has been stated in the course of these debates, in a great number of the Irish constituencies the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and those with whom he acts, are enabled almost to dictate the choice of Members. I am not at all certain that the constituencies, enlarged as is proposed by this Bill, will be quite so easy to manage by one political Party as the existing constituencies; but, however that may be, whatever inconveniences may ensue from an extension of this measure to Ireland, I will ask the House to consider what would be the disadvantages of its exclusion. The exclusion of Ireland from this measure would have this effect—it would perpetuate and intensify almost the only real grievance to which the Irish Representatives can now point, an inequality of political rights as between the Three Kingdoms. Not only so—not only would it confer on those who desire to foster animosity between the two countries that of which they stand most in need—namely, a real grievance; but it

would also give to them that which they have not hitherto had in this country—that is, the support of a large and influential part of the constituencies in England and in Scotland. We have, as it seems to me, by maintaining the existing system in Ireland, and by excluding that country from the measure which we propose for England and Scotland, all the odium and none of the advantages of a restricted constituency. The question which the House has to consider is, whether, to avoid the risk of the election of a few more Members who will act with the Party which at present follows the hon. Member for the City of Cork, it will risk placing in his hands the great advantage of a real grievance, and a large support of the English and Scotch boroughs? In conclusion, I will advert to one other point in regard to Ireland. It is said that if this franchise is conferred on the Irish people, it will then be impossible to pass for Ireland a measure for redistribution of seats which will give a fair representation to the minority in that country. Sir, I deny that altogether, and I know of no reason why any measure or any principle of redistribution, or of the representation of minorities which may be applied to England and Scotland, may not and will not be applied by Parliament also to the case of Ireland. I do not think it can be said of the House that there will be any indisposition to apply to Ireland the same principle which hon. Members contend should be applied to constituencies and minorities in this country. I myself have not been inclined to attach too much importance to the question which is called the representation of the loyal minority in Ireland at all. To do so seems to me to be, to a great extent, to ignore the liberal character of the Legislature, and to admit the existence of separate nationalities. Do what you may to protect and give a voice to the loyal minority of Ireland, it cannot, under existing circumstances, I am afraid, possess a large representation in this House. The real representation of the loyal minority of Ireland is to be found, not in any artificial devices, or by any redistribution in Ireland that you may be able to invent, but in the 550 Members for England and Scotland, the vast majority of whom agree more closely with the minority in Ireland than they do with the majority of the Irish Members

here. The real protection and the real safety of the minority in Ireland will be found in the English and Scotch representation in this House. But I do not believe there will be any unwillingness or any weakness in applying measures of justice to Ireland as well as measures of fairness and of political equality. I do not think past experience confirms the fear that this House is unwilling to mete out justice as well as fairness to the Irish people. We have passed within recent years, in the face of the opposition of one of the great Parties of the House, two measures which we, on this side of the House, believe to be measures not only of fairness but of justice to Ireland, and we have passed, with the consent of both Parties in the House, measures which we believed to be necessary for the maintenance and the security of peace and order in that country; and I see no reason to doubt that in the future, as in the past, we shall continue in the same course. I am convinced, at all events so far as the Liberal Party in this House is concerned, that when they are satisfied that Ireland has been treated with fairness, and has no grievance to complain of in the matter of inequality of political rights, they will be as ready as any other Party here to extend to Ireland full justice in the matter of those alterations which may be required in the redistribution of political power within that country.

Mr. RAIKES: I beg, Sir, to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Raikes*,)—put, and agreed to.

Debate adjourned till Thursday.

#### CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)

BILL.—[*Lords*.]

(*Mr. Dodson*.)

[BILL 120.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Committee on the said Bill be deferred till To-morrow, at Two of the clock."

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked, if the Bill would be taken as the first Order of the Day?

Mr. COURTNEY replied in the affirmative.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: What will be the order of Business to-morrow at 2?

MR. COURTNEY: The Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill will be the first Order; then we shall take the Consolidated Fund Bill, and the Municipal Elections Bill.

Question put, and agreed to.

#### ISLE OF MAN HARBOURS BILL.

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain.*)

[BILL 138.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. J. Holms.*)

MR. WARTON asked for an explanation of the objects of the measure.

MR. J. HOLMS said, that the measure would give extended power for regulating the harbour dues chargeable on vessels sailing between England and Ireland and Ireland and England.

Motion agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Thursday.

#### REAL ASSETS ADMINISTRATION BILL.

(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Warton.*)

[BILL 98.] COMMITTEE.

[*Progress 19th March.*]

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General whether he approved of this measure, which seemed a most extraordinary one?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (SIR FARRER HERSCHELL) said, that he had intended asking the hon. Member in charge of it to explain its object.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that the last time the Bill was before the House he had purposely abstained from doing more than move Mr. Speaker out of the Chair, in order to afford an opportunity to certain hon. Members, whom he understood were interested in the Bill, to put down such Amendments as they might think good. He was informed by the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Davey) that he had examined the Bill, and only proposed to move an Amendment to Clause 2, which

alteration he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) should be prepared to accept. The other Amendments the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch had originally contemplated that hon. and learned Member had embodied in another Bill. As the Amendments to be moved had not been put on the Paper, the Committee would, perhaps, excuse him if he gave a short statement as to the object of the Bill. By the Common Law the debts of a deceased person were primarily chargeable to his personal estate. From the time of Edward I., if a person bound himself and his heirs for the payment of a debt he had contracted, on his death the lands that descended to his heirs were charged as that debt, and they became assets in the hands of the heir for payment; but if the debtor had alienated his lands in his lifetime, or devised them by his will, then the remedy of the creditor, so far as the real property was concerned, was gone. That blot on the law was removed, he thought, in 1691, when the devisee of personal property was made jointly liable with the heir, unless the deceased had, by will, charged the land with payment. For more than a century the matter stood in that way; but, in 1847, Sir Samuel Romilly, after great efforts, managed to pass into law a Bill opening up a series of reforms, in the direction of assimilating the law relating to real property with that relating to personalty. By Sir Samuel Romilly's Act, fee-simple estates were made liable for payments, and the origin was given to the priority of special debts over simple contract debts. In 1830, by the 1st of *Will. IV.*, the law was amended, by allowing the creditor to bring his action against either the legatee or heir; while, at last, in 1833, by an Act of *Will. IV.*—Act 3, chap. 104—known as Lord Romilly's Act, all real estates, freehold or copyhold, were made assets to be administered in equity for the payment of debts; but in that Act, as in the Act of 1826, priority was secured for special debts in preference to simple contract creditors. And so the law remained, until, in 1861, Mr. Joshua Williams declared his opinion that the largest class of cases before the Court was the administration of the estates of deceased persons. In 1869 a most salutary and just measure was passed, through the instrumentality of an hon. Member after whom it was



called Hinde Palmer's Act, which abolished the distinction between special and simple contract debts. So the present state of the law was this—that all property was liable for the payment of the debts of the deceased; but real property was only available by bringing an action in the Court of Chancery. Lord Romilly made real property assets to be administered in equity; and he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) proposed to carry out the principle of that Act by a simpler and less expensive machinery, thereby securing the rights of the creditor. To use the language of a leading Jurist of the day—

"If a man dies intestate and leaves an heir, an infant, or one who declines to concur in the realization of the estate; or if he makes a will without an express charge of debts, the action of Chancery is necessary to enable the estate to be administered for the payment of debts. Even if the will contains a charge of debts, it is often so doubtfully expressed that the executor is compelled to seek the protection of the Court, and often the estate is administered by the Court, and there is nothing to distribute among the creditors."

That was also the statement of a gentleman whose authority on matters of the kind would be admitted by all acquainted with this branch of the Legal Profession, Mr. Barber, in a paper read before the Judicial Society, of which he was President, that—

"A very large proportion of the administrative actions brought in the Chancery Division were brought on behalf of creditors of deceased persons."

Now, he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had consulted the judicial statistics, and he found that of 907 originating summonses taken out in the Chancery Division in 1881-2 no less than 234, or more than 25 per cent, were for the administration of estates of deceased persons. And how did this work? Mr. Barber said the almost invariable rule was that the Court, having made a decree, assumed direction and carried it through until the estate, or what was left of it, was distributed among the creditors who had to prove their debts, and the only reason for coming to the Court at all was to obtain a decree that the real estate was charged. The Court, having seizin of the matter, kept it, and the action ran its usual course; claims were vouched by numerous affidavits, the estate was sold by order of the Court, and when, at last, the chief clerk made

his certificate, the case could be held over for further consideration, and the creditors, after taxation and payment of costs, got a small dividend, or often none. The delay and expense to creditors was enormously out of proportion to the benefit they derived from the intervention of the Court; and it was that intervention of the Court he desired to make unnecessary. Nor was the loss to creditors the only evil. The Chambers of Judges in the Chancery Division were blocked by the mass of administrative business that could be done just as efficiently, more expeditiously, and with far less expense out of Court. Other suitors, whose delicate affairs required to be investigated by the chief clerk before justice could be done, and to whom delay might be of disastrous consequence, were kept waiting, and so this was a question that affected the whole country. The scheme he proposed, to make real estates assets in the hands of the personal representative of the deceased, had been adopted or supported by most of the legal authorities who had addressed themselves to the subject. Some years ago there was a Committee appointed, of which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Judge Advocate General (Mr. Osborne Morgan) was Chairman. Mr. Barber gave important evidence before that Committee, which reported in favour of the scheme now proposed. The hon. and learned Member for Christchurch proposed a scheme, much more drastic, which amounted to an abolition of the Law of Primogeniture; but he (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) did not propose to go anything like so far as that. Most authorities had stated things were not ripe for that; but the measures, he had embodied in the Bill, following closely upon Lord Romilly's Act, were a definite and important step. He was sorry the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Judge Advocate General was not present, for he would be inclined to support the proposal. The hon. and learned Member for Worcester (Mr. McIntyre) was in favour of it, and so, he understood, was the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke); he, therefore, regretted they were not at present. There could be only one class of persons at all disposed to oppose the Bill—those interested in the multiplication of administrative suits. He could understand why solicitors, who had an

extensive business in this line, should be anxious to prevent anything in favour of the great body of suitors, and which would help to clear some of the block in the Chancery business now existing. One thing he might mention in the shape of an alteration—that was, that the Bill should not apply to Scotland; by an oversight he had failed to insert a clause to the effect that the Act should not extend to Scotland. With regard to any Amendments that might be suggested, he would be happy to meet hon. Members on one or two points. Some might think that the question of marshalling estates might be affected by the Bill; but any Amendments to provide that nothing should be construed as affecting the existing law in that respect, or in reference to existing priority, he would be very glad to accept. An Amendment which would provide for the de-vesting of the estate from the executor, when he had discovered there was no ground for retaining the estate for payment of debts, he had no objection to agree to. The only Amendment which he had himself proposed was at the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch, and was the insertion of the words in the eleventh line, after “shall,” “vest in and.”

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, from the clear explanation of the hon. Member (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), he saw the object of the Bill; and, so far as the hon. Member desired simply to avoid the necessity of legal proceedings in the administration of real estates, he was entirely in sympathy with that object; but he could not help thinking the Bill itself would go somewhat beyond that. He meant that real estates should only be charged in regard to debts; that nothing else should be interfered with; that was his object; but the Bill would go further, for it provided in what way estates should be administered, vesting them in the executor. Now, it might be construed as leaving to the executor the choice of the order of the debts. Therefore, he would suggest to the hon. Member that he should consent to report Progress. He (the Solicitor General) had no objection to the original object and purpose of the Bill; and meantime he would confer with the hon. Member as to Amendments to obviate any misconstruction.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he would be happy to agree to that; and he thought, on the last occasion, he conveyed his intention to move to report Progress, to allow of Amendments being placed on the Paper.

Clause 1 agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Monday* next.

## MOTIONS.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS (ENGLAND AND WALES)—CAM SCHOOL.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

COLONEL KINGSCOTE, in rising to call attention to certain provisions in the Scheme framed by the Charity Commissioners for the future management of Cam School, by which the children of the poor will be deprived of advantages they have hitherto enjoyed; and to move—

“That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to withhold Her consent from Sections 28, 32, 33, and 34 of the Scheme now lying upon the Table for the future management of the Charity known as the School founded by Francis Hopton, in the parish of Cam,”

said, he must apologize for the introduction of this subject at an unusually late hour; but his excuse for doing so was that the time for the purpose would shortly expire, and he would be as brief as possible. It might be a small question to the House; but it was not so to those interested. It was a trust, founded in an agricultural village within the constituency he had the honour to represent, in the middle of last century, for the education and clothing of eight boys and eight girls, children of the poor, the number being afterwards increased to 18 of each sex, and 15 years ago £20 was set apart for apprenticeship. The fund increased, and 24 children of each sex were educated, a school built, and a master established. Everything worked well up to a short time ago, and it was still working well, when—he did not know for what reason—the Charity Commissioners intervened. The Trustees, to a certain extent, acquiesced in what the Commissioners proposed, which, three or four years ago, was that the school should be merged into the public elementary school of the village;

there were two other schools, an elementary school and an infant school in the village. The Commissioners proposed that no education should take place at the school which had been working so well; but that scholarships and exhibitions should emanate from this trust, and be given to scholars in any of these schools. The Sub-Commissioners came down, and conferred with the inhabitants, and the people interested, and, to a certain extent, gave way. They would not destroy the school, but it was to be used for boys only. He would not enter broadly into the question how, in his opinion, scholarships and exhibitions took away benefits from the real poor of the parish; there was no doubt they did so. He did not care how the scheme was applied—it did tend to give scholarships to those for whose benefit the trust was not founded. The trust was given to educate and clothe the poor of the parish, and it would be perfectly impossible for the poor to participate in the fruits of the gift if scholarships and exhibitions were given; at any rate, to the extent that those who were not poor could participate in them. Many manufacturing operatives, earning from 25s. to 30s. a-week, had come into the parish, and their children would be in a better position to take the scholarships than the actual poor for whom the trust was intended; and therefore it was that the inhabitants of the parish, almost unanimously—there were only one or two exceptions, the clergyman of the place, a gentleman a great friend of his (Colonel Kingscote's), who was a resident in the parish, and a local magistrate. With the exception of these, he did not think there was anyone in the parish but would say that the school was working very well, and carrying out the objects of its founder, and that if scholarships were to be given the poor would be unable to avail themselves of them. Several conferences had taken place between the Commissioners and the inhabitants of the parish; but the former were immovable. The right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) and himself (Colonel Kingscote) held a conference a short time ago with the Commissioners, who were instigated by the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), and he must say that nothing more unsatisfactory

than that interview possibly could be. The Commissioners gave them no help at all. All they said was—"Here is the scheme, and it must be carried out." The House was in this position with regard to the scheme—it could take off from it, but it could not add to it. He maintained now, as he had maintained all along, that the scheme would take away from the endowment its only chance of reaching the children of the poor. How were exhibitions to be carried out? Why, only by depriving the poor of what had been given to them. Why should not clothing be given to the poor? He would not clothe them in blue coats and yellow shorts and that sort of thing; but he would give them clothing—or, at any rate, if he did not give them clothing, he would give them money. Let the money rest in the hands of the Trustees; but, at any rate, let it be given so that the children who were to take a certain position in the school would have the benefit in after-life of the money that had been left to them. What he asked for—or, rather, what the inhabitants of the parish asked for, and he had taken the matter up for that reason—was that the children of their poor should have a chance of obtaining the free education and the clothing which the founder had intended for their advancement in life. Even those who opposed the carrying out of the original intention of the founder were unanimously agreed with the inhabitants in this one thing—he would not say that there should be apprenticeships, but that the children of the poor should have the opportunity of getting a technical, or what he would like to call a mechanical education. They should have a chance of being put to trades, and made useful members of society. What he asked for was that, as regarded three or four clauses in the scheme, the Commissioners should take it back and make provision for a fund for the purpose of carrying out the original intention of the founder, because, as the proposal now stood, it certainly would not carry out that intention. He had been very much impressed with something that had been brought under his notice since he had put his Motion on the Paper, his attention having been called to it by the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire. It was this—he had observed



that the London School Board—which was undeniably a body of intelligent men—and the inhabitants of this village of Cam might not, perhaps, be accredited with that qualification—had recently been dealing with trusts of this kind. If the House would allow him, he would read three Resolutions passed by the London School Board on the 13th of March. They were—

“1. The Charity Commissioners to be addressed suggesting that a body of Governors should be appointed to organize a system of supplying one or two meals a day and clothing out of the fund arising from trusts left for the destitute poor and indigent children, who are in regular attendance at elementary schools.”

“2. Urging that the funds arising out of the trusts left for apprentices, girls, and boys in Whitechapel should be continued for the original purposes made under the direction of the Governing Body.”

“3. Urging that the trusts left for free elementary education of the poorer classes in Whitechapel should be applied to that purpose, and should not be absorbed for the benefit of the class above that which requires the provision of public elementary schools.”

The first two Resolutions were carried unanimously, but the third was strongly opposed. A division was taken, and there voted 13 for and 13 against the Resolution, which was ultimately defeated by the casting vote of the Chairman. He did not wish to detain the House any longer; but he really considered that what had happened in the London School Board clearly pointed to the object he had in view, which was that the trust fund should be devoted to the purpose for which it was originally intended. He did not think any arguments of his could press more strongly on the House than these Resolutions. Without further comment he would now move the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH  
seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to withhold Her consent from Sections 28, 32, 33, and 34 of the Scheme now lying upon the Table for the future management of the Charity known as the School founded by Francis Hopton, in the parish of Cam.”—(*Colonel Kingscote*.)

MR. COURTNEY said, he very much regretted the absence from the House of the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella). That absence was for reasons which the

right hon. Gentleman had made known to the House; and, no doubt, they all very much regretted that the state of the right hon. Gentleman's health did not allow him to be present. In the absence of the right hon. Gentleman, he (Mr. Courtney) was charged with the defence of the scheme of the Commissioners; but he considered the matter to be one of such simplicity, and so governed by the conduct of the last Government as well as of the present Government since the passing of the Endowed Schools Act, that it would not be a difficult matter for him to persuade the House that the Motion of his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Kingscote) should not be accepted. The question was one which lay in a very small compass. As the hon. and gallant Member had stated, foundations of this kind were originally given for schools attended by small numbers; but those numbers had very largely increased. The boys and girls admitted to the Charity were appointed by nomination, and received their education gratuitously; and of late, in consequence of the increase of the fund, small sums had been applied in apprenticing the children. In the case of these schools, it would be seen, on reference to the terms of the foundations, that admission was by favour, and that the benefits included not merely education, but the clothing of children admitted into them. It had been the policy of the Endowed Schools Commissioners—which policy had been assented to by both sides of the House—to change these free nominations into selections depending on the quality of the boys and girls chosen to enjoy the privileges, and to abolish free gifts of clothes, and to provide instead thereof for some strictly educational purpose. His hon. and gallant Friend opposed that policy, because he thought it taking away from the poor that which was intended for them. To his (Mr. Courtney's) mind, the Commissioners had adopted the policy he had described, with the wisest provision as to what were the wants of the poor. The reason the Endowed Schools Commission had restricted the numbers admitted to the educational advantages of these trusts was that they considered that elementary education in the simplest form should be a charge upon the parents on behalf of their children; and that it was a mistake to take away

from parents that charge. In those cases where it was necessary to supply the wants of elementary education, it must be recognized as distinctly given to those who were unable to obtain it themselves; but, primarily, the duty must be maintained on the parents of providing for the elementary education of their children. The Commissioners held that any charity, however beneficially designed, operated as a gift in aid of wages which was spent in relieving the parent from a part of the cost of living. They conceived, and rightly, that if it was wanted to maintain the working classes, especially the agricultural classes, in an independent condition, and to raise them in their social position, it must not be attempted to relieve them of their necessary burdens. Charities which were devoted to relieving parents from the primary cost of living were held to be far from beneficial. That was the vital principle on which the Charity Commissioners had acted; and the hon. and gallant Gentleman would negative it, notwithstanding that it had been widely applied, and was considered by those who had devoted a great deal of time and care to the matter a principle to the advantage of the poor. The matter was not one of first impression, the advantages of the principle having been found by experience. In the case of Great Wirksworth, free education and clothing was given; but in 1876, under the late Government, the object of the Charity was changed, as in the case of Cam. The scheme had been approved by the late Vice President of the Council, and laid before Parliament and assented to. Similar changes had been made in the case of West Hallam, Redwick, Bentworth, Berkhamstead, and other places, to which he would not refer in detail. The advantages thrown by patronage in the way of certain poor people, by relieving them of the education of their children, had been taken away, and in their place other and better educational advantages had been given. Many hon. Members would remember that, long before 1876—the date to which he had just referred—similar action had been taken. There was a well-known case in 1873 or 1874—a case in Westminster, not very far from the building in which they were. One effect of the General Election of 1874 was to bring under the revision of

a Committee of the House the action of the Endowed Schools Commissioners; and hon. Members would remember that their rules were altered in many respects. In the alterations that were made, however, this particular principle that they were discussing was never attacked, but was always held sacred. The Committee never for a moment thought of challenging the principle as his hon. and gallant Friend did. What was the scheme to which objection was made? Why, it was this—that instead of free gifts to a limited number, chosen by patronage, some 30 scholarships of £3 a-piece were established, to be awarded to boys or girls, the children of parishioners, or of persons having resided three years in the district. The benefits would be conferred on the same class as the recipients of the free gifts, which were to be abolished. Children who were educated in the public elementary schools of Cam, or children in schools in adjoining parishes, whose parents had resided three years in those parishes, were to be eligible for these 30 scholarships. The awards would be given to those who proved themselves the most deserving in the public elementary schools of Cam, and of the adjoining parishes. It was further provided that, instead of apprenticeships, certain sums should be employed in exhibitions from the public elementary schools. That, as the hon. and gallant Member was no doubt aware, was part of almost every scheme which had been prepared under the Endowed Schools Act, and was in accordance with the principle the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had enunciated in bringing in the Bill. If a promising boy or girl, capable of making use of the benefits of education, was found in the elementary schools, he or she would be advanced by this grant. It was said that the scheme was unpopular in Cam; but he had a letter in his hand from a prominent person in the parish who spoke of it in the highest terms, and he thought the Governors of the Charity were unanimous—[“No, no!”]—certainly, as a whole, they were in favour of it. [MR. CAUSTON: There is opposition.] He was instructed, at the Education Office, as a strong point, that the Governors of the Charity were in favour of the scheme. He was not aware that there was anything else



which it was desirable he should say upon the subject, especially at that hour of the night. He thought he had explained to the House that it was a matter which ran on all-fours with other schemes already settled by both sides of the House, and supported by both Houses of Parliament. It was in the power of either House to reject any scheme of the Charity Commissioners, when it was presented to them; but the other House of Parliament had made no objection whatever to this scheme. Notwithstanding the strong opinions which were entertained in regard to education, he was satisfied the House would agree with him that the present scheme was opposed upon grounds which no educational reformer would approve. The change made by the scheme substituted educational advantages and exhibitions for gifts, although, perhaps, exhibitions of £40 or £50 might be considered to be in excess of the requirements of the school. With respect to that part of the scheme—as, indeed, with respect to any other—he might point out that the Charity Commissioners had power, under the scheme itself, to make alterations in it from time to time on such points as they deemed to be necessary; and if it should appear that these provisions for exhibitions were in excess of the requirements of the school, it would be in the power of the Charity Commissioners, and it would also be their duty, to amend the scheme in that respect; but, as a whole, he confidently recommended the House to adopt the scheme.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he thought it was hardly possible, under the Rules to which the Business of the House was subjected, for such attention to be directed to schemes of this nature as those who were interested in them desired. For instance, how could they discuss, at a quarter to 2 in the morning, a scheme which not only affected this particular locality, but was one in which a great many parishes throughout the country were indirectly interested, seeing that it would govern the action of the Charity Commissioners in regard to questions of very great importance affecting other localities? The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) had spoken of a certain vital principle which, according to the hon. Gentleman, was to govern all future action in matters of this kind.

He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) must say that, if it were known in the country that the doctrines of the hon. Gentleman with regard to the evils of free education—when the means for providing that free education were absolutely left by the charitable founder—were to govern the future action of Her Majesty's Government and the Charity Commissioners, he did not think Her Majesty's Government would obtain much additional popularity from the fact. He would appeal to hon. Members who sat on the other side of the House, who had often expressed their strong liking for a system of free education all over the country at the expense of the ratepayers or of the country at large, how they could reconcile it to themselves to support a scheme by which this very free education, provided for the poor of a parish by the founder, was taken away, in order to allow the endowments hitherto applied to it to be applied for the benefit of those who were really never intended to obtain advantage from the Charity at all? That, he contended, would be the real effect of the present scheme. [MR. COURTNEY: No, no!] He maintained that it would be. It was all very well to talk about the intentions of the Charity Commissioners in abolishing patronage. He did not stand up there to defend the retention of patronage; but he did think that the benefit of these endowments should, in some way or other, be confined to the children of the poor, who were intended to be benefited by them. That, however, was not so under the provisions of the present scheme.

MR. COURTNEY said, the scholarships would be applied to the benefit of the poor children.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, the hon. Member told them that the scholarships were only to be applied to the benefit of the poor children attending the elementary schools. Now, he was well acquainted with a grammar school in his own neighbourhood—as a matter of fact, he was one of the Governors of it—in which the number of pupils had been much diminished within the last five years on account of the excellence of the elementary school in the same parish, and the smallness of the fees charged there, the result being that the children of shopkeepers and artisans earning high wages attended the ele-



mentary school instead of the grammar school, as would be the case in the parish for which the scheme they were now considering had been framed; and what he maintained was that the children of persons in that class of life would thus be able to compete for the exhibitions and educational advantages of this Charity upon unfair terms with the children of an agricultural labourer earning only 11s. or 12s. per week. In that way the children of the poor, who were intended to be benefited by these endowments, would be altogether deprived of the advantages to which they were entitled. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury had stated that in former years schemes similar to this had been sanctioned by Parliament; but he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) did not think that the attention of the country had been called to the matter in the past, as it was being in the present, and as it would be even more in the future, judging from the action of the London School Board, to which the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote) had already alluded. And he believed that where the Charity Commissioners had dealt with endowments as they were proposed to be dealt with under the present scheme, those endowments had been much more in the nature of grammar schools than the endowment of this school was. This was an elementary school for the children of the poor; and he was convinced of this—that if a scheme of this kind was to be framed for every rural parish throughout the country wherever such a school as this had existed, there would be an universal outcry against such a policy. What had happened in this case? The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury said the Governors of the school were unanimously in favour of the scheme. Now, what occurred was this—the Governors, actuated by the vicar of the parish, were anxious that this charity school should be included in calculating the elementary school accommodation of the parish, and asked to have the school inspected by a Government Inspector. The Charity Commissioners, upon that request being made to them, proposed to abolish the school altogether, and to devote the endowments to the establishment of scholarships and exhibitions to be obtained by the children educated in the

parish elementary schools. Now, these exhibitions which the Charity Commissioners proposed to found were, in the opinion of everyone in the parish, including those whom the hon. Gentleman had quoted as being in favour of the scheme, absolutely unsuited to the circumstances of the parish. The children of the parish belonged mainly to the lower class, and they did not require to go to any school which could be regarded as a school of higher education, nor could a place of technical training be found within any reasonable distance of the parish. What was wanted was that the funds of this Charity should be devoted in the future, as they had been in the past, to a certain extent, in supplying mechanical training to the children; or, in other words, apprenticing them to those trades by means of which they would be able to earn their livelihood. He hoped that the House, even at that hour of the morning, would consider the views entertained by the poor people in this country parish, who believed that this scheme of the Charity Commissioners would take away from them property which was as much theirs as the property of the richest in the land, and would devote it to the advantage of those for whom it was never intended.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, he was sure that the thanks of the country, and especially of the rural population of the country, were due to the hon. and gallant Member for West Gloucestershire (Colonel Kingscote) for having brought this matter forward. He thought the Cam School scheme ought to be regarded as a typical case—as an example of what was occurring throughout the country. He had been somewhat surprised to hear the doctrine which had been laid down by his hon. Friend on the Front Bench (Mr. Courtney). His hon. Friend said that to give free primary education to children was demoralizing. [MR. COURTNEY: No!] His hon. Friend certainly used words to that effect; but he (Mr. Collings) would ask why they did not apply the same doctrine to the great endowments which had been enjoyed for centuries by the wealthy classes? He was anxious to learn what form demoralization took. It would appear that it did not occur only in the case of poor men, earning their 10s. or 12s. per week. He con-

tended that charity was not the right word to apply to these endowments. Property was the right word, and they only misled themselves and confused the question when they supposed that they were dispensing charity. The right of these people to the endowments were as much their right as that which hon. Members themselves possessed to any property they held. In these days, when confiscation was talked so much about, and especially when they remembered what it was they had been discussing only that night—namely, the extension of the political power of the people—was it not a bad example to place before the people, in the fact that they were taking away from the poor, against their will and against their remonstrances, property of which they believed themselves to be, and which all who had gone into the question knew them to be, the rightful owners? He was not contending that no reform was necessary in regard to these matters. He thought that reform was absolutely necessary; but confiscation was not reform. He could show them a dozen ways in which they might spend the money in these poor districts for the benefit of the children, if they decided that doles and such-like charitable contributions were not a good form of expenditure. They might reform the manner in which the people enjoyed these gifts, without taking the property away from them altogether and placing it in the hands of the middle classes. The policy of the Charity Commissioners, in fact, was this—to take away this property from the poor, in order to establish what was called middle class schools, very often only good elementary schools, *plus* exclusiveness, for which the pupils had to pay so much per week. This sop of giving a certain number of scholarships to the poorer classes was a mere pretence of doing them good. His hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury said that a number of these schemes had not been objected to before, and that the proposal they were now considering had been applied to other schools without any opposition being raised to it in the House of Commons.

MR. COURTNEY said, he had not said that. What he had said was that the principle involved in this scheme had been supported again and again in that House; and he had intimated that

in the Westminster Schools scheme the objections which were raised were overruled.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, that, in answer to the remark of his hon. Friend, he might say that, about 12 months ago, strong objection was raised to the scheme for the City of London School, and also for the school in connection with Emmanuel Hospital. There were other schools which had also been objected to. What he contended was that the principle had not hitherto been properly understood by the House. The poor had submitted to the injustice with which they had been treated, as, indeed, they invariably had to do; and they had no help unless somebody helped them outside. A scheme was laid on the Table, and by mere lapse of time, if nobody objected, it became law. He would mention the instance of Scarning, a village in Suffolk. That place had for 300 years enjoyed free education. The Charity Commissioners put on a fee of 2*d.*, which fee was actually proposed to be employed for the establishment of scholarships for the middle classes. Well, what was the consequence? There had been a positive rebellion in that parish since the proposal had been carried out, and only a month or two ago the poor people of the locality refused to send their children to their own school, because they felt it an injustice to have to pay the fees; and at the present time they were making use of the Nonconformist chapel in the parish for their educational purposes. They had been told by his hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury that the vicar, in the case of Cam School, approved of the scheme of the Charity Commissioners; but the Vicar of Scarning, Dr. Jessop, had been loud in his denunciation of the act of the Charity Commissioners. He was told that the same thing was going on in regard to Horsham at the present moment. That scheme would come before the House, and, in answer to the objections which had been urged to it, the Charity Commissioners stated that the endowments they had taken had been taken mostly to be given for the benefit of the poor. The action of the Commissioners had been met with a strenuous opposition. The Commissioners went on to say that they considered the rights of the poor were sufficiently safeguarded by the es-



establishment of scholarships obtainable by scholars in the elementary schools, and they held that to be a sufficient compliance with the obligations imposed upon them. Hon. Members knew very well that that was a mere farce. He might refer to another case. For 300 years a great school had been enjoyed in Birmingham by the rich and middle classes respectively. He had seen the pupils riding to the school in their carriages, or on horseback; while the poorer classes had not even one of the crumbs that fell from that educational table. [An hon. MEMBER: No!] He was speaking of what he knew. He was one of the Governors of the school, and he thought he was entitled to know something about the case. That state of things went on, until when? When the Act of 1870 established elementary teaching the children of the poor, for the first time, had the power and opportunity of entering into that school. What happened? The Charity Commissioners placed a fee upon the school, upon the same miserable excuse of securing a certain number of scholarships for the humbler pupils from the elementary schools. He thought these cases showed that this was the policy which the Charity Commissioners pursued throughout the country; and he was inclined to think that there was an obligation laid upon the House of Commons to protect those who had not the power to protect themselves. The persons who were most affected met and protested against the action of the Charity Commissioners; but the thing, nevertheless, went on. He could imagine no plan by which they were more likely to anger and sour the poorer classes of the rural districts than by this sort of action. They often heard of setting class against class; but where could they find a more fruitful source of evil in that respect than in the promulgation of schemes like this? In saying this, he admitted the absolute necessity of reforming these Charities. Anyone who went into these poor districts and saw the condition of the people would be of that opinion. The case stood thus—there were certain incomes derived from property left for certain purposes. If it were found that the manner in which this property was spent was not in accordance with modern ideas, or if the property were applied in such a way as to do the poor people no good,

it was within the duty and the power of the Government and that House to alter this. But it was right that the poor people should enjoy their property in some form or other, and he could find many ways in which this could be secured to them. The fact that elementary education was now supplied out of the rates and taxes might be a reason for closing primary schools of the character he was speaking of; but it was no reason why the poor people should not have the benefit of their property in some other way. He trusted the Government would put its foot on this irresponsible legislation.

Mr. CAUSTON said, he was very well acquainted with the parish of Cam, which he had visited at least once a year for the last 20 years, and therefore knew something of the feelings of the inhabitants with regard to this scheme. Where his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Kingscote) obtained his information he was unable to tell; but he (Mr. Causton) was satisfied that the opposition to the scheme did not come from the Trustees, except as to Clause 33. The clergy, Nonconformist ministers, and chief occupiers in the parish, who were, presumably, best able to judge of what was required for educational purposes in the parish, were in favour of the scheme, the opposition to which came from a Committee who told the people that their children were going to be robbed of their clothes. The population of Cam was 1,800; the average school attendance 300; and the income of the Hopton Trust, after deducting outlay for repairs and other matters, was £205, of which £102 was spent on education, £83 on clothes, and the rest on furniture. This scheme threw open to 300 children what was now given to 36; the Governing Body had been changed, and was now of a more or less representative character. There was not the least ground for saying that the scheme would take away the benefits which belonged to the poor and give them to another class; on the contrary, it extended the benefits to those who most deserved them. Out of a population of 1,800 at Cam, there were 1,700 persons who earned weekly wages; and, with the exception of one manufacture, the whole population belonged to the agricultural class. There were 20 farmers in the district, who, if they were over-



taken by distress in bad times, might possibly make use of the school, as they had a right to do; and he knew his hon. and gallant Friend would have no wish to deprive distressed farmers of that advantage. The only alteration desired was with regard to Clause 33. It was the general wish that, instead of giving exhibitions, the Trustees should have power, from time to time, to apprentice children. If his hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) could see his way to meet the object of his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Kingscote) to that extent, he (Mr. Causton) was convinced he would thereby satisfy the reasonable requirements of the parishioners of Cam, and do everything that would make the scheme of the Commissioners acceptable.

MR. DUCKHAM said, he fully endorsed the opinions expressed by the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and, knowing the difficulties in the way of carrying out the scheme, should certainly support the Motion before the House.

MR. MONTAGUE GUEST said, he would support the Motion of his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Kingscote), on the principle that the Commissioners launched these schemes on the country against the wishes of the people. Notwithstanding that these schemes were often opposed, they were constantly being put forward. As he thought the Charity Commissioners had enormous powers—greater powers than they ought to have—he should certainly support the proposal of his hon. and gallant Friend.

MR. BRYCE said, he would call attention to the fact that the Charity Commissioners were only carrying out the principles and directions laid down in the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, which had been proposed by the Liberal Government of that day, accepted and carried out by the succeeding Conservative Government, and repeatedly affirmed in that House. If the House should, at that hour—2.30 A.M.—disapprove the scheme in question, it would introduce hopeless confusion in respect of the carrying out of the Act, one of the most beneficial that had been passed in our time.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 49; Noes 53: Majority 4.—(Div. List, No. 51.)

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (POOR LAW) BILLS.

On Motion of Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL, Bill to confirm certain Orders of the Local Government Board under the provisions of "The Divided Parishes and Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876," as amended and extended by "The Poor Law Act," 1879," relating to the parishes of Alton-Barnes, &c., ordered to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES DILKE.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 147.]

#### (NO. 2)—BOVEY-TRACEY, &C.

Ordered to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES DILKE.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 148.]

#### (NO. 3)—ASHILL, &C.

Ordered to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES DILKE.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 149.]

#### (NO. 4)—BELCHALWELL, &C.

Ordered to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES DILKE.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 150.]

#### (NO. 5)—ACTON, &C.

Ordered to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES DILKE.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 151.]

#### (NO. 6)—ASHEN, &C.

Ordered to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES DILKE.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 152.]

#### (NO. 7)—ABBERLEY, &C.

Ordered to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES DILKE.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 153.]

#### (NO. 8)—ABERGWILLY, &C.

Ordered to be brought in by Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL and Sir CHARLES DILKE.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 154.]

#### MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT (1882) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir RICHARD CROSS, Bill to amend the 16th section of "The Married Women's Property Act, 1882," ordered to be brought in by Sir RICHARD CROSS and Mr. HINDE PALMER.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 155.]

#### LAND (PERPETUAL GRANTS) BILL.

On Motion of Sir JOHN JENKINS, Bill to provide for the granting of Leases subject to a

Perpetual Rent-charge, ordered to be brought in by Sir JOHN JENKINS and Mr. POWELL.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 156.]

House adjourned at a quarter after Two o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday, 25th March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Consolidated Fund (No. 1) \*; Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment \* (43).

Committee—Report—Valuation (Metropolis) Amendment \* (31).

PARLIAMENT—THE ADJOURNMENT FOR THE EASTER RECESS.

### QUESTION.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE (CHAIRMAN of COMMITTEES) asked whether the Government could give any information as to when the House would rise for the Easter Holidays?

EARL GRANVILLE said, that he would propose that their Lordships should adjourn on Friday, April 4, and meet again on Monday, the 21st.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

The Duke of BEDFORD chosen Speaker in the absence of The LORD CHANCELLOR and the Lords Commissioners.

### CONSOLIDATED FUND (NO. 1.) BILL.

Read 1<sup>a</sup>; and to be read 2<sup>a</sup> on *Thursday* next (*The Earl Granville*); and Standing Order No. XXXV. to be considered on *Thursday* next in order to its being dispensed with.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, to *Thursday* next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday, 25th March, 1884.*

The House met at Two of the clock.

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Withdrawn*—London, Reigate, and Brighton Railway.\*

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Trustee Churches (Ireland) \* [157].

Committee—Contagious Diseases (Animals), [120], debate adjourned.

*Third Reading*—Consolidated Fund (No. 1), and passed, with a New Title.

## QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. M'CORKELL, CROWN PROSECUTOR FOR TYRONE.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. M'Corkell is to be retained in the service of the Government as Crown Prosecutor of the county Tyrone?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, there appeared to be some misapprehension as to the nature of the position of a Crown Prosecutor. It was not an office. It meant that the Attorney General gave directions to the Crown Solicitor to send briefs, in cases prosecuted by the Crown, to the gentlemen designated; and, as a matter of course, the direction so given was not interfered with by succeeding Attorney Generals, so long as the duties were efficiently discharged, and no occasion arose for a change. Mr. M'Corkell was assigned in that way by the late Government to prosecute for the county of Tyrone, and he had discharged his duty efficiently and honestly. [Mr. BIGGAR: Oh!] He was speaking of the opinion of the Attorney General as to the manner in which Mr. M'Corkell discharged his duties as Crown Prosecutor. The Attorney General had no doubt he would continue to discharge his duties in the future in the same manner. While he considered that Mr. M'Corkell had acted within his discretion in attending at the Corporation Hall at Derry, on the 1st of November, he did not consider he ought to interfere with the gentleman's employment as Crown Prosecutor.

MR. HEALY: Does the right hon. Gentleman consider that the associate of a gang of murderers, one of whom was convicted of an attempt to murder, is a fit and proper person to hold briefs in the county Tyrone, and to prosecute Orangemen?

[No reply.]

POOR RATES—RAILWAY BOOK-STALLS.

MR. HEALY asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether,

when the promised Local Government Bill is introduced, he will be prepared to amend the section of the Public Health Act which defines property liable to be rated in such a way as to bring Railway book-stalls within the definition?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, in reply, said, that under the Public Health Act, only such property as was assessable to the poor rate could be assessed to a general district rate. It was held by the Court of Appeal, in a case which came before the Court in November, 1882, that the occupier of a railway book-stall was not liable to be assessed to the poor rate. When a Bill was prepared to alter the law of rating, the question whether such occupations as those referred to should be made liable to assessment would be considered.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — OVER-PRESSURE IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

MR. JACKSON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is true that inquiries have been made through the Inspectors as to the alleged existence of over-pressure in Elementary Schools; and, if so, whether he is in a position to state generally the tenour of the replies?

MR. MUNDELLA: Yes, Sir; we have consulted Her Majesty's Inspectors as to the alleged existence of over-pressure in Elementary Schools; and the overwhelming weight of evidence shows that, so far as the children and the requirements of the Code are concerned, it does not exist. We are, however, satisfied that cases of over-pressure may occur under any Code that could be devised; and we have taken every possible precaution against this in the Code which now lies on the Table. We are, however, confirmed in our opinion that the reduction of the hours of teaching by female pupil-teachers was absolutely necessary, and we should be glad if still further relief could be given to them. I would remind the House that I have caused every complaint of over-pressure alleged to be due to the Code to be inquired into, and in every instance the case has broken down.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked if the right hon. Gentleman intended to publish the Reports of the Inspectors as they were received?

MR. MUNDELLA said, in all cases of special investigation the details would certainly be published.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: But the Reports of the Inspectors, will they be published?

MR. MUNDELLA: Certainly not. They are confidential documents made to the Department, very often reflecting on managers. It would not be conducive to the work of the Department to publish them.

#### THE IRISH PRIVY COUNCIL—THE VETERINARY STAFF.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Whether, out of twenty-eight members of the Irish Privy Council Veterinary Staff, seventeen are Englishmen or Scotchmen, and that only one is a Catholic; and, if he will state how those gentlemen are appointed?

MR. TREVELYAN: The official records afford no means of answering the inquiry as to the nationality and religious professions of the Veterinary Staff. The appointments are made by the Lord Lieutenant, and regard is had only to personal fitness.

#### BOARD OF INLAND REVENUE (IRELAND).

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the fact that Ireland has lost one collector, one clerk, six supervisors, thirty division officers, and fifty-seven ride officers since 1879, making a total of ninety-five men, at salaries averaging £17,256 per annum, owing to Revenue re-arrangements; and, if he will have any objection to furnish a Return of Disbursements for Inland Revenue purposes for the last four years, showing England, Ireland, and Scotland separately?

MR. COURTNEY: The figures given by the hon. Member are approximately correct. The Board of Inland Revenue lose no opportunity of making economies in the cost of collecting the Revenue wherever and whenever it may be possible to do so. It is practically impossible to state separately, with any approach to accuracy, the cost of the collection of Revenue in the Three Kingdoms. I observe, however, from a recent Return, that the amounts spent in Ireland and Scotland respectively in the collection of the Inland Revenue are



nearly proportionate to the amount of Revenue collected.

#### THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY— AGE OF CADETS.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any alterations are contemplated in the conditions of admission to cadetships in the Royal Irish Constabulary, especially with regard to age; and, whether there are at present many vacancies?

MR. TREVELYAN: The present limits are 21 years, which is the lowest, and under 26 years, which is the highest, for gentlemen not being sons of Constabulary officers. For gentlemen who are the sons of Constabulary officers the minimum limit of age is 19 years. It is not contemplated to make any change with regard to the minimum limit; but I am considering whether the maximum age is not too high. I am in communication with the Department in Dublin. No other changes are contemplated. I may say, however, that I have endeavoured to introduce a system of examination at stated periods instead of examinations at irregular intervals, as previously. I do not, however, think it at all probable that there will be an examination before December next, and I doubt if there will be one before June, 1885. An exceptionally large number of vacancies occurred last year, owing to the effect of the Constabulary (Ireland) Amendment Act of the previous Session.

#### LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—WELSH JURIES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is true, as stated in *The Liverpool Mercury* of the 6th ult., that more than half the jurors at the Anglesey Assizes did not understand English—

"In consequence of which those that did were obliged to explain to the others, and expatiate on the evidence pro and con, in the vernacular;"

whether the juries had to retire into a cupboard to consider their verdicts, and, there being no gas in the cupboard, two farthing candles were brought in and deposited on the floor; and, if these allegations are well founded, whether any assurance can be given that interpreters and suitable accommodation will be provided in future?

*Mr. Courtney*

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, it was true that there were inconveniences in connection with the administration of justice in Wales, on account of the fact that some persons did not understand the English language; but in all those cases interpreters were employed. He was, however, informed that the state of things now was much better than it was in former days. In regard to the latter part of the Question, all that the hon. Member had said was well founded. The accommodation provided at Anglesey, and which had been provided ever since 1614, was not only insufficient, but positively shocking. He hoped that after the lapse of two and a-half centuries those responsible locally for those matters would, now that attention had been drawn to them, do something to improve the accommodation.

#### HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE (PROVINCIAL SITTINGS) BILL.

MR. SLAGG asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether, as the Government are unable to support the High Court of Justice (Provincial Sittings) Bill, any steps are being taken with regard to the statement made by him, that—

"The Lord Chancellor was now engaged earnestly considering how far arrangements might be made whereby the expenditure of the judicial strength in localities where it was not required might be removed and applied to the more populous districts of the Country?"

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, that the subject was under consideration.

#### PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882 (PROCLAMATIONS).

MR. ARCHDALE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the attention of the Government had been called to the charges of the Judges in the Counties of Fermanagh, Derry, Tyrone, and Armagh, animadverting on the absence of crime and quiet peaceable state of those counties, which contain more Orangemen than all the rest of Ireland, and for what reason Lord Spencer has proclaimed those counties?

MR. TREVELYAN: These counties were proclaimed under the 8th section of the Prevention of Crime Act, so that any cases of rioting which might occur

could be dealt with summarily under its provisions. The general state of crime referred to in the Charges of Judges would not come within the motives which induced the Government to proclaim those counties. Those motives were that in cases where riots had occurred considerable doubt was felt as to the tribunal by which the cases would be tried on account of the supposed partiality of the Justices.

MR. SEXTON: How does the right hon. Gentleman reconcile the statement he has just made with the proclamation of the County Louth, where no case of riot whatever has occurred?

[No reply.]

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS AT ANNAKISSY, MALLOW—INTIMIDATION BY A LANDLORD.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a notice in the following terms, served on Patrick Cotter and other tenants on the property of Mr. Hamilton, at Annakissy, near Mallow, with respect to the pending election of Poor Law Guardian for that division:—

"Ballyfree, Glenealy, county Wicklow,  
"11th March 1884.

"Patrick Cotter,—Mr. Hamilton hopes and expects you will vote for John Buckley, as Poor Law Guardian. I will expect to hear that you will do so. Your friend, R. Smyth Dickson.

"Mr. Hamilton and I have requested Mr. Roche to let us know you vote;"

whether Mr. Dickson is the landlord's agent, and Mr. Roche the sub-agent; whether he is aware that some of the tenants so noticed owe arrears of rent, and are thus in the power of the landlord, and that Patrick Cotter has declared that, in consequence of the notice, he will be obliged, against his will, to vote for Mr. Buckley; whether he is aware that, since receipt of the above notice, and while the voting paper for the election was in his house, Patrick Cotter received a solicitor's letter demanding sixty-one pounds, arrears of rent, at the suit of the landlord; whether steps will be taken to prosecute, under the Intimidation Clause of the Prevention of Crime Act, the persons responsible for suggesting, writing, serving, or enforcing the notice; whether the Mr. Roche who is charged with seeing that the tenants obey the direction

of the landlord was a Sub-Commissioner under the Land Act, and, as a Justice of the Peace, signed a protest against the dismissal of Lord Rossmore; and, what notice will be taken of his conduct? The hon. Member further asked, without Notice, whether it was true that the sub-agent was present during the counting of the votes?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, the hon. Member must imagine he had the power of ubiquity if he supposed that Question could be answered without Notice. With regard to the Question on the Paper, it was the fact that three tenants had received such communications, and that two of them were in arrear, and that one had received a solicitor's letter. He had on a previous occasion stated, in answer to the hon. Members for Cork (Mr. Deasy) and Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) on the one hand, and the noble Lord the Member for Down (Lord Arthur Hill) and Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) on the other, that the Government did not think these a class of cases the Prevention of Crime Act was intended to meet. He intended to bring the conduct of Mr. Roche, who was a Justice of the Peace, before the notice of the Lord Chancellor.

SPAIN—COMMERCIAL NEGOTIATIONS.

MR. SLAGG asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can afford any information as to the pending Commercial negotiations with Spain, and the contingent trade arrangements at the Port of Gibraltar?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government are awaiting the action of the Spanish Government on the Protocol of the 1st of December, 1883. Any arrangement between the two Governments with respect to trade at Gibraltar will form part of the negotiations to be carried on after the Protocol has received the sanction of the Spanish Legislature.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—CORK DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUM—DISPOSAL OF DECEASED PATIENTS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that subjects for dissection are supplied to the Queen's College, Cork, from the Cork District Lunatic Asylum; and, if so, whether it

has been done with the sanction of the Board of Governors; and, if such be the case, what was the total number supplied during the College Sessions 1881-2 and 1882-3, and the average expense of each?

MR. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member is, no doubt, aware that the difficult subject of the supply of anatomical subjects for the purposes of Schools of Anatomy is strictly regulated by statute, and that Inspectors of Anatomy are appointed to insure that the law is complied with. The rules for the management of district lunatic asylums require that on the death of a patient immediate notice should be given to the relatives of the deceased, in order that the body may be removed for interment. In the case of unclaimed bodies only the Governors have authority to authorize anatomical examinations if they see fit. In all cases remains are subsequently removed for interment in consecrated ground, as required by the statute, and certificates to that effect forwarded by the Inspector of Anatomy. I have satisfied myself that the law is fully complied with at Cork. But the subject is one with regard to which the law, while requiring for the protection of the public that particulars shall be regularly laid before Government, does not require the publication of details; and I do not think details should be given in Parliament. I trust the hon. Member will not press his inquiries.

MR. HEALY asked, whether he was right in understanding that the right hon. Gentleman declined to say whether the bodies of these unfortunate deceased Irish lunatics were given over for dissection? He presumed that the right hon. Gentleman considered such a practice scandalous.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether the Cork District Lunatic Asylum receives any money consideration for the bodies of lunatics?

MR. HEALY: Hear, hear! Skin 'em alive! ["Order!"]

[No reply.]

#### EXCISE—FOREIGN-BOUND SHIPS' STORES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the law that a master of a merchant vessel,

bound foreign, leaving an Irish port, and having to call at another Irish, or a British port, for orders or otherwise, before proceeding on his voyage, is not allowed to take on board the ship's stores of excisable articles unless at the port he clears out from; or whether he may take the stores on board at the former port on condition that they remain under seal until after he has cleared out?

MR. COURTNEY: As I understand the case put by the hon. Member, the vessel would be allowed, under conditions, to take on board dutiable goods at any British port, provided the clearance is for a foreign port. Of course, English and Irish ports are all equally "home" ports.

#### EGYPT—BRITISH OFFICIALS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will have any objection to lay upon the Table a Statement showing, for each year, the amount of the Salaries and Emoluments drawn from Egyptian Revenues by British Officials since the 1st May 1880?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir Evelyn Baring will be instructed to send home a statement for presentation to Parliament, containing the statistics asked for by the hon. Member, with regard to British subjects and other foreigners also in the employment of the Egyptian Government.

#### DOMINION OF CANADA—THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN asked Mr. Attorney General, If he will lay upon the Table, and cause to be circulated, Copy of the Bill now pending in the Parliament of the "Dominion of Canada," which provides for the political enfranchisement of women possessing the qualifications fixed for men; and, also Copy of the Ordinance passed by the "House of Keys" of the Isle of Man, which provides for the political enfranchisement of women?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR HENRY JAMES): Sir, I do not know why the hon. Member has selected me to answer this Question.

SIR EDWARD WATKIN explained that he had asked the hon. and learned Gentleman because his name was on the back of the Representation of the People

*Mr. Healy*



Bill, and as the Prime Minister was absent.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he saw no reason why the printing of these documents should be gone into. Any private person could have access to them.

THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR ACT, 1879.

#### RULES OF DEBATE.

MR. MONK: I beg to ask Mr. Attorney General, Whether it is true—

“That no single action has been taken by the Law Officers of the Crown in order to put the Act of 1879 (the Public Prosecutor's Act) properly in force, and that the operation of the Act has been left entirely without the guidance of the Attorney General;”

and, if it is so, whether he would explain why such is the case?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I am not sorry that the hon. Gentleman has given me an opportunity of answering the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) on Friday last—

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I beg pardon for interrupting. I must rise to Order. The Question put down on the Paper is a verbatim quotation from a speech delivered in a debate on Friday last; and I want to know whether it is not directly contrary to the Rules of the House?

MR. ONSLOW: On that point I beg to point out that the Clerk at the Table has on more than one occasion prohibited me from putting a Question because I had put in it a quotation from a speech made in debate in exactly the same way. I would ask you, Sir, whether there should not be some symmetry in the conduct of the Clerk?

MR. SPEAKER: If a verbatim report has been quoted in the Question in the manner referred to by the noble Lord, it is out of Order.

MR. MONK: Then I would beg to withdraw the Question, and to ask my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General, whether it is true that no action has been taken by the Law Officers of the Crown? [“Order!”] The Speaker will stop me if I am not in Order. I wish to ask the hon. and learned Attorney General whether it is true that the operations of the Public Prosecutor's Act have been left entirely without his guidance?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: That is exactly the same thing.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I will answer the Question very shortly. The facts are these. When I came into Office I found certain Rules drawn up for my guidance by my Predecessor, which had been approved of and bore the signature of the then Secretary of State for the Home Department, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross). I have considered those Rules very carefully, and they seem to me the best that could be drawn up as applied to the limited staff at the disposal of the Public Prosecutor. I have considered them from time to time, and when I have given special directions to the Director of Public Prosecutions, I have consulted him whether the rules required alteration, but found such was not the case.

MR. WARTON: Has the hon. and learned Gentleman ever considered the subject with regard to the extension of the staff of *employés* in the Public Prosecutor's Office?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): The whole matter is under consideration. I have considered it in conjunction with my right hon. and learned Friend the Home Secretary; and we have thought it better that a Departmental Committee should be appointed to inquire into the subject mentioned by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton).

MR. R. H. PAGET: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman be good enough to lay on the Table the instructions which have been issued in regard to the employment of the Public Prosecutor in cases of indictment for perjury?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): No instructions have been given by me; but I see no objection to making public any instructions that may be given.

#### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—THE CHELSEA LIBERAL ASSOCIATION.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been drawn to a circular issued from the offices of the Chelsea Liberal Association to every elector in the borough, inviting subscriptions to a fund to be raised for the purpose of returning the Right hon. Sir

Charles Dilke and J. F. B. Firth, esq., free of expense; which circular is accompanied by a printed form of cheque, and a stamped and directed envelope; whether he is aware that the expense of such a circular would amount to over £150; whether such sum of money would have to be included in the election expenses return, under the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act; whether the treasurers mentioned in the circular who receive, and the persons who pay, any sums of money on account of the election expenses of Sir Charles Dilke and J. F. B. Firth, esq., will, under the 28th section of the 47th and 48th Vic. c. 51, be guilty of an illegal practice; whether he is aware that the circular is signed, amongst others, by a Lord of the Treasury and by the Vice President of the Council; and, what steps he proposes to take should it be found that the signatories of the circular have committed an offence against the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act?

MR. FIRTH: Before my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General answers the Question, perhaps I may be permitted to make a personal explanation. The necessary effect of the Question of the noble Lord is to make the subscription a success. It has consequently been suggested that the Question has been asked at my suggestion. ["Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: If the hon. and learned Gentleman desires to make a personal explanation he is at liberty to do so; but he is not entitled to make a speech. He must confine himself within the limits of an explanation.

MR. FIRTH: I only wish to say that there is no ground whatever for that statement with regard to the circular. I wish to say that I have no knowledge of the circular having been issued, and that I have not seen it—in fact, I was not aware that it had been issued, and I do not know who has signed it; but I think it is a very useful circular.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): With regard to the circular, I think we may assume that the statements of the noble Lord are correct—I mean on this occasion.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I rise to Order. I beg, Mr. Speaker, to call your attention to the fact that an offensive expression has been used by

the hon. and learned Attorney General towards my noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). The hon. and learned Gentleman stated that it may be assumed that the facts as stated by the noble Lord are correct "on this occasion." I wish to ask you, Sir, if a Member of Her Majesty's Government has any special prerogative to insult other Members of this House?

MR. SPEAKER: In answer to the point of Order, I should say that the remark of the hon. and learned Gentleman was not out of Order.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I had no intention of saying anything offensive to the noble Lord. The fact seems to be that some influential electors of the borough of Chelsea appear so highly to appreciate the Parliamentary services of their present Representatives that they wish to relieve them from the burden of any expenditure at the next election. I should be very sorry to think that such an act should for one moment be looked upon as an illegal or corrupt practice—in fact, I think that, to a great extent, it would be deserving of encouragement. The noble Lord, in suggesting that such an object is illegal, does not seem to have availed himself of that able legal assistance so immediately at his command, and to which he owes so much. As to the question whether the expense of such a circular as that referred to should be included in the Return of the election expenses, I can only say that if events should arise which render it necessary to determine that question, I shall be very happy to give my opinion to those who may need guidance on the subject; but at present I am afraid that I am unable to discover any likelihood of the noble Lord being placed in a position to require advice on the subject.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE EDUCATION CODE, 1884.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Government, Whether, since the new Education Code will become law in the course of a few weeks, unless an address be presented to the Crown to withhold its consent, and since a Motion for such an Address is on the Notice Paper, he will either afford an opportunity to the House of considering such Motion, or else cause the withdrawal of

the Code until after the Education Estimates have been considered?

Mr. MUNDELLA: The hon. Member can move a Resolution to reject the Education Code without the aid of the Government. He can bring it on at any hour, and it cannot be blocked. The Code is laid on the Table in compliance with the Statute, and cannot be withdrawn. If the hon. Member should succeed in carrying his Resolution, the Department would continue to administer the grant under the existing Code.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—  
GENERAL GORDON.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true, as stated by *The Times* Correspondent in Khartoum, that the tribes along the hill north of Khartoum are in open rebellion, that Khartoum itself is besieged by 6,000 of the Mahdi's followers, and that General Gordon has had a serious engagement with these Arabs; what is the present position of General Gordon; and, whether Her Majesty's Government intend to accede to General Gordon's request for the despatch of British troops to Khartoum?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the information which we have received from General Gordon is less full, and apparently not of so recent a date, as that which is contained in the telegram of *The Times* Correspondent. As far as it goes, it is substantially to the same effect. It gives an account of the relief of the garrison of Halfiyeh, and it speaks of a body of Arabs who were captured; but it does not make any reference to the reported intention of General Gordon to attack a large body of Arabs in the vicinity of Khartoum on the 16th of this month. We have no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of *The Times* telegram; but we have no further information—no information further confirming it. I shall be very glad to answer any Question which the hon. Member may desire to put to me, as far as I am able, as to matters of fact. As soon as we receive information from General Gordon, no doubt we shall be prepared to communicate it to the House; but as to the intentions of the Government, I explained a few days ago the reason why, from a military and politi-

cal point of view, we do not think it expedient or necessary to make at present any declaration as to our intentions; and I do not think the circumstances have altered in such a degree as to justify me in departing from that resolution.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I quite accept the latter part of the noble Marquess's statement; but in view of the fact that General Gordon has been cut off from all communication with Cairo, and, in fact, with this country, for the past 12 days, I wish to know whether, in order to relieve the anxiety of the public, he could not state whether some steps are being taken to re-open communications between Berber and Khartoum?

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Will the noble Marquess also state whether he holds that General Gordon represents British or Egyptian authority?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: General Gordon, as the House is perfectly aware, received a commission from Her Majesty's Government, and on arriving at Cairo he received also a commission from the Egyptian Government as Governor General of the Soudan. I do not think I could answer the further Question which was put to me by the hon. Member for Eye without entering into a statement which I have already said I could not make, as it would be prejudicial.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE  
HOUSE — EVENING SITTINGS —  
KEEPING A HOUSE.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I wish to ask the Leader of the House, Whether, in view of the fact that a Motion of mine, which occupied the first place on the Paper to-day, has been seriously affected by the appointment of a Morning Sitting, and of the fact that this is the fourth occasion on which the Government have taken my day, and thereby prevented the important subject to which my Motion relates from being brought forward, and in view of the gravity of the news received this morning with regard to Madagascar, that the French intend to send 6,000 troops to drive the British traders and missionaries out of the country, the Government will assist me, not in keeping, but in making a House at 9 o'clock this evening?



THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I stated yesterday that I regretted very much that the Government should, on account of the peculiar position of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, have been compelled on several occasions to ask the House to give a Morning Sitting at a very much earlier date than is usual. The House has consented to do so, as I understand, entirely in consequence of the general opinion which prevails as to the necessity of pressing forward that Bill with as little delay as may be possible without interrupting the other Business before the House. It was for the House to say whether or not it would accept the suggestion made by the Government on that point; and the House has, with considerable unanimity, thought it desirable to make that sacrifice. In the circumstances, I do not think the Government are called upon to make any unusual or extraordinary exertions to facilitate the making or the keeping of a House in the evening for private Members. It is generally understood that on Tuesday evenings Gentlemen who have Notices on the Paper rely on the attendance of their own Friends, and the interest of the subjects they bring forward. I do not think it will be in the power of my noble Friend the Secretary to the Treasury to put such pressure on our Friends on this side of the House as will justify us in saying that it will be in the power of the Government to secure the making of a House if the hon. Member's own Friends will not help him to do so.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that in consequence of the unfair reply of the noble Marquess he would call attention on an early day to the way in which the Government infringed upon the rights of private Members and obstructed the Business of the House.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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#### CONSOLIDATED FUND (No. 1) BILL.

(*Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney.*)

#### THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."

#### EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE EASTERN SOUDAN)—POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.—RESOLUTION.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, in rising to move, as an Amendment—

"That this House is of opinion that it would be inexpedient to assent to the Third Reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill, before receiving further information as to the military operations in the Eastern Soudan, the position of General Gordon at Khartoum, and the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt Proper,"

said, that when he gave Notice of the Amendment last night the Secretary of State for War made use of some kind of menace to hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House, and said that the Motion would be made on behalf of the Conservative Party. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) should have thought that the noble Marquess was aware that whenever he asked the indulgence of the House, either to address the House or to submit a Motion to its consideration, he had always done so on his own behalf, and on his own behalf alone, representing no one but himself, claiming to represent no one but himself, and accountable to no one but himself inside that House. Therefore, if the noble Marquess had not, with his experience of the House, mastered that elementary and A B C House of Commons fact, the noble Marquess displayed a want of knowledge which he regretted to say was a very deplorable augury for the success of his future Leadership. The noble Marquess also said that he (Lord Randolph Churchill) would be imperilling the position of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill. Now, he had observed that when Liberal Members brought forward Motions about Egypt they were told that they were imperilling the position of the Representation of the People Bill, and that when Members on the Opposition side brought forward Motions about Egypt they were told they were imperilling the position of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill. It appeared to him that Her Majesty's Government were under the impression that because they had introduced into that House two extremely indifferent measures, therefore they were to be enabled to perpetrate in every quarter of the globe every kind of atrocity with the utmost im-

punity, and that every Member of that House was to be precluded from calling them to account. That was a plea which was quite nonsensical. It would not be tolerated by the Opposition, and he did not believe it would be tolerated on the other side of the House. All this raised the question whether the continual protest of the Government against discussing Egyptian and other foreign affairs was not founded upon the utterly erroneous idea that legislation was the first Business of the House of Commons. He did not think hon. Members ought to lose an opportunity of protesting against that idea. Legislation was not the first Business of Parliament; it never had been, and he hoped it never would be. The first Business of Parliament was to grant Supply to the Crown; and it was the duty of the House of Commons, when that Supply was asked for, to inquire with care for what purposes that Supply was required, in what manner that Supply would be expended, and by what methods that Supply would be raised. That was, undoubtedly, the first duty of the House of Commons; and it was because of the persistent, continual, and studied neglect of this principle by Her Majesty's Government that the finances of this country were in such disorder. It would be well for the country if the House were to recognize this Constitutional practice in a Standing Order, and to lay down that legislation should not be proceeded with until Supply had been almost entirely disposed of. Such was the contempt of so distinguished a master of Constitutional law as the Home Secretary for this most ancient Constitutional doctrine, that when a few isolated and independent Members below the Gangway on both sides of the House, a little more than a week ago, chose to act upon this principle, and to inquire for what purpose Supply was wanted, he stigmatized such a proceeding as a "dirty trick." He dared say that if he were much pushed the right hon. and learned Gentleman would describe his conduct to-day in venturing to put a few inquiries about Egypt as a dirty trick. The full recognition of the doctrine that Supply was the first Business of Parliament was quite as essential to Parliament and the country as ever it was at any time. He did not believe the Commons

of England had ever been treated with more studied contempt by Elizabeth, Henry VIII., or Charles I., than it was now by Her Majesty's Government. He laid down this in utter indifference to the mockery of the Radical Party opposite—that the guarantees afforded to the British people by the doctrine he had alluded to about Supply were quite as necessary for the House of Commons to preserve as a defence against an arbitrary Minister as ever they were against the most arbitrary Monarch. He would always protest against the slightest want of recognition of what must be called the foundation-stone of English liberty. He ventured to make these remarks on account of the extraordinary charges made against Members who ventured to interfere with the rapid progress of the legislation brought forward by the Government. In moving his Resolution the House would perceive that he asked for information under three heads. As it were, he gave the Government three chances of affording to the public some information as to what was going on in Egypt. With respect to the military operations in the Eastern Soudan, the situation was still extremely critical. Four weeks had passed since it was announced that troops were to be sent to Suakin. Two battles had been fought; the troops were still at Suakin; and no tangible result, as far as they knew, had been derived from those battles. The House had heard of a telegram from Suakin just before they met, to the effect that General Graham had started on what might almost be called another hunting expedition after the unfortunate Osman Digna, and intended to deliver, if possible, a third bloody battle. In the face of those events hon. Members ought not to lose the opportunity of asking the Government the object of these military proceedings. It could not have escaped the notice of hon. Members that in the papers that morning it was stated that after General Graham had chased, possibly captured, or probably killed the unfortunate Osman Digna, he would immediately re-embark for Cairo, leaving Suakin to take care of itself. He did not believe that military operations of so fruitless, wanton, and bootless a kind had ever before been undertaken by a British Government. At any rate, it should not be said that the House of Commons, as a

whole, had allowed those operations to be carried on without persistently asking for information. What were the troops doing at Suakin now? What were the intentions of the Government with respect to their detention in the Soudan and the retention of Suakin? It was perfectly clear that if General Graham re-embarked from Suakin the tribes would receive notice of that re-embarkation; and the effect produced—whatever the effect was—by those battles would be utterly lost. Suakin would again be surrounded, and possibly fall into the hands of those whom the Government were pleased to call “rebels.” In a very few weeks’ time he would venture to prophesy that Suakin would be in exactly the same position as it was when the expedition of General Graham was first despatched. What, then, was to be the position of the Government with respect to the House of Commons? But there was a much more serious matter which he desired to bring before the House of Commons, which was referred to in the morning newspapers. Were the forces of this country, the flag of this country, the name of this country, to be used to keep in force that most odious of all institutions, slavery, in Egypt? It was stated, on the authority of every newspaper Correspondent at Suakin, that the British Admiral and the British authorities considered it their duty to enforce laws permitting slavery in Egypt, and that they absolutely considered it their duty to use their forces to re-capture slaves who had been fortunate enough to escape. It was said at the battle of Tamanié our forces had as allies certain Abyssinians, who rendered valuable services to the troops as scouts. It was discovered that an Abyssinian woman was a slave, and the Abyssinians took the law into their own hands and liberated their fellow-countrywoman. It would hardly be believed that Sir William Hewett had actually disbanded the Abyssinians, confined them in prison, and refused to avail himself of their services. He had referred over and over again to the atrocities committed last year and the year before under the British flag; but it did not appear that anything had any effect upon the Government. They seemed utterly callous to what extent and in what manner the British name was associated with the

most monstrous acts that could disgrace humanity. He wished to know if the Government had given up all intention of opening up the communication between Suakin and Berber this year? The Secretary of State for War, last Saturday week, stated that he could not at that time say what they were going to do on that point. Ten days had now elapsed without any further Questions being asked on the subject, and there was nothing unreasonable in repeating the request for information, because 10 days in these times was equal almost to an age. Had any instructions been issued to General Graham on this matter? The House had a right to pronounce an opinion on the policy of re-embarking the troops at Suakin, or of leaving them at Suakin to open the road to Berber before either of these steps was taken. The question was of a political rather than of a military nature. Military reasons might be adduced in support of either course; but the matter was one of politics, and ought not to be settled until the Representatives of the British people had had an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon it. He then came to the second head of his inquiry, which was Khartoum and the position of General Gordon at Khartoum. That was the most serious feature of the whole question in Egypt at the present moment. General Gordon was sent to Khartoum as the last card which the Government could play. It was exactly the case of the ruined gambler who found by chance that he had a piece of gold in his pocket, and chucked it on the table to see whether it would bring back some of his lost credit and his lost coin. He had often watched that operation at the gaming tables of Europe, and he had never seen it succeed. It had always appeared to him that General Gordon had been discovered and utilized by Her Majesty’s Government much in the same way as the stray piece of gold. The House had now the knowledge absolutely before them—and he defied Her Majesty’s Government to contradict it—that General Gordon had failed. The mission of General Gordon was now an acknowledged and accomplished failure. That being so, the question at once arose, What did the Government propose to do? There had been no Papers issued since the meeting of Parliament as to the proceedings of General Gor-



don. No information had been vouchsafed to the House except that which came from newspaper Correspondents. Fortunately, however, *The Times* newspaper had a Correspondent at Khartoum, who was Her Majesty's Consular Agent, who had daily, hourly communication with General Gordon, and who had been able to furnish the British public with considerable information as to General Gordon's proceedings. It was idle for the Government to say it was inconvenient for them to furnish official information when the public had received a few days ago information that was almost as good as official. It was idle to say they could not disclose General Gordon's plans to Parliament when there was an official at Khartoum who had constant interviews with General Gordon and telegraphed the result to England. Was it not inconceivable, was it not intolerable, that the Government should, under these circumstances, say that on political and military grounds they would rather not make any communication with respect to General Gordon? The excuse was simply ridiculous. The fact was that General Gordon's mission had conspicuously and utterly failed. The Prime Minister had stated that General Gordon had been sent on a mission which was essentially pacific. They now knew that what remained of General Gordon's mission was a mission which was essentially warlike. General Gordon had already commenced military operations; was now probably carrying on military operations—operations which might possibly be over, and possibly Gordon himself might be no more. He did not know whether the House had observed that Colonel Coetlogon had stated, on his arrival at Cairo, that Khartoum could be very easily taken by the rebels. That being so, and General Gordon being surrounded by hostile tribes, and being utterly cut off from all communication with Cairo or London, they had a right to ask what everybody in the country was asking—what the Government was going to do to relieve General Gordon, or to rescue him? Were they going to remain indifferent to the fate of the one man on whom they counted to extricate them from their embarrassments? Were they going to let him shift for himself? Were they going to let him trust to traitorous troops, and to the weak de-

fences of Khartoum, or did they intend to relieve him? The reason why he asked that question to-day was because it was the last opportunity he or anyone else would have before Easter of eliciting information from Her Majesty's Government, except in reply to Questions which Her Majesty's Government might or might not answer. Having before them the dangerous position of General Gordon and the failure of his mission, he thought they had a right to criticize the steps which the Government had taken. Her Majesty's Government had taken, so far as he could make out, the surest and most certain course to insure the failure, and perhaps the death, of that distinguished man. They despatched him on a mission which was essentially pacific, and he proceeded to Khartoum. General Gordon entered into negotiations with the Leader of the enemy's forces, and at the same time the Government authorized offensive military operations against a portion of those forces. Did the Government imagine that General Gordon's mission would be successful while they themselves, in a region not far distant, were carrying on military operations of the most bloody and offensive character? He thought it was obvious to everyone, even to the benighted minds of those who at present presided over the destinies of this country, that there was no precedent that while peace negotiations were being carried on one of the negotiating parties should attack and slaughter the troops which were commanded by the enemy's General. Such a thing had never happened—that was to say, where *bond fide* peace negotiations were pending. The expedition of General Graham was sent to relieve Tokar; but before it started the Government knew that that garrison had fallen. In such a case as that, why did they not, after having instructed General Gordon to negotiate for peace, abandon military operations and confine themselves strictly and solely to the defence of Suakin? He made the remark in the House a short time ago that it seemed to him that the Government was a Government of "blood at any price." [*Murmurs from the Radical Members below the Gangway.*] He could not undertake to interpret the inarticulate noises of hon. Gentlemen opposite; but he supposed he would be right in saying that

these noises were signs of discontent. Since he had made that statement its truth had been borne out by facts, because, having failed to rescue Tokar, they suddenly altogether changed the character of their military operations in the Soudan, and those operations assumed a character which was at once offensive and vindictive. They fought two bloody battles without any object at all. Certainly, the object had never been stated to the House, and the result had been to place General Gordon in his present position. These operations had, as far as we were concerned, had no result; but they appeared to have had a very decided result as far as General Gordon and the Mahdi were concerned. After General Gordon had left this country the whole of the region about Berber and Sennaar was in a state of quiet, and continued so until shortly after two bloody battles were fought by Her Majesty's Government. Then in this country they heard for the first time that the telegraph wire had been cut; that it was mended, cut again, and remained cut; and that the whole country between Berber and Khartoum was in a state of rebellion. He thought there was something like cause and effect there. At all events, there was nothing illogical in the displeasure of the Mahdi at the conduct of Her Majesty's Government towards his Lieutenant, and his consequent determination to enter upon a course of reprisal. Why had military offensive operations been carried on at the same time as negotiations—*bond fide* negotiations—for peace? Had anything more unnecessary or more ineffably silly ever been brought under the notice of Parliament? General Gordon's mission had deservedly failed, even if he had not supported the Government, in undertaking military operations. The Government did not tell them much; but this they did know—that the first act of General Gordon on arriving at Khartoum was to proclaim free trade in slaves. The Government did not telegraph to him at once, as they had done to Admiral Hewett, in the case of the latter's Proclamation, to the effect that such a measure would never be tolerated by the British Parliament. General Gordon's second act—also admitted by the Government—was to demand that, for the pacification of that part of the Soudan, that most abandoned scoundrel,

*Lord Randolph Churchill*

Zebehr, the slave dealer, should be sent to him, in order that he might be made King or Governor of Khartoum—a wretch whose record and tale of crime could not be surpassed even by those bugbears of the Prime Minister—Achmet Aga and Chefket Pasha. He (Lord Randolph Churchill) admitted the gallantry of General Gordon and the devotion with which he had come to the rescue of a dying Government; but General Gordon occupied exactly the same position towards the House of Commons as any other man employed by its authority. General Gordon was subject to the British Parliament, and those two acts of his deserved the severest censure of that House, as any mission supported by such acts deserved to fail. Such a policy as that of permitting free trade in slaves and setting up the most notorious slave dealer in the East to be King over the countries Her Majesty's Government intended to abandon had never before been undertaken in the name of Great Britain; and any British officer owing allegiance to his country and to Parliament who could ratify such proceedings as these must be either utterly incompetent to be employed in a position of authority or must have been bereft of all the reason he ever possessed. What had been the result of the policy of the Government up till now? They had perpetrated massacre and perpetuated slavery; and the House wanted to know, before parting with that handle of offence against the Government, what they were now going to do? Which of the two policies was going to be adopted—the “rescue” or the “retire”? There was one rescue which the Government, if they did not adopt it very soon, would be compelled to adopt, or they would have to make way for other people—the rescue of General Gordon. He did not believe that hon. Members, who were in favour of a pacific policy carried to an extravagant degree, would object to strong measures being taken without loss of time for the rescue of General Gordon. [An hon. MEMBER: Some of us.] If the matter were left to chance, and the life of General Gordon was sacrificed owing to the neglect and indifference and callousness and heartlessness of the Government, then they would not keep their seats for 24 hours after the news was known in England. In asking Her

Majesty's Government for information on these questions, he quite admitted that, in ordinary circumstances, the House ought at critical moments to have confidence in Ministers, and leave them a large amount of discretion. But these were not ordinary circumstances, and this was not an ordinary Government. The Government had proved utterly incapable of foreseeing catastrophes which the most ordinary spectators could not fail to foresee, or of taking the most ordinary precautions to provide against those catastrophes. They never foresaw the results of the overthrow of General Hicks and Baker Pasha, and how the whole of their plans would be hopelessly upset by those catastrophes. The Government left the defence of Sinkat to Baker Pasha, and Baker Pasha was defeated and Sinkat was taken. And so it was in the case of General Gordon. All the Government plans had been founded on the supposition that General Gordon must succeed in the maddest journey ever undertaken since Mahomet made his journey to the Seventh Heaven. The Government left everything to General Gordon. General Gordon had failed, and Her Majesty's Government had made no provision either for the safety of General Gordon or for something else which they declared to be a cardinal point of their policy—the rescue of the Egyptian garrison. Under these circumstances, they had a right to take any course—aye, and even to adopt “dirty tricks”—to bring the Government to some sense of their responsibility with regard to the situation. Perhaps the House would allow him to quote a few lines from *Henry VI.*, of Shakespeare. He did not often, like Mr. Silas Wegg, “drop into poetry;” but he thought the quotation was so appropriate a description of the present position and policy of Her Majesty's Government that he ventured to read it to the House—

“Among the soldiers this is muttered—

That here you maintain several factions;

And, whilst a field should be despatch'd and fought,

You are disputing of your “policies.”

One would have ling'ring wars, with little cost;

Another would fly swift, but wanteth wings;

A third man thinks, without expense at all,

By guileful fair words peace may be obtain'd.”

One word before he concluded with regard to the third head of his Motion—

Egypt Proper—because the crisis there was just as serious. What was being done to carry out the policy announced to Parliament by Her Majesty Government—to set up in Egypt a stable Government which would enable them to retire from that country? Was anything being done to deal with the financial embarrassments of Egypt?—for upon that the whole question of Egypt Proper turned. The whole thing was a question of finances. Until they liberated and re-arranged the finances of Egypt it was impossible for a stable Government to be established there. The Rothschild million advanced a while ago had probably by this time been spent. The Egyptian Government was absolutely without resources, as they had learned on good authority. They had also learned that those large Alexandria indemnities had got to be provided for, and also the very awkward fact that the Great Powers of Europe were getting extremely impatient for a settlement. It was announced in the papers that morning that those Mixed Tribunals, which were the curse of Egypt and the obstacle to anything like a definite arrangement of Egyptian affairs, had pronounced in favour of the claims against the Government with respect to the Alexandria indemnity—no doubt instigated by French intrigue. Let them look at what a difficulty was at once being raised—a difficulty which Her Majesty's Government had shirked and evaded for months, but which was now absolutely before them and must be settled in a short time. Was there anything unreasonable or unpatriotic, then, in asking the Government now, after so many months, whether they could give an outline, a slight sketch, of the policy they meant to pursue with respect to the financial embarrassments of Egypt? Was Her Majesty's Government going to propose anything in the nature of a guarantee, or of relief to the Egyptian finances, by exempting the country from the payment of the Army of Occupation, or from the payment of interest on the Suez Canal shares held by England, or by abolishing the Native Army? Or, on the other hand, would Her Majesty's Government announce that they were endeavouring to carry out a policy which would have for its object the repeal of the Law of Liquidation, and the total abolition of the Mixed Tribunals? They



ought to have some indication that Her Majesty's Government were not allowing, as they had allowed, things to drift. He had stated before that it was impossible to settle these matters without a Congress of the European Powers. He believed that the first originating fatal mistake of the Prime Minister was when he abandoned the policy which he laid down before he came into Office—the Concert of Europe. Unless England secured once more the Concert of Europe no definite settlement with regard to Egypt could be made. He thought they had a right to require some statement of the policy of the Government. He did not expect to get much information from the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), as he dared say the noble Lord occupied the same position that he did himself—namely, a position of hopeless ignorance with regard to the intention of Her Majesty's Government. He was painfully and sorrowfully aware that it was useless for any independent Member by himself to expect to elicit information on any one of those matters from Her Majesty's Government. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for War might say—"What, then, is your object in taking up the time of the House? Your object is probably to embarrass the Government, or to do what you can to destroy them." If anyone advanced any such supposition they were hopelessly wrong. He had no wish whatever just now to do anything which would destroy the present Government. He was quite content that the present Government should sit where they were. There were some silly people who had supposed, and other silly people who had said, that there was a want of cordiality between those right hon. Gentlemen who sat there (the Front Opposition Bench) and himself, and that there was no love lost between them. Such a statement was too idiotic to require comment. He would only say that if he were the bitterest, the deadliest enemy of those right hon. Gentlemen, he could not wish for them a worse fate; he could not prepare for them a greater feast of mortification; he could not sow for them a more bountiful harvest of curses and anathemas and ruin, and disgrace, than by imposing upon them, or causing, contriving, or procuring to

be imposed upon them, the odious responsibility of succeeding to the task of clearing up the mess and the muddle which the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) and his Colleagues had so mischievously manufactured on the banks of the Nile, by imposing on them what he might call the abominable enterprize of letting in some daylight upon, of introducing some order into, the chaos and confusion which the noble Lord and his Colleagues day by day and hour by hour had rendered darker and worse confounded. No; he would be no party to joining any who would lead those blameless and respectable right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Opposition Bench into such a pit of perdition. His object was, not to elicit information, because he knew that to be useless; but to do what little he could to arouse and stimulate public opinion. He knew that Her Majesty's Government had the greatest and most ineffable contempt for the House of Commons; and he could not blame them, considering the attitude which the House of Commons had adopted towards Her Majesty's Government. But there was one power which had some little influence over Her Majesty's Government, and that was the power of public opinion. It was by discussions, by debates, by questions, that they did, more or less, contribute to arouse and to excite public attention, and to form public opinion. For those interests which were now called in question in the East, interests more vital to the existence of this Empire than any that had been called in question since the Indian Mutiny or the Crimean War, public opinion was their only safeguard, and their only hope. It was with the object of arousing public opinion that he had laboured since the Session began. It was for that object he would continue to strive—whenever the noble Marquess, in regulating the conduct of Public Business, should afford him an opportunity of so doing—perfectly regardless of any denunciation or censure that might be heaped upon him from any quarter, on the ground that he was interfering with the progress of public measures, for which neither he nor the country cared two twopenny bits. The noble Lord concluded by moving his Amendment.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF seconded the Amendment.

*Lord Randolph Churchill*

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House is of opinion that it would be inexpedient to assent to the Third Reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill before receiving further information as to the Military operations in the Eastern Soudan, the position of General Gordon at Khartoum, and the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt proper,"

—(*Lord Randolph Churchill*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that the noble Lord, in the course of his observations, had distributed throughout the House a very great number of blessings of a very doubtful character. He talked about anathemas, but he also used them. He attacked his own Friends on the same side of the House, and he proclaimed, in an ostentatious manner, that he had very little to do with their collective action. He washed his hands of it, and then he went on, as was to be expected, to address a few complimentary observations to Her Majesty's Government, and also to express—what he had already done on the public platform—his great dislike to the Radical Party. It really seemed to him that the noble Lord's principal object in making this speech that day was that it might be publicly known that he belonged to no Party at all, being superior to all Parties; and the Business of the House and the country had been interrupted simply and solely in order that the House should listen to that interesting declaration. It seemed to him that the circumstances of that day somewhat resembled those of the memorable Sitting of Saturday week, when the Business was interrupted by the famous debate which now lived apparently under the name of the "dirty trick debate." [*Cries of "Oh!"*]

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I rise to Order. I wish to know, Sir, whether the noble Lord has any right to use such an offensive epithet in regard to a debate in this House, especially when he is aware that the expression itself was withdrawn and apologized for?

MR. SPEAKER: I think the expression had better not be used.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Then, Sir, I withdraw it at once; but

I was merely quoting what fell from the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I never called it "the dirty trick debate."

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he was within the recollection of the House that the noble Lord so alluded to the debate on Saturday week—[*Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No.*]—and in connection with that question to the observation which had been made by the Home Secretary.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: That is quite different.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE continued. He was replying to the observations the noble Lord then made. The noble Lord used expressions showing his own political independence; but that was evident enough, as the Leader of the Opposition on the previous day had come down, with some circumstance, to put a Question to his noble Friend the Secretary of State for War, and was apparently satisfied with the answer. His noble Friend stated that it would be impossible at present to make any further statement regarding the policy of the Government in Egypt, and the right hon. Gentleman gave Notice that he would repeat the Question on Monday. Under these circumstances, he (*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice*) was surprised the House was not allowed to proceed with the Business of the nation. But to-day the noble Lord came down to the House and made a speech, in the course of which he said he did not care whether he was answered or not. Therefore it came to this—that the whole Business of the House was to be interfered with in order that the noble Lord might make a speech to which he did not much care whether an answer was returned or not. The noble Lord, indeed, concluded his observations by a great appeal to the people. The phrase "appeal to the people" was now to be the watchword of the Party opposite. The noble Lord said that he did not care very much about the House of Commons, because it showed an improper servility to Her Majesty's Ministers. He was not sure that the state of Public Business was such as would quite cause Her Majesty's Ministers to indulge in a similar belief; but, letting that be, all he could say was that they on that (the Ministerial) side of the House had no

objection whatever that the attention of the people should be called in the fullest manner to the proceedings of the noble Lord that day and on other occasions, and not only to the proceedings of the noble Lord, but to those of many of his Friends. The way in which debates on foreign policy were beginning to be interposed to prevent Public Business was exciting the alarm and indignation of the country; and he echoed the words of the noble Lord, and hoped the question would not be looked upon merely as a House of Commons question, but that it would be discussed in the newspapers, and that the British public in general would take it up. If debates like this were to be raised on every Vote at every stage of the Consolidated Fund Bills, legislation would become impossible; and it struck him that the real sting of the noble Lord's observations, notwithstanding his plea that legislation was not the most important duty of the House, was that the House of Commons might sit from beginning to end of a Session without passing any measure of legislation of importance for the good of the country, except, perhaps, Provisional Orders. That was a dangerous doctrine; and he hoped the public outside would take the noble Lord at his word, and would thoroughly understand what the policy of the Party opposite was in regard both to foreign and home affairs. Now, although the noble Lord had said that he did not expect an answer, or care whether he received one, there were one or two points in his speech which he wished to notice. In the first place, the noble Lord touched upon the points mentioned in a telegram which had appeared in the newspapers that day in regard to certain alleged occurrences at Suakin—namely, the rescue of a slave woman and the mutiny of certain Abyssinian troops. The First Lord of the Admiralty had immediately telegraphed for an inquiry into the circumstances, and for a statement of the facts to be sent home, and until that had been done it was not in his power to make any further statement upon the subject. Then the noble Lord inquired as to what was the object of the reported movements of General Graham's troops. He would remind the House that the object of General Graham's operations in the neighbourhood of Suakin was to relieve that town from the danger in which it lay from the

presence in its neighbourhood of a large force of rebels. Hitherto, these operations had been successful in their object. In two encounters the rebel Army had been defeated, and a great blow, both materially and morally, had been struck at their power. But, nevertheless, it appeared that Osman Digna and a certain body of his followers, not believed to be very considerable, were still in the neighbourhood; and it had been decided that it would be wise not to allow the Chief to gather his forces to a head, and that General Graham should advance on Tamanieb, and should disperse the small and disheartened force which Osman Digna had gathered around him. The operation, it was believed, would have a very important result in this way—that from the information which had been received it was believed that when the force was dispersed there would be no great difficulty in opening the road between Suakin and Berber by means of communications with friendly Sheikhs and others, who, no doubt, would be brought into communication with the British Commanders by the force of success. When they saw that Osman Digna's force had been finally dispersed they would be ready, not only to interfere with the road between Suakin and Berber, but to enter into communications, and even into engagements, by which they might be able to keep that most important communication open. He did not need to point out to the House the great importance of this subject in connection with the position of General Gordon. One thing was perfectly certain, that it was of the very greatest importance, with a view to keeping open communications with Khartoum, that the road between Suakin and Berber should itself be open. The noble Lord ridiculed the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in being engaged in these operations, because, he said, they were a source of danger to General Gordon. He (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) did not believe that they were; but he was satisfied to leave the noble Lord opposite to settle that question with his own Friends, with whom it was a common-place to say at the beginning of the Session that if the Government would send a force to relieve Tokar it would not involve the smallest danger to Khartoum or to General Gordon. The noble Lord had again pressed for information with regard to General Gordon. A Question



was asked at Question time, of the Secretary of State for War, by the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), and the noble Marquess replied that it was not in his power to make any additional statement. It was not, therefore, in his power to reply to the question of the noble Lord. The noble Lord also asked whether Her Majesty's Government would send an expedition to Khartoum to relieve General Gordon, and stated there was a great deal of anxiety in the country with regard to that gallant General. Well, the noble Marquess had said that until the time came when it would be in the power of Her Majesty's Government to place before the country a statement of their intentions and operations, with regard to this part of the question, it was not in their power to give small snippets of information from day to day. Whenever such a statement was made it must be full and complete. It had been an old and immemorial practice of Parliament to trust Ministers in their foreign policy, and to wait until the day of reckoning came, and then judge them by their policy. Ministers would not shrink from that day; but until that day came when they could make that statement there must be a certain amount of trust shown in Her Majesty's Ministers. The noble Lord concluded his speech by drawing a harrowing picture of the condition of Egyptian finance, and he asked for information with regard to it. The noble Lord knew perfectly well that if there was any Egyptian subject at this moment on which it was perfectly impossible to make any statement it was Egyptian finance. [Mr. LABOUCHERE: Why?] Why? Because it was a large and complicated question; and because Mr. Edgar Vincent, Financial Adviser to the Egyptian Government, had come to England to consult with Her Majesty's Advisers on the question. [An hon. MEMBER: Why?] Why? Because they had asked him to come here with that object; and it was quite clear that pending the result of the communications passing between Mr. Vincent and Her Majesty's Ministers it was not possible to make a partial statement either of his or their views. The noble Lord had alluded to the necessity of gathering together a European Congress on the Egyptian Question. How long had he

and his Friends been converts to the Prime Minister's doctrine of the European Concert, which formerly was a favourite subject of their attack and ridicule? [Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: What about the Treaty of Berlin?] He did not know what the hon. Gentleman meant. The Berlin Treaty was not a matter before the House. The subject on which they were engaged was the Egyptian Question. The noble Lord said that the International Tribunals were the curse of Egypt. Those Tribunals were the outcome of the European Concert which he now asked for; and therefore he was in the position of advocating the application to Egypt of machinery that had produced results which he said were the curse of the country. The amount of care and attention which the noble Lord had given to the subject were shown by the fact that in the same speech he made remarks which were mutually destructive. He hoped the noble Lord would now be satisfied, and that he would allow the House to proceed with the Business before it. If they were not allowed to proceed, he, for one, and he believed everybody upon his side of the House, would hope that the attention of the country would be called in the most marked manner to the way in which these irrelevant discussions were introduced by the noble Lord and others, with the view of showing, what the noble Lord had told them, that legislation was not the business of the House, and in order to interfere with the course of Public Business, and thereby to gain a short electioneering advantage over Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. GORST said, there was no mystery as to why the noble Lord who had just sat down showed peevish anger. The Government had no policy which he could announce. There was nothing more aggravating than that. One important statement, however, had been extracted from the noble Lord which alone amply justified the course taken by his noble Friend (Lord Randolph Churchill) in extracting that information. This was the first time the Government had hinted to the House that they intended to open the road to Berber.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: In explanation, I did not use that expression. What I stated was, that it was hoped that the result of these operations of General Graham would be the dis-

persal of Osman Digna's followers and the bringing of the Sheikhs into communication with the British Commanders on the Berber road, and thus clear the way. I did not say that General Graham was going to send a force.

MR. GORST said, he could not follow the noble Lord through all his qualifications, and he knew it would be quite contrary to the genius of the Foreign Office to say anything so straightforward as he (Mr. Gorst) was saying it. But it came to this—that the Government were thinking of opening the road to Berber, and that was the reason why the Government were keeping their forces at Suakin. The Government put on a sort of virtuous air of martyrdom, as if they were being hardly dealt with by that side of the House; but surely after their extraordinary vacillation in regard to Egypt and the Soudan they did not expect to be treated as a Government deserving of confidence. Each of their explanations with regard to their policy in occupying Suakin had been false. First, they said they went to Suakin in order to relieve Tokar. Did anybody now believe that statement? Next, they explained that they remained at Suakin because Osman Digna was threatening the place; that explanation also turned out to be false, for when Osman Digna ceased to threaten Suakin they still remained there; and now the explanation was that they remained at Suakin because they wanted to open the road to Berber. The noble Lord had not only failed to answer the speech of his noble Friend the Member for Woodstock, but had failed to understand it. The noble Lord was one of those officials who never looked beyond their own noses, and seemed to think that the Concert of Europe was an invention of the Prime Minister; but if there was any sort of patent right in the phrase which described the intervention of the European Concert it was to be claimed for the late Lord Beaconsfield. The noble Lord seemed to know very little about the International Tribunals in Egypt, or he would have seen that, though the present arrangement was bad, it was yet an improvement on what preceded it, and had been instituted with some success, notwithstanding the opinion of so eminent an authority as Nubar Pasha, who held that there were great obstacles in the way of instituting a sound system of

judicial proceedings in Egypt. If they did not know by sad experience that in a few days hence the Government would have to confess that they had been throwing dust in the eyes of the House of Commons, such a statement as that which had just been made by the noble Lord was a sufficient justification of the debate which had been raised. The Government must expect, so long as they exhibited vacillation and reticence in their Egyptian policy, that every opportunity which the Forms of the House would allow would be used to help them to extract information from Her Majesty's Government. They had extracted a little information that afternoon, and now he thought they might, perhaps, rest and be thankful. If nothing else was gained out of this debate than the information that the Government intended to open up the road to Berber, that alone was a great point gained.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN said, he wished to make one remark. At first he was disposed to condemn the action of the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) for raising another discussion on Egypt. It struck him as likely to be ineffective, as well as inopportune and inconvenient. That was the opinion he held while listening to the noble Lord's speech. But he altered his opinion after hearing what the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had said. The noble Lord had made a most important announcement—nothing less than a new departure in the Egyptian policy of the Cabinet. He said it was the intention of General Graham to fight another battle with Osman Digna, with the view of opening out the road to Berber. In other words, General Graham was about to make another move in the march to Khartoum. No one could deny the significance of such a statement. It was commencing a new chapter in their Egyptian enterprise—a chapter that might contain untold and far-reaching liabilities. He was not condemning what the Government had done. There was a good deal to be said in support of the action they seemed resolved to take. Certainly, there could be no conceivable justification for the carnage they had caused, if they had not meant all the time to reconquer the Soudan. They could not have killed all the people they had killed if they simply meant to remain at Suakin. This tardy announcement was only wrung from the Govern-

ment by the action of the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill), and it had been communicated in a very faltering and hesitating manner. But that did not weaken its importance. He thought the Leader of the Opposition would have some ground for complaining that when he asked for a statement of the Government policy on Monday, they did not then frankly avow what their designs were. They concealed them until after the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock. He did not see the force, and certainly he did not recognize the application to hon. Gentlemen beside him, of the censure that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had passed upon them. If Members were not to be permitted to obtain from the Government information as to their foreign policy when the means for carrying out that policy were being voted, he would like to know when they were to get it. The threat that public opinion would be arrayed against the critics of the Ministry had no effect upon him. He respected public opinion when it was genuine. It was a useful, and in some instances a potent, factor in political life. It had shaken Constitutions, and had overturned Thrones. But public opinion might be wrong, and in some instances it was very far wrong. What he had to say was that he was there as a Representative of the people to speak his mind on public matters, and he would neither be browbeaten nor intimidated by the Ministers or Opposition. Instead of being afraid of the public knowing what was done, his main anxiety was that the public should know everything that was going forward in their name, not only in that House but in distant lands. He had never been a party to factious or ill-timed opposition; but he protested against the everlasting threat to bring some invisible outside influence to prevent any Member expressing his honest opinions candidly and straightforwardly. The country would learn through the action that had been taken by the noble Lord what the Government meant to do; and they would not have learned it if that action had not been taken.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY urged that the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) should be satisfied for the present, and should allow the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill to be brought

forward. The agriculturists would not understand any further delay with that measure.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he did not think the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill very necessary, nor, judging by the course taken by the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill), was it so regarded by many Members of the Opposition. He (Mr. Labouchere) protested against the remarks which had been made from his side of the House respecting what they were pleased to call Obstruction. At the last General Election the issue turned on two points—the reversal of the foreign policy of the Government, and the reduction of the franchise in the counties. Both were considered of equal importance. Now, perhaps, he was a more simple and ingenuous person than most Members of the House; but he could not admit that, because Her Majesty's Government had brought in a Bill for the reduction of the franchise, they had a right to do what they liked abroad, and to violate every pledge and assurance given in the Mid Lothian speeches of the Prime Minister, and then to tell them that if they, in this crisis, wished to protest against this, they were not sound Liberals or sound Radicals. The noble Lord had asked for information on three points—the policy of the Government in Egypt, its policy in the Eastern Soudan, and its policy at Khartoum. He had, however, chosen the wrong moment to do this, because of the absence of the Prime Minister. He (Mr. Labouchere) confessed there had been a certain amount of obscurity on the part of other Members of the Government in regard to Egypt, which led him to question whether they could have absolute confidence in any statement the Government might make. He thought they did know from the Prime Minister what the policy of the Government was to be. The Prime Minister had told them at the end of last Session that his policy was to place the Khedive on his legs, and then withdraw entirely from Egypt. Since that the terrible occurrences had taken place in the Soudan, and the Prime Minister had said this Session that these had delayed the immediate evacuation of Egypt, but that the Government had not changed one iota their policy in Egypt against the establishment of a Protectorate or the annexation of the



country. Until the House had some more specific statement from a responsible Minister of the Crown than had yet been vouchsafed, they might rest assured that the policy enunciated by the Prime Minister would be carried out. With regard to Khartoum, Her Majesty's Government were right in refusing to give any information, because, in the first place, they knew nothing. The fact was, however, unquestionable that General Gordon was in a very difficult and even a dangerous position there; and everyone was anxious that he should be got out of that position. They knew, at any rate, this much of the policy of the Government as regarded Khartoum and that part of the Soudan—that General Gordon was to withdraw himself and withdraw the garrisons. He presumed that was the main policy of Her Majesty's Government in regard to Khartoum and the part of the Soudan surrounding Khartoum. With reference to the Eastern Soudan, the Prime Minister had stated that the policy of the Government was to rescue the garrisons and then retire; but that policy had since been modified to some extent, and now it appeared to be to ravage and remain. The noble Lord (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) had said that it was intended to push forward and to disperse the forces of Osman Digna. He did not know whether that was entirely in accordance with the policy of rescuing and retiring; but after the first battle which took place they were told that Osman Digna had dispersed. Then there was another battle, and they were again told that Osman Digna had disappeared, and that his forces had dispersed. Consequently, he did not ascribe any great importance to the statement of the noble Lord that if they once more dispersed the forces of Osman Digna the road from Suakin to Berber would be open. But was that the intention of the Government when they sent out that force? He distinctly asserted it was not; indeed, the Prime Minister said they did not intend to go beyond the necessity of defending Suakin. The Government had no right to complain of discussion being raised if every day they came down with a new story as to what they were going to do. He thought the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock was justified in calling attention to this subject after the statement they had read in *The*

*Times* of that day with respect to the action of General Graham and his forces in Suakin itself. The statement was that certain Abyssinians had gone there to aid us; that they had been employed by us; that they found in the town an Abyssinian girl who had been abducted and sold into slavery; that they endeavoured to free her from slavery; and that for this crime and misdemeanour they had been disarmed by officers serving under General Graham. If an English force were to go into any town in the world, and if they found that an English girl had been abducted and sent into slavery, would they be blamed if they attempted to release that girl? Then they were told that General Graham, when not occupied in dispersing Osman Digna's troops and in slaying the Arabs, was engaged in taking care that the slaves in Suakin did not escape from their masters. That was also stated in *The Times*, whose Correspondent knew his business, and was well informed. The noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had stated that telegrams had been sent to General Graham and Admiral Hewett for information concerning these Abyssinians. Nothing, however, had been said about inquiries being instituted respecting the slaves. Could anything be more monstrous, or more contrary to Liberal principles, than that an English Army should be employed in forcing back these people into slavery when they attempted to escape? The Government, instead of merely asking for information, ought to telegraph to General Graham and Admiral Hewett ordering them to put a stop to it at once. He (Mr. Labouchere) had risen for two objects mainly. One was to protest against the course of action of Admiral Hewett; and the other was to protest against the Government meeting all objections to their policy by saying that those who called it in question were obstructing either the Representation of the People Bill or the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, these questions were raised again and again, because the Government were never able to announce that they had a definite policy at any stage of these Egyptian complications. They were once more drifting into a fresh line of policy. If the Government were pre-

pared to tell the House that they really intended to open the Berber road, and to despatch a sufficient force in order to rescue General Gordon, no more questions need be asked, and no more debates would be raised on this question. These debates were caused by the dissensions in the Cabinet. It was the fact that Egypt was being plunged into anarchy, that the Soudan was drifting into ruin and slavery, and that disgrace was being brought on this country because the Cabinet could not make up their minds as to a policy. From the deserted appearance of the Front Ministerial Bench at that moment, it would seem that the Members of the Cabinet were engaged elsewhere in squabbling over their internal dissensions. The Government were waiting for something to turn up. The noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had said that the patience of the Government and of the country was exhausted. Most assuredly the patience of the country was exhausted with regard to the conduct of Her Majesty's Ministers. The Government were bound to relieve General Gordon. They had sent him on a difficult and dangerous mission, and had taken advantage of his courage and chivalry in order to shelter themselves behind those qualities in him which they showed they did not themselves possess. The Government sent General Gordon alone, without a force, and thereby compelled him, for his own protection, to issue a Proclamation which was disgraceful, not to General Gordon, but to the Government which sent him out. He trusted the Government would no longer continue in this helpless, helter-skelter course of inaction. If they were to give General Gordon £250,000 and 2,000 or 3,000 good troops, he would restore peace, develop trade, and save the honour of this country. Let them at once tell the House and the country what they meant to do; and if they were paralyzed by some Members of the Cabinet, particularly by one who formerly embarrassed the Conservative Party, let them get rid of him without delay. If the Ministry wished to put an end to Egyptian discussions, let them at once determine upon a definite and manly policy, and adhere to it.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON believed that the Representation of the People Bill and the Contagious Diseases (Ani-

mals) Bill were both very good measures; but he thought that the lives of men were of more importance than cattle, and it was because the lives of men were now in jeopardy that Members of the House were entitled to raise the question of our Egyptian policy whenever they had an opportunity of doing so. It was all very well to talk of a Representation of the People Bill and of enfranchising people at home when they were sending out Armies to enslave and destroy people abroad. The House would abandon its first duty if it did not take every opportunity of finding out why the Government were calling for the money of the nation, and for what object they were carrying on that war. It was all very well to shut their eyes and bury their head in the sand like the ostrich; but if they continued to do that there would come a very unpleasant day, both for the House and the country. That was not a military but a political Motion, and its supporters did not wish to interfere with the military operations. Let the Government kill those unfortunate people in their own way and at their own time; but let them state what they were killing them for. While in that House he had never before known the case of a war—and they had had plenty of wars—in which the House was not told some reason or other why it was carried on. He had been strongly opposed to the Afghan War; still hon. Gentlemen opposite, when in Office, gave a reason for it; they told them that they wanted a scientific frontier. Then they had the Zulu War, which he also opposed, in common with everybody who sat near him; and the President of the Local Government Board explained that the reason for that war was that the Zulus had stolen a pipe and a pocket-handkerchief. Then the reason for the war in the Transvaal was that they had stolen that country and they wished to keep it. But in the present case they had no reason at all given why the Government had sent their Army to slaughter and massacre those unhappy Arabs with whom they absolutely had no quarrel. It was said that in this discussion they were going over old ground; but they must do that until they got some answer from the Government as to their policy. When General Gordon went out they were told that he was sent on a peaceful mission;



he went to the Soudan unarmed, and was hailed with enthusiasm because he went out like a gallant, noble hero with his life in his hand to do good. But all the romance about him was gone if an Army was now to be sent to Khartoum. He, for one, was opposed to any troops being sent to rescue General Gordon if he got into a mess. General Gordon went on his own responsibility, and on that of the Government; and the people of this country ought not to be saddled with the expenditure of large sums of money and the shedding of torrents of blood, as General Gordon had undertaken his mission at his own risk. The House had been told by the Government that General Graham's Force was sent to rescue Tokar. When Tokar fell, their next excuse was that they must disperse the rebels, and they accordingly killed thousands of people who were quietly inhabiting their own country. Having twice committed that horrible slaughter, they now saw from the papers of that day—and that fact made this Motion justifiable—that another attack was contemplated upon those unfortunate tribes, whom they seemed to be pursuing for the sake of slaughter and nothing else. They were all Englishmen in that House, on whatever side they sat, and their blood must boil when they heard of what the troops were going to do. A newspaper correspondent at the seat of war the other day stated that, unless they were prepared to take it definitely in hand, all they could do now was to make raids all about the country—one of which raids on a large scale was now in contemplation—and to capture the cattle and even the women; and they might then drive the population away from the neighbourhood. Did not hon. Members feel ashamed at the idea of their troops being employed in that way against a people who had done them no harm? All that was done without explanation; and they were thought impertinent persons below the Gangway if they dared to ask what the policy of the Government was. It was really a most extraordinary state of things; he had never known the House to be in such a position before. They had a war, or, if they preferred so to call it, a warlike operation, and no information was given them for what it was carried on. He appealed to the Government to take the

House into its confidence—to be leaders in that matter, and not to follow the newspapers and the Jingoës with their outcry for glory, prestige, revenge, and all that sort of thing. Let them lead the people aright. He knew it would not be easy for the Government, after they had once embarked in this evil course, to retrace their steps. There was an old Scotch proverb which said,—"If you take the devil on board, you must cross the Sound with him." Having taken the devil on board, it was difficult for the Government to get rid of him. He did not condemn the Government only, but he also condemned the people who had supported them during the last two years in those extraordinary proceedings, which the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had described as a violation of International and Moral Law. The right hon. Gentleman told them that in the House of Commons; but nobody cared two straws about what he said. It seemed at the time as if its only effect was to make the Government policy more popular than ever. Nobody followed the right hon. Gentleman, not even his own Friends—not even his own religious Friends—of whom there were about a dozen in the House. Did they raise their voice against slaughtering Arabs? No; when it came to a vote, they took the patriotic and prudent course of walking out of the House. Public opinion was in a very unsound state, because he was afraid everybody was now against them. The Press was against them—the Press was always for bloodshed; the great speakers, Liberal as well as Tory, were for war, and so was even the pulpit itself. They got very little help from the Christian ministers of this country. He read in a religious paper, *The Christian World*, the other day, an article which, after a violent attack on anybody who dared to talk of peace, concluded thus—

"Let us take no part with the screaming chorus of objectors, but trust in God and His Ministers—Gordon and Gladstone."

They had heard lately a good deal about political blank cheques. He thought the people of this country had given a political blank cheque to the present Government, who had filled it up with letters of blood. What a horrible state of things they were living in the midst of now! What must their children think



of the slaughter of those brave savages who were defending their country? Let them look at *The Illustrated News* of last week. Had they seen the pictures with the indications of the different parts of the battlefield printed underneath? Here were "heaps of dead and dying rebels," and there "English troops shooting wounded rebels." For such things to go on in a Christian nation was absolutely disgusting and sickening; and yet they talked about this murderous work being done for Christianity and civilization! If he were a savage in one of the tribes in the Soudan, he would pray day and night to whatever Deity he supposed ruled over his life, that he might be protected from Christianity and civilization. But he was disposed to hope that a discussion such as that might help to bring public opinion round to the right side. Surely that had been satiated with slaughter. The people who had held great meetings to denounce the Bulgarian atrocities were surely not so dead to shame as not to do something to stop these British atrocities of which they had so many. The House was doing its duty in discussing these matters; and he asked some Member of the Government to tell them something about what their policy in the Soudan was, where all that slaughter was to stop, and why their troops were engaged in it. The noble Lord (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) told them nothing. He never did; but he was not to blame, because he knew nothing. He asked some other Member of the Government to do it. [*Cries of "Dodson!"*] Well, he would not press the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, because he knew the right hon. Gentleman was occupied with the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill; but he wished to hear from some authoritative source what their future proceedings in the Soudan were to be. By making those appeals they had at least cleared their consciences. He did not know that they could do anything more, because the House was subservient to the Ministry. He was quite sure that the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) had done great service in calling attention to this matter, and trying to find out why the torrent of blood had been poured out for entirely inadequate reasons.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, after what had passed he did not

wish to put the House to the trouble of a Division, and he would, therefore, ask leave to withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read the third time, and *passed*, with a New Title.

#### CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)

BILL [*Lords*].—[BILL 120.]

(*Mr. Dodson.*)

#### COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Dodson.*)

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD, who had given Notice to move the rejection of the Bill, said, that, for his own part, he should be glad to see it rejected or abandoned; and he therefore did not sympathize very greatly with the somewhat inordinate zeal of the Government in pressing it upon the attention of the House. He very much agreed with the noble Lord who said the country did not care for the Bill two twopenny bits. His Notice of opposition had been placed on the Paper in order that the House should have an opportunity of seeing the Amendments proposed by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster before the Speaker left the Chair. The House had now seen these Amendments, and there could be no doubt that their effect would be to substantially restore the Bill to its original state. He would not, therefore, ask the House to reject the Motion for going into Committee; but he would ask his right hon. Friend to assure those who took an interest in the Bill that a sufficient time would be allowed to elapse before considering the Bill in Committee to enable them and the country to consider the important matters involved in it. If it had not been for the action of some hon. Members in delaying the measure they would not have had the important statement made by the Lord President on the previous day, when he informed a great deputation that hon. Members were justified in using any means in their power to resist the Amendments which had been introduced in "another place," nor would they have had the still more

significant statement of the Lord President that the Bill in its present form would be wantonly mischievous to the interests of the consumers. He hoped the consumers would lay these matters to heart, and that when the House came to a Division there would not be found a single Member representing the consumers who would not protest against these Amendments. He trusted the Bill would not be brought forward in Committee until that day week at a Morning Sitting, and that if it could not be taken at a Morning Sitting it would be taken at the beginning of a Sitting of the House. If this were agreed upon, he should not be disposed to offer further opposition to the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair.

MR. RYLANDS said, he had felt some difficulty in deciding as to the course he should pursue in regard to this Bill. Hon. Members opposite who pressed the Government upon this question hardly realized the great feeling throughout the country as to further restriction on the importation of cattle. He recollected that in 1878, when the idea of imposing restrictions was proposed, that a very strong feeling was shown to exist in the country against such a course. But while his own feeling was against further legislation on this question, and certainly against carrying restriction one step further than that proposed by the Government, he did not feel disposed to object to going into Committee. If hon. Members refused the compromise which the Government had offered, and insisted upon maintaining the Bill in the shape in which it had come from the House of Lords, then he hoped the Government would not only use all their power to pass the Amendments which the right hon. Gentleman had placed on the Table, but that if, by any misfortune, these Amendments should not be adopted, the influence of the Government should be used to prevent any measure of the kind becoming law. The Government in this matter were necessarily placed in a position of great responsibility. If they allowed a measure of this kind to pass, and if the Privy Council, acting upon that measure, were to act stringently in carrying out its provisions, he had no hesitation in saying there would be a large amount of feeling and discontent excited in the country against the Go-

vernment. They had had a decided expression of opinion on the part of several Members of the Government against the proposed legislation as it stood in the Bill; and he could not conceive how it was possible for the Government to allow such a measure to become law when they knew it would be productive of the greatest mischief in the country. He thought that sufficient time ought to be given before going on with the Bill for public opinion to make itself heard on the subject; the people were now only beginning to realize the disastrous effect which the Bill as it stood would have upon them. No doubt, other Members besides himself had received from their constituents evidences of their dissatisfaction with the proposed interference with the supply of food, and the deputation of the previous day showed how rapidly that feeling was spreading in the country. He, therefore, appealed to the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster not to take the next stage of the Bill until after Easter.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH recognized the forbearance of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. A. Arnold) in not unduly pressing his objections to the Bill; and if the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Dodson) was in a position to name that day week, at a Morning Sitting, for the further consideration of the Bill, he thought that would be an entirely satisfactory arrangement. He could only say, in regard to the argument of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), that public opinion had become very much changed since 1878, when, undoubtedly, dissatisfaction was expressed at the effect which the restrictions on importation, in the interest of cattle disease prevention, might have on the food of the people. He was of opinion that the provisions of the existing Acts, as carried out, had thoroughly disgusted the people of this country, and had prepared them to submit to greater stringency in respect of imports, in the hope of getting rid of them more speedily. He did not believe that there was any serious apprehension that the price of meat would be unduly interfered with; and he thought consumers would be quite satisfied to have the legislation proposed in this Bill carried into operation.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, the House was certainly placed in a novel position,

*Mr. Arthur Arnold*

for only that day had they the real Bill before them, because the Bill brought from the other House was not the Bill which the Government approved. That day they had the Bill which the Government approved in the Amendment they had placed on the Paper. In fact, that Amendment made the sole difference between what the Government approved, and which they were willing to support, and what came down from the House of Lords. He agreed with the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. A. Arnold) in the course he had taken; but he thought hon. Members who did not agree with him must admit that he had shown great moderation. A large number of Members on that side of the House were of opinion that this Bill, even in the form in which it was brought in by the Government, was not necessary; but while it might not be necessary in itself, it might be necessary as a concession to the feeling of a very important interest and to the Resolution passed last year. They were, therefore, willing to give way and support the Bill as originally introduced by the Government into the House of Lords. But, in the House of Lords, it had been so changed as to become a Bill which would be totally unnecessary, and also a very great interference with the food supply of the people. That day they were willing, under all the circumstances, to assent to the Speaker leaving the Chair, which, he need not remind the House, was a most important step, because, after it had been agreed to, the Half-past 12 Rule would not apply to it. He only mentioned this to show in what a moderate manner they were opposing the Bill. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) stated the other day that the agitation against the Bill was a sham and a misrepresentation. Those words were unfounded in an unusual degree, as he would have been convinced if he had been present at the deputation which yesterday waited on the Lord President. It was rare to see any movement in this country so real and hearty and determined, and, at the same time, so moderate, as was that large representation of the great body of the consumers. He was very anxious that this question should be settled by arrangement between the Representatives of the consumer and producer; and he would ask those who supported the Bill

in its present shape to consider whether, in its original shape, it would not do all that they wanted? If the object of the opponents of the Government had reference to an Election, he doubted whether it would be successful, for their policy would be as dangerous to them in the towns as it might be useful to them in country districts. He appealed to the Government to let sufficient time elapse in order that the country might know the altered position of the question, and also to take care that these Amendments were fairly and fully discussed. If they were not taken at a Morning Sitting, they ought to be taken at the beginning of an evening. He also hoped—and he thought not unreasonably—that if the Government did not succeed in carrying their Amendments they would cease to take any further responsibility for the measure. He understood such an intention was expressed by the Lord President yesterday, and he hoped he would adhere to it. The Government had said they agreed with the objects of those who were opposing the Bill as sent down from the other House—that the measure was unnecessary—wantonly unnecessary—that it would raise the price of food. ["Oh!"] Well, he did not wish to discuss that question at present; but he believed he could prove it. He merely said that was the line the Government took; and as the Representative of the Government had declared that opinion, they should not, under any circumstances, allow themselves to be responsible for a measure which they declared to be wantonly unnecessary, and to be an unreasonable interference with the supply of food.

MR. KENNY said, he had a Notice of opposition on the Paper; but he did not intend to press it, as the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) promised that the Bill would not be taken at an unreasonable hour. All he was anxious to insure was that proper measures should be adopted to prevent the re-infection of Ireland with disease; and when the proper time came he would be prepared to submit an Amendment to secure that object.

MR. HASTINGS said, he thought it reasonable that sufficient time should be given for considering the effect of the Amendments to be proposed by the Government; but there should be no unnecessary delay. That day week



ought to be the latest day, on account of the Quarter Sessions.

MR. PELL said, his object in rising was, if possible, during the next few weeks to induce English cattle owners and cattle breeders to view the question of internal restrictions in a different way to what they did at the present time. There was no doubt that the intention of the Bill, even in its amended shape, was to impose severe restrictions upon the foreign cattle trade. If the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) and those who supported him in his proposal were really desirous to see effect given to their views, they should, at the same time, be prepared to urge upon the Government, as far as they possibly could, the institution in this country of some regulations in reference to the home cattle trade similar to those sought to be imposed upon the foreign trade. As it was now, if a cargo of animals from America were unloaded at Birkenhead the animals would at once have to be slaughtered; while, in Lancashire, perhaps even within a mile of the spot where that cargo was unloaded, a farmer might have a diseased animal breathing contamination over the hedge, and that animal was to live while the foreign cargo of healthy animals was to be slaughtered. He failed to see any reason for such inconsistency.

MR. ANDERSON, as representing a very large community of consumers, desired to say a word or two in support of what had been said by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster). His constituents did not consider there was any necessity for any further restrictions. They did not want this Bill; they did not like it. At the same time, they acknowledged that after the vote of the House last year the Government were bound to introduce a measure; and he and his Friends were willing to accept the Government measure in the form in which it was introduced, as it was a compromise of the question. But the House of Lords had not treated it as a compromise. They had altered it very seriously, to an extent that made the measure altogether abominable to those who represented the consumers, and they could not accept it now without the most strenuous efforts to alter it. If hon. Members on the opposite side, like the House of Lords,

declined to accept the Government measure, as the Government meant it, as a compromise, and attempted to confirm and carry out the Amendments of the House of Lords, there would be an excitement over the country among the large communities such as had not been seen yet. He hoped, therefore, that hon. Members opposite would be content with the Government Bill as it was originally introduced, and would not attempt to go further; and if they did attempt to go further, he hoped that the Government would abandon the Bill entirely.

MR. DODSON said, it would be irregular for him to anticipate the discussion on the Amendments at that stage. As to the form of the Bill, he had nothing to add now to what he had said when he moved the second reading. He only wished to answer the observations made with regard to the further progress of the Bill by Members on both sides of the House, and to acknowledge gratefully the favourable manner in which the proposal of the Government had that day been met. Their object in getting the Speaker out of the Chair was to save time, and to advance the progress of the Bill. They felt that the real discussion on the Bill must be taken in Committee, and this would enable them on the first opportunity to at once proceed with that discussion. If the Motion were assented to, he assured hon. Members there was no intention on the part of himself or his Colleagues to take advantage of any section of the House in regard to the further progress of the Bill. His noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) had said on Monday night that it was not the intention of the Government to make any progress with the Bill that day. The Government were asked not to bring the Bill forward before that day week. As a matter of fact, it would be impossible to proceed with it in Committee at an earlier period. He did not know whether the House would assent to a Morning Sitting; but he proposed, in the event of this Motion being agreed to, to put the Bill down for Monday evening, not with any view of taking it that evening, but with a view of seeing, meanwhile, what arrangement could be made for taking it on as early a day, and at as convenient an hour, as possible. With reference to the observations of the hon. Member for Ennis

(Mr. Kenny), the Bill dealt with Ireland in exactly the same way as with Great Britain. They had not the slightest intention of putting any impediment in the way of the Irish trade; but they thought that any provisions which tended to secure Great Britain against foot-and-mouth disease would also tend to secure Ireland against it.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he was glad to hear the observations of the right hon. Gentleman. All the Irish Members were determined that precautions should be taken to prevent the re-infection of Ireland with foot-and-mouth disease. It was well known that when England became infected Ireland would, in the course of time, be also infected. He thought the Irish farmer deserved the highest commendation for the patience with which he submitted to the regulations during the past 12 months; and they were most anxious that the small farmers of Ireland should not be again obliged to suffer by restrictions as they were during that period.

MR. R. H. PAGET protested against the monstrous doctrine of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands), that if the Amendments which the Government had put upon the Paper were not adopted by the House, they should stop the further progress of the Bill. He (Mr. R. H. Paget) maintained that the farmers and agriculturists of England were wise enough to know that if the effect of this Bill was clearly to be that predicted by its enemies—namely, to force meat up to famine prices, it would not stand a day. They would not be so unreasonable as to ask for a measure which would have the effect of increasing the price of meat in this way. He believed the action of this measure would be to keep disease out of the country, and, by keeping it out, to give freedom of operation to the farmers of the country, and to increase the flocks and herds of the country. So far from raising the price of meat, if anything was ever to tend to reduce the price of meat, it was clearly that which would keep out disease. With regard to internal regulations for the prevention of disease, he held that it would be wise to invest Local Authorities with a discretionary power of slaughter. Of course, he did not mean that whenever an infected animal was found it should be killed then and there. Slaughter could only

be regarded as an effectual remedy just at the beginning of an outbreak, or just at its close. The existing system of compensation to owners was inconvenient, and he would venture to suggest that some modification should be made in it.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY concurred in the views of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell). There was no doubt whatever that when foot-and-mouth disease got into a small compass, the most economical way of dealing with it was to slaughter the animals and compensate the owners. The cost to the ratepayers would be much less than under the existing system. He would go further, and recommend that when once foot-and-mouth disease was stamped out in the country, and if it happened to be brought in again from abroad, it should be dealt with in the same manner as rinderpest was dealt with. If that were done, he believed very little more would be heard of foot-and-mouth disease. It would occasion but slight loss to the country, and would be of advantage to the consumers no less than to the farmers.

MR. GREGORY suggested that it might be desirable to have the new clause of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster printed separately *in extenso*, and to have the two proposals side by side, so that Members might readily understand what the new proposals were. He represented a county (East Sussex) largely interested in Irish stock, and he hoped the Government would take measures to have vessels carefully watched in which American stock was imported, so as to prevent the importation of the disease from America.

COLONEL NOLAN said, that an important point in connection with this matter was that the Government should insist upon proper regulations in the vessels in the cattle trade between Ireland and England. The Lord Lieutenant, speaking on the question, said that the Irish animals going into these vessels might be healthy, but owing to the condition of the vessels the animals left them infected with disease. Now, he thought, under these circumstances, that the Government ought to take powers under this Bill to throw such vessels out of trade for a certain time, until it was shown that they were again in proper condition.



MR. J. HOWARD was understood to say that the Privy Council, under Section 32 of the Act of 1878, had such powers—indeed, plenary powers.

COLONEL NOLAN: If they had, why were they not used? If the Lord Lieutenant complained that disease was generated in those vessels, why did he not use the powers he possessed to prevent animals from being infected by disease in that way? He (Colonel Nolan) thought they were entitled to an answer from the Government on that matter.

MR. STORER said, he could not assent to the doctrines which had been propounded by hon. Members as to the slaughter of cattle—particularly when it was proposed that it should be accompanied by the payment of compensation out of the rates, which he considered to be most unjust, inasmuch as persons who had bred and reared cattle at home, and thus carefully excluded disease, would be liable to contribute to the compensation to be paid to others who had recklessly purchased cattle which had imported disease. He thought the cost should be thrown, by way of a penalty, on those who imported the disease. Delay was exceedingly dangerous, and if the Bill were not speedily passed the farmers would not submit to the restrictions to which they were now subject.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that the Veterinary Profession were practically agreed that disease was not communicated by the meat, but by the hides, hoofs, and offal of slaughtered cattle. He ventured to suggest to the Government that some measures should be taken with a view to dealing with this branch of the question.

MR. HEALY complained that the Government had not answered the questions put to them by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway County (Colonel Nolan). Of course, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had already spoken; but why was not some Member of the Government present to reply to those important questions? The Government, he was informed, had the power to throw out of trade for a certain time all vessels carrying foreign animals that were infected with foot-and-mouth disease. Well, why did not the Government seek for such powers in this Bill with regard to the vessels plying between England and Ireland in the cattle trade? The Lord Lieutenant spoke of the necessity

for such powers; but it was not at all clear that he did not possess such powers already; so that it came to this—that the officials in Dublin Castle did not know the powers under which they were acting. He thought that if strong measures had been taken with one or two shipowners it would have acted as a deterrent upon others. If a shipowner had once had his vessel branded as a place of contamination his brethren in the trade would be very careful as to the course of action they pursued. Something would be gained if shipowners were compelled to compensate the owners of cattle for any loss they might sustain by the passage of cattle in their boats. With reference to the Irish cattle ships, he thought it was the duty of the Privy Council to institute a proper system of disinfection. Ireland was entirely at the mercy of the larger country in the matter of disease. In the first instance, the disease was imported into Ireland from England, and there was a number of hungry veterinary surgeons in Dublin who were not sorry to see it spread, because it increased their business. A bull belonging to Lord Carbery was introduced into the country, and was allowed to remain in Dublin for some days. That animal was a great source of infection. If it had belonged to John Smith, no doubt it would have been slaughtered; but, as it was, the animal was under the protection of the coroner of Lord Carbery. He contended that the Bill failed to deal with disease in a proper manner. It had been pushed through the House at Morning Sittings, and hon. Members had not had a proper opportunity of discussing the matter. He asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster for some statement on behalf of the Government with regard to the question raised by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway.

MR. DODSON said, he must remind the hon. Member that the Bill before the House dealt entirely with the importation of foreign animals into the United Kingdom, and had nothing whatever to do with internal restrictions upon their movements. With regard to the Irish cattle ships, the Privy Council had power to order any amount of disinfection, and in that way indirectly to prevent a vessel being used for a certain time; but they had no direct power to order that a ship should not be used for any



stated period. He would point out, however, that the Irish Privy Council, with the full concurrence of the English Privy Council, had recently issued fresh instructions as to the disinfection of vessels employed in the cattle trade between England and Ireland; and had added as a suggestion that, for the purpose of thoroughly securing disinfection, each vessel should be withdrawn from the trade for a certain period of time. He might say that he had been informed that the owners of the vessels concerned had generally accepted and acted upon that suggestion.

MR. LEAMY said, what they desired to know was whether, if some Amendment giving power to the Privy Council to order infected vessels out of the trade were proposed in Committee, the Government would accept it? This Bill was the beginning of Protection. To-day they were asked to protect the cattle trade; to-morrow the great communities in the towns, when they found that they had got a dearer dinner table, would cry out for Protection for their industries. Irish Members would insist on such Amendments as they thought necessary to save the cattle trade of Ireland from ruin.

MR. DEASY said, that at present the Irish cattle trade was almost ruined. Farmers had been subjected to the most vexatious restrictions, and he hoped the Government would give an assurance that no such restrictions should in future be imposed. From the city which he represented (Cork) there was an extensive export trade in cattle; but that trade had been crippled owing to the manner in which the authorities at Bristol and other ports had treated Irish cattle. He believed that the restrictions had led to more loss than would have resulted if there had been no restrictions at all. What he would ask for was that a clause should be put into the Bill to enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to order the laying up for a certain time of any ship in which infected cattle had been conveyed. He wished to know why the Lord Lieutenant hunted with hounds from infected into uninfected districts? As far as Ireland was concerned, no greater mistake could be committed than compelling the slaughter of cattle in infected districts. It was ruinous to the ratepayers, who were already weighed down by rates.

MR. BIGGAR said, that the Irish Party had not yet decided as to the course they would take with regard to the Amendments; but if it were left an open question he should be very strongly in favour of those which had been introduced in the House of Lords. Their policy was to increase the working farmers who bred the cattle, and not diminish that class by getting the cattle bred elsewhere. The great outcry was not raised by ordinary breeders or fatteners, but by the rearers of fancy stock.

It being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

The House suspended its Sitting at Seven of the clock.

The House resumed its Sitting at Nine of the clock.

#### MADAGASCAR—PROTECTION TO BRITISH INTERESTS AND SUBJECTS.

##### OBSERVATIONS.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT rose, pursuant to Notice, to call attention to recent events in Madagascar; and to move—

“That Her Majesty's Ministers have failed to protect British commerce and the interests of Her Majesty's subjects in Madagascar, and to obtain adequate reparation for the affronts offered by French Commanders in that Island to the British Flag.”

The hon. Gentleman said, he was glad that the machinations of the Government had signally failed on that occasion; and it was extremely unworthy, in his humble judgment, and he believed in the judgment of the country at large, that a Government possessing such resources and such a majority as the present Government commanded, should, after taking from private Members their proper rights on Tuesday, be forced to resort to such expedients as they had had recourse to that evening. On three previous occasions he had attempted to bring forward that question; but the Government had succeeded in shelving it by tactics similar to those that had

been adopted that night. By the action of the French Government and of French Agents British trade in Madagascar to the value of nearly £1,000,000 a-year had been destroyed, and many hundreds of British subjects had been deprived of their livelihood and their property without compensation. From the debate which took place the day before in the French Assembly, it seemed probable that an expedition consisting of 6,000 French troops was to be sent to conquer Madagascar; and the object of that expedition was openly avowed by the speakers in the Assembly to be to drive out of the Island British traders and Protestant missionaries. The particular hostility of the French was directed towards what they described as "Independent Methodism" on that Island. It was interesting to notice how many Representatives of the Nonconformist Bodies, and of the trading communities of the North, for whom the Malagasy markets were so important, had taken the trouble to be in their places to-night. He hoped that the hon. Member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Cotes) would cease trying to persuade Members to leave the House. A wanton and unprovoked attack had been made on Madagascar by the French; gross insults had been offered to British officials and British subjects in that Island; and no adequate reparation or apology had been tendered. If Her Majesty's Government denied any of his facts, the responsibility for any inaccuracy rested with them, because they had furnished to the House a Blue Book which was one of the most disgraceful official compilations ever presented to Parliament. The Government had suppressed every item of information they possibly could, and filled the Blue Book with irrelevant details as to Treaties with the United States, and other matters of comparatively little importance. He did not blame the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for that compilation, but was rather disposed to ascribe it to the President of the Local Government Board, whose powers of concealment and inaccuracy had been so largely developed since he had held an official position in that House. Mr. Pakenham, the British Consul at Tamatave, was ordered to haul down his flag within 24 hours and to leave his Consulate. His secretary was arrested in his presence, and Mr. Pakenham's death

was undoubtedly accelerated by the insulting treatment to which he was exposed. The British Flag was hauled down by the French. The gallant Commander of Her Majesty's ship of war *Dryad* and his officers were treated with the utmost indignity. All communication with the shore was forbidden to them, and they were not allowed even to write to Mr. Shaw, a British subject, unjustly and cruelly imprisoned. Admiral Pierre sent several insulting letters to Commander Johnstone, adopting a tone to which no British officer had been subjected without reparation for many a year. The *Taymouth Castle*, a British packet ship, was boarded by the French, and sentries placed on her decks. Her mails were taken by the French Admiral and overhauled by him, and the outgoing mails treated in the same way. Even the Consular despatches were demanded by the French, and the captain of the packet ship was forbidden to receive them. Commander Johnstone then ordered the *Taymouth Castle* to get up steam and follow him. With his decks cleared for action, he steamed through the French Fleet into the offing, and there sent his despatches on board on a man-of-war's boat. This was a noble example of courage and resolution, and one which it was a pity Her Majesty's Ministers could not sometimes imitate. These events were at first justly described by the Prime Minister as being very grave and painful circumstances, yet no sufficient apology had been made for them by the French Government. Their despatch merely declared that the legitimacy of the measures taken by Admiral Pierre could not be contested, while they admitted that the tone of the communications from him ceased to have that friendly character which was to have been desired. There had been no salute of the British Flag, no recall of Admiral Pierre, and no distinct retraction of the acts of hostility that had been committed. With reference to the affronts that had been offered to Mr. Shaw, which was a distinct question into which he did not intend to go, if the Government were satisfied, if Mr. Shaw was satisfied, and if the country was satisfied that an English missionary—a man of blameless character—should be imprisoned in the hold of a French ship, fed on the bread and water of affliction, forbidden access to any means

of legal defence, prevented from seeing his wife, and from receiving letters from the British officials, without apology from those who had been guilty of such treatment, all he could say was that such conduct would not have occurred in the time of Mr. Pitt, Lord Palmerston, or Lord Beaconsfield. If the Government thought that affronts of that kind could be atoned for by the payment of £5,000 without any apology at the same time being offered, he thought a large number of foreign Admirals and Commanders would take a cheap satisfaction in vindicating their petty authority on British subjects in a similar manner. Before leaving the case of Mr. Shaw, he should like to call attention to one or two instances of inaccuracy he had lately discovered by comparing the Blue Books with the answers of the Government. They were cases of almost incredible inaccuracy on the part of the Prime Minister and other Members of the Government. The Prime Minister, on the 21st of August last, informed the House—

"I have not the smallest doubt in my own mind that Mr. Shaw has perfect means of providing himself with legal assistance."—(3 *Hansard*, [283] 1509.)

The House, however, would note that, according to the official despatches and from other information, Mr. Shaw was not allowed to have any communication with anyone off the French ship or with his wife, and that he was refused all means of communication with the British Commander's Acting Consul. At the time the Prime Minister made answer this information had been in possession of the Government for at least a fortnight. Another remarkable statement was made by the Prime Minister. Some Member pointed out that Commander Johnstone was the Representative of the Queen. With regard to that the Prime Minister said he—

"Is not Acting Consul at all; but he is a gallant Officer, who had no authority to act in a civil capacity."

He (Mr. Ashmead Bartlett) desired to point out that the Foreign Office had been in possession for three weeks of despatches, showing that Commander Johnstone had authority to act as the representative of Consul Pakenham. He had been appointed his Vice Consul and successor by Consul Pakenham.

He had been recognized as Acting Consul by Lord Granville, and formally thanked by the Foreign Office, and yet the Prime Minister was so badly informed or so reckless that he could deny in the House that Commander Johnstone had any civil authority at all. That was only a specimen, too common, he regretted to say, of the way in which Ministers deluded the House and the country. All these despatches were in the Blue Books. Had there ever been such an instance of official ignorance? It showed, in his opinion, the recklessness with which statements were made in the House even by persons of the highest authority.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at twenty-five minutes after Nine o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Wednesday, 26th March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—*First Reading*—Waterworks Rating \* [158].  
*Second Reading*—Patent Medicines [9], put off; Infants [14].  
*Withdrawn*—Leaseholders' Enfranchisement \* [90].

## QUESTIONS.

—o—  
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—EVENING SITTINGS—THE "COUNT OUT"—"KEEPING A HOUSE."

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT begged to ask the noble Lord the Leader of the House a Question of which he had given him private Notice—namely, Whether, in view of the fact that a British trade amounting to nearly a million a year was being destroyed and that great loss had been inflicted on British subjects by the high-handed proceedings of the French Government in Madagascar, Her Majesty's Government would take any steps to protect British commerce and property in that island? Further, he should like to know whether the noble Lord approved the discreditable proceed-



ings of the Government Whips last night, in arranging a "Count-out," by persuading hon. Members not to enter the House and by inducing them to leave it when they had entered it?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, in reply to the first part of the Question of the hon. Member, I am afraid that at present I can only refer him to the answer which I believe was given him a few days ago by my noble Friend the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs. I called at the Foreign Office since I received the hon. Member's Notice; but the time has been so short that I have found it to be impossible to give any further answer. If, therefore, the hon. Member requires any additional detailed information, perhaps he will give Notice of a Question on the subject, which the noble Lord will answer.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that he would repeat the Question tomorrow.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: With regard to the second part of the hon. Member's Question, I think it is couched in terms which would scarcely have allowed the Question to be placed upon the Paper. I do not conceive that the hon. Member would have been permitted to place on the Notice Paper of the House a Question imputing discreditable proceedings to two Members of the Government. I am not aware of any proceedings on the part of the Government Whips last night, discreditable or otherwise, being taken for the purpose of preventing the House being made or kept. As a matter of fact, the House would not have been made, I understand, but for the presence of two Members of the Government. I stated to the hon. Member early yesterday, and I think also on the previous day, that the Government could not undertake any exceptional means for keeping a House on Tuesday evening. It never has been the practice to do so, and the hon. Member himself only asked that assistance should be given him to form a House, but said nothing about one being kept. As a matter of fact, the House was made, but the interest in the subject raised by the hon. Member appears to have been too slight to enable the House to be kept. I am not aware of any proceedings on the part of the Government Whips in relation to this matter.

*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett*

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, that on the earliest opportunity he should call attention to the waste of time in that House, to the fact that on three successive Tuesday nights it had been counted out mainly owing to the action of the Government, especially last night, and to the proceedings of the Government Whips, who were active not only in preventing Members from entering the House, but also in inducing them to leave it when they had entered.

#### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)— THE ABYSSINIAN SCOUTS.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: With regard to some Questions which were put to me yesterday respecting the Abyssinians at Suakin, to which it was impossible to give an answer at the time, perhaps the House will allow me to read two telegrams on the subject. As soon as Lord Northbrook saw the statements yesterday morning in the newspapers and the comments that were made upon them in this House, he telegraphed to Admiral Hewett as follows:—

"March 25, 2.30 p.m. Please report circumstances of alleged disbandment of Abyssinian scouts reported by Press correspondents today."

In answer to that telegram the following telegram has been received from Admiral Hewett:—

"The Abyssinians, frontier robbers, &c., outlawed from their country with Debbub their chief; they have been guilty of robbing many caravans and murdering people. Debbub has just been sent to Cairo by order of Government, nearly all are required as witnesses on his trial; they were taken from Massowah by Baker to prevent them committing further robberies. Graham tells me they are perfectly useless. During the last few days they have been entering Arabs' houses and ill-using their women, on plea that they are Abyssinians in slavery. One case was brought before me where an abducted woman preferred returning to her master to remaining with the Abyssinians; they have even now some women concealed. They were a danger to everybody with their fire-arms, and shot a woman dead the other day. I told them they must return their arms, which they did; also that they are to go to Cairo as witnesses."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked if it was true that the Abyssinians, who were now described as such villains, were employed by our military authorities as scouts, and were represented as very useful in that capacity?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not know anything more than I have communicated to the House.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—  
GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked, Whether the Government had received any additional information with regard to General Gordon?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No; we have received no additional information.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—  
GENERAL GRAHAM'S EXPEDITION.

SIR JOHN HAY asked, Whether a fresh expedition had left Suakin; and whether it was true, as stated in the ordinary channels of information, that 25 per cent of the force had fallen out owing to the extreme heat of the climate and to other influences? Some anxiety was felt on the subject.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes; I have received a telegram which states that yesterday a considerable number of men fell out on account of the heat. Some of the cases are reported to be serious; but I believe the patients are all doing well.

SIR JOHN HAY: Is the expedition likely to occupy much time?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I believe not. I do not think that it is the intention of General Graham to advance a considerable force to any distance from Suakin.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

PATENT MEDICINES BILL.—[BILL 9.]

(*Mr. Warton, Dr. Farquharson.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. WARTON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that in bringing the subject of patent medicines before the House he had two objects in view. In the first place, he wished to point out that the Government stamp gave undue prominence to patent medicines, all of which contained more or less of poison, and induced people to take that which was injurious to them. Many people who read patent

medicine advertisements believed that both Houses of Parliament had in some way sanctioned and almost sanctified those medicines. He submitted that it was very wrong for the Government to derive any revenue from such an unworthy source. When this question was last before the House the Under Secretary of State for the Home Department said he could not make any promise as to what the Government would do in the matter; but he hoped that some better system than that now in force would be adopted. The Government, however, had done nothing at all; and when he looked at their conduct in regard to the Contagious Diseases Acts and other things, it appeared to him that they were more anxious to spread disease than check it. He desired earnestly to press on the Government that it was their duty to bring forward a measure dealing with this subject, as on the fiscal portion they alone could give up this shameful source of revenue and prevent people being imposed upon by the Government stamp. He was indebted to the hon. Member for West Aberdeenshire (Dr. Farquharson) for allowing his name to be put on the back of this Bill; but it was right, in justice to the hon. Member, to say that he (Mr. Warton) drew this Bill himself, and that he did not know exactly how far the hon. Member agreed with the special provisions of the Bill. The second object he had in view was to show that patent medicines contained poison. Many persons had died through taking those medicines. The man who recklessly sold them was little better than a murderer, and the Government who failed to take measures to alter such a state of things could be charged with conniving at murder. The Coroner of Bury had written him to say that he had held an inquest on a strong, healthy boy of nine years, who had died from having had a patent medicine called "Indian Tincture" administered to him. On analysis the tincture or elixir was found to contain 30 per cent of methylated spirit, resin, capsicum, cayenne pepper, and a tincture or brew made from Indian hemp. What was the use of analyzing those medicines when a poor child—for children were generally the victims—or a poor woman was dead? What he wished was that some feeling should be shown for these poor women

and children so as not to have them poisoned by quacks. By the Pharmacy Act of 1868, the Pharmaceutical Society had the power of declaring what were poisons, and when any new drug with poisonous properties was brought to light of including it in the list. The Society was to pass a resolution to the effect that a certain drug was a poison, that resolution was to be submitted to the Privy Council, and if the Privy Council approved it was to be published in *The London Gazette*, and thenceforth the article so named became a poison under the Act of 1868. The effect of that was that any person going to a chemist's shop and asking for arsenic or any other drug in the list of poisons had to give his or her name and address and answer a variety of questions. But one might buy patent medicines in bottles 18 in. high and 12 in. wide containing an immense amount of poison, and the curious part of the Pharmacy Act was that the rights of the proprietors of patent medicines were carefully preserved. Now, he was for preserving vested interests; but there was one vested interest he would not preserve, and that was the vested interest in poisoning people. At present one might buy these poisonous medicines by wholesale, not only in the shops of chemists, where there were generally gentlemen of education and responsibility, but in grocers' and petty village shops. His Bill, which he asked the House to read a second time, provided that any person who was the owner or part proprietor or who claimed to be the proprietor of a patent medicine might have his medicine analyzed by the Pharmaceutical Society; and so in like manner any respectable chemist who sold patent medicines, or persons who bought them, might have them analyzed by the Pharmaceutical Society. If it was found that the medicine contained poison let the Pharmaceutical Society pass a resolution similar to that provided by the 2nd section of the Act of 1868, and let them state that "this elixir"—for that was the favourite word—contained poison, and the resolution having been approved by the Privy Council, let it be published in *The London Gazette*, and after that the medicine became a poison subject to the restrictions of the Act. Except the hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James), who appeared on behalf of the poisoning

interest, he believed they were all agreed that something should be done to protect the life and health of the people. He thought, therefore, that the Government might put aside their political nostrum of the Reform Bill for a time and attend to the lives and health of the people. He begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

DR. FARQUHARSON said, the House must congratulate the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) that he had now entered upon direct legislation. They might, perhaps, look on this as an expiatory offering for the many Parliamentary innocents he had helped to massacre, and might hope that the softening influences of parental responsibility would induce him in the future to look with a more indulgent eye on the offspring of others. There was little need for saying much to urge upon the House the necessity for legislation of this kind, as the Government themselves had shown their appreciation of the importance of the subject by the announcement of their intention to bring in a Bill dealing with the question, and he was sure they would bring it in as soon as possible. Moreover, it was not necessary to point out to the House how very absurd it was in the abstract that, while the sale of ordinary poisons was fenced round with all kinds of restrictions, anyone could, by putting a Government stamp on the bottle, sell any farrago of poisonous stuff. Great loss of life and health was caused by the sale of these patent medicines, as was shown by the Registrar General's Report. In 1881, there had been 20 deaths from the use of chloral hydrate, two from Godfrey's Cordial, one from anodyne cordial, eight from chlorodyne, one from aniseed, one from Statham's Soothing Syrup, and 51 from patent medicines, the names of which were not stated. It was certain, moreover, that these deaths could not possibly indicate the amount of loss of life caused by these deleterious substances. Since teetotalism became so fashionable there had been a great sale for these chlorals, pick-me-ups, and cordials, which people bought not only in chemists', but in chandlers' shops. Chlo-

*Mr. Warton*



rodyne was used as a stimulant by those persons who wore the blue ribbon, and there was no doubt that an enormous quantity of chloral was consumed by ladies and persons in high stations in London in consequence of its soothing properties. It was impossible altogether to check the sale of these patent medicines, although he himself would like to see a sweeping Bill on the subject. All medical men detested secret remedies; but, of course, it was impracticable to suggest any sweeping measure. There were great vested interests in the way, and the British public was fond of domestic medication, and even of a little quackery. What they had to do, then, was to regulate the sale of these medicines as best they could. This Bill was founded on French lines. In that country a medicine could not be stamped until it had been officially analyzed; but the regulation was frequently evaded—in fact, unless the analysis were repeated every week or so, it would be of little use. He would suggest one or two alterations in the Bill. The word “proprietary” should follow “patent,” so as to include unstamped mixtures, frequently containing deleterious ingredients, which were sold, to a large extent, in villages where there were no druggists’ shops. Then there was the difficulty, as to the analysis of the Pharmaceutical Society, that it would only refer to statutory poisons, without including preparations which, without being absolutely poisonous, were on the borderland. Clark’s Blood Mixture, for example, contained 10 grains of iodide of potassium in each dose. Some people might take that with impunity; on many it would act as a poison. Another objection was that the sanction thus given by the Pharmaceutical Society would largely increase the use of these patent medicines. He would recommend that the Government should harden their hearts and give up the patent medicine stamp, which brought in £154,000. This might, in his opinion, be made up by an increased charge on the licences for the sale of these drugs. Under the present system the Government stamp implied to many ignorant persons a direct sanction and a patent which did not exist. The stamp might be used for any preparation composed of more than one ingredient, and recommended for some specific purpose which was

only liable under the Excise Laws. A second recommendation which he would make would be that every proprietor of a patent medicine containing poison should be obliged to put a label with the word “poison” on the bottle and wrapper, with a direction that such medicine must be prescribed with caution. This caution might be extended to substances of injurious, if not directly poisonous, nature, such as teething powders, which contained mercury and opium. Then, again, the innocent seller should have a remedy against the proprietor and manufacturer. If the proprietor failed to put the word “poison” on the bottle, the Pharmaceutical Society might be called on to analyze the medicine, the cost to be paid by the proprietor in the event of its being found to contain poison, with penalties recoverable under the Pharmacy Act. The most important part of the Bill was the 5th section, which enacted that a patent medicine should be put under the same restrictions as regards sale as other medicines. At present, although chloral could only be sold by chemists, Hunter’s Solution of Chloral, which was double the strength, could be sold by any shopkeeper or huckster in the street who chose to take out a licence. There was one point he should like to refer to before he sat down. He thought it rather an anomalous thing that, whereas druggists were not allowed to sell a poisonous substance unless it were registered, any co-operative store was allowed to sell those substances in any quantity when labelled as patent medicines. That was an anomaly which, he hoped, would soon be swept away. He further submitted that powers should be vested in the Local Authorities, to enable them to undertake prosecutions under the Pharmacy Act as under the Adulteration of Food Acts. Those prosecutions at present were undertaken by the Pharmaceutical Society, thereby bringing upon it on occasions unmerited obloquy. In conclusion, although he had not been able to coincide or agree with all the provisions of the Bill, he thought they owed the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) gratitude for having brought it in, for he thought it was very desirable that they should turn aside occasionally from Party discussion to consider questions of domestic legislation which were of in-

terest to many sections of the general community.

Mr. W. H. JAMES observed, that as the hon. and learned Member for Bridport had Notices of opposition down to nine out of 19 Orders of the Day, he would, perhaps, not think that he (Mr. W. H. James) was abusing his rights as a Member of Parliament if he offered a few observations against the Bill. In his opinion, the statement in the Preamble of the Bill, that many deaths had occurred from the use of patent medicines, had not been made out. He did not dispute that deaths were sometimes caused by poisons in patent and proprietary medicines; but he was credibly informed that during the last two years not more than seven deaths had arisen from the use of these medicines, against 152 deaths caused by drugs sold by chemists, the use of which resulted in death by suicide, misadventure, and other causes. A boy died last year who had been taking Colt's Whooping Cough Specific; but the medical man admitted that he merely guessed that death was due to the effects of antimony contained in it, and it was almost impossible to say whether death was caused by the antimony or by natural causes. He did not deny that legislation was required on the subject of patent medicines; but the matter was too serious and far-reaching to be treated in a private Bill; if it was taken up at all, the Government should deal with it. The present Bill was utterly unworkable, and would inflict great hardship on an immense number of persons. There were no less than from 800 to 1,000 owners of these proprietary medicines, and 19,000 people were employed in their manufacture or sale. [Mr. WARTON: So much the worse.] As already stated, the revenue from the Government stamp amounted to over £150,000, and during the last two years no less than 30,000,000 packets of patent medicines had been sold. If this Bill were carried into law, it would injuriously affect a very respectable body of men, and would dislocate a very considerable and important trade. A licence to sell these medicines could be obtained for 5s. by any shopkeeper; and to numbers of persons who might not be within reach of a doctor or a chemist, or who might prefer to apply their own remedies, it was a great advantage to be able to make use of these homely remedies. Many other patent medicines supported

the widows and families of deceased proprietors, and their property ought not to be arbitrarily interfered with. The 4th clause provided that until a patent medicine had been analyzed by the Pharmaceutical Society it should be deemed to be a poison within the meaning of the Pharmacy Act; and thus a great many patent medicines which were absolutely harmless, such as Fruit Salt and Magnesia, would be put in the category of poisons. He believed that, however well intended were the efforts of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport, this Bill would have precisely the opposite effect to that which the hon. and learned Member intended. From the facts he (Mr. W. H. James) had quoted, it was obvious that these medicines were very largely used. If the Bill, as it was now drawn, were carried into law, society would be divided into two classes. There would be the class who would on no account touch anything labelled "poison," and who would, therefore, be afraid of many of those preparations which contained only infinitesimal quantities of poison. On the other hand, it would render another set of people perfectly regardless and careless of articles and ingredients which were absolutely poisonous and dangerous; and, so far from the hon. and learned Member for Bridport preventing the sale of poisons, he would render himself in history even more notorious than he was already—by becoming almost a Poisoner General. Under these circumstances, he did not think the Bill ought to be supported by the House; and he, therefore, moved that it be read that day six months.

Mr. HOPWOOD, in seconding the Amendment, said, he did not base his objection on the ground of the injury which would be inflicted on vested interests, for if those interests were sustained by the sale of that which was injurious to the public it was only right that they should suffer. He doubted whether any legislation of this character had been productive of any real benefit to the community. He believed the Sale of Poisons Act had done no good. It had done nothing to prevent either suicide or poisoning. The effect of such legislation was only to delude the public, and to vex a number of honest men in their employment. Such legislation further tended to create a monopoly in the Medical Profession and enable medi-

cal practitioners to raise their fees, the result being that people of the lower classes were compelled either to seek gratuitous medical aid or rely upon quack nostrums. Something of the feeling of trades' unionism might be detected in the hostility shown by Coroners and medical gentlemen towards patent medicines when the deceased had been shown to have lately used them. The principle of law which he would apply to this subject was already in force—namely, that if any person sold any deleterious substance which tended to cause the death of another he should be held answerable through the Common Law. No doubt some patent medicines had produced benefit to the poor; but he objected to the Bill because its only effect would be to give the stamp of Government authority to all nostrums, and insure for them an increased sale.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. W. H. James.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that, so far as the Government was concerned, it would not consent to the second reading of the Bill. The object of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport was one with which everybody must sympathize; but it was necessary to look to the means proposed for the attainment of that object; and, doing this, the Government could not accept the provisions of this Bill, which would treat as a poison any medicine containing any poison, however innocuous the quantity might be in the preparation of which it formed part. He did not say but that the sale of poisons might very well be checked and controlled in the interests of the public; but this Bill was so entirely unworkable that he could not assent to its second reading. The Government had the matter in hand, and was prepared to treat it in a much broader sense in a Bill which would be introduced into the other House, and when it reached this House he hoped the desire of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport for legislation on the subject would induce him to stay his obstructive hand, and that his own introduction of a Bill would constitute a sort of implied contract with

him for the adoption by him on this subject of a course the novelty of which would be fully appreciated by the House. The Bill of the hon. and learned Member proposed that every patent medicine should *prima facie* be regarded as a poison until it had been examined by the Pharmaceutical Society, and that after such an examination, if there was the smallest trace of a poisonous substance, the article should be treated as a poison under the Pharmacy Act of 1868. The effect would be that a person selling, for instance, a cough lozenge, perfectly innocuous and even beneficial, owing to the smallness of the quantity of the poison it contained, would have to label it as a poison, and register the name of the person to whom it was sold, and the purpose for which it was required. To subject the public to legislation of this kind was exactly that harassing legislation which did no good, against which the hon. and learned Gentleman so eloquently argued under all circumstances, but of which he had now produced as flagrant a specimen as could be conceived. In these circumstances he hoped the House would not consent to the second reading of the Bill.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, if he approached the consideration of the subject without bias he should be inclined to support the Bill, for he had not been convinced by the arguments used against it, and it was admitted that illness and deaths were caused by patent medicines. He failed to see that the subject required such large treatment that only the Government could deal with it. If the Bill would be beneficial in its operation, he could not understand why Ireland was to be excluded therefrom. Unless, therefore, the hon. and learned Gentleman was prepared to include Ireland within the scope of its operations, he should vote against it.

MR. WARTON said, that the reason why he had excluded Ireland was that he did not know what Body in that country would take the place of the Pharmaceutical Society in Great Britain; and he had but followed the wording of the Pharmacy Act. The case of the widows and orphans who were interested in the sale of patent medicines could scarcely be put forward seriously against the safety of the public. The hon. and learned Member for Stockport's (Mr. Hopwood's) objections applied



not so much to the Bill as to the doctors, whose alleged monopoly, especially as regarded vaccination, he was always opposing; but, as even medical Coroners occupied an independent position, the suggestion that they conducted their inquiries with a bias against patent medicines was an unworthy imputation. With regard to the argument put forward by the Attorney General, he thought they might trust the Pharmaceutical Society not to brand a medicine as a poison unless it was really poisonous. Unless the quantity of the deleterious ingredient which it contained rendered the medicine poisonous, he did not want it to be branded as a poison. He was glad that the result of the Motion which he brought forward on that subject two years ago had been so far beneficent that the Government were now pledged to introduce into the other House a Bill relating to it; and he hoped that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would consent to abandon as a source of revenue the stamp duty now payable on medicines of that sort, which was supposed to give them the sanction of the State. Unless the Government gave him a positive pledge that they would deal with the fiscal question as well as with the other part of the subject, he should feel compelled to take the sense of the House on that measure, in order to show that that was a question of great importance which had been too long shelved and neglected.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Words *added*.

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to*.

Second Reading *put off* for six months.

#### INFANTS BILL.—[BILL 14.]

(*Mr. Bryce, Mr. Davey, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Staveley Hill.*)

#### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. HOPWOOD, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time, said, that its terms had been carefully drafted.

Mr. BRYCE, in seconding the Motion, said, the Bill which he had the honour of laying before the House dealt with a difficult and complicated question; but he hoped to be able to convince the

House that its principles were sound. The old law of England, in dealing with the rights of parents over their children, started from the doctrine of the absolute supremacy of the husband and father; and, although that condition of things had been somewhat modified, there remained serious hardships, the law being still harsh and unjust to the claims of mothers. The Common Law considered husband and wife to be one; but it did so on the basis of giving the husband all that was his own and all that was his wife's, leaving her nothing, and that principle, which had been consistently applied as regarded the property, was also applied in the family, as regarded the respective rights of the parents to the custody, guardianship, and control of their children. The father was held to be sole guardian during his lifetime, and was entitled to the control of the child for all purposes, until it approached the age of majority. He could also, after his death, dictate the future custody of the child's person and its education, by his power of appointing a testamentary guardian, and the Courts of Law adopted the principle that the child must be brought up in the religion to which the father belonged. The wife had no rights during the father's lifetime; and even after his death a testamentary guardian excluded her altogether, from having any control over the person, or any share in the education, of her child. She had, moreover, no right, even when she survived the father, and no testamentary guardian had been appointed by him, of herself appointing a guardian by will. It was only in very extreme cases that the Courts of Law—it was till the passing of the Judicature Act the Court of Chancery—interfered for the protection of the children, and removed them from the custody of a father whose conduct was so flagrantly immoral, or otherwise prejudicial to the best interests of the child, that it seemed impossible to leave the child any longer under his guardianship. He ought to add that the preference which the law showed to the father was so great that even an agreement made before marriage as regarded the religion in which the child should be brought up was held to be null and unenforceable, as derogating from paternal rights which could not be forfeited by him. This state of things began by degrees to shock the

*Mr. Warton*

advancing sentiments of mankind; and an Act was passed—the 2 & 3 *Vict.*—which gave to the mother certain rights as regarded a child under seven years of age. That Act was followed by another in 1873, extending the law still further. This Act, he believed, was brought in by the hon. Member for Cambridge Borough (Mr. W. Fowler), and he (Mr. Bryce) thought the country and the House were much indebted to him. The effect of the latter Act—36 *Vict.* c. 12—was to provide that it should be lawful for the High Court of Chancery, upon the petition of the mother, to order that she should have access to the infant at such times, and subject to such regulations, as the Court should deem proper; or that the infant should be delivered into her custody until it had reached 16 years of age, such custody being subject to certain regulations for the access of the father or guardian. The Act also did away with the ancient rule that the father could not divest himself of his right to the custody of the child by any agreement made on separation. The law had remained on that footing since 1873, subject to the extensive and beneficial provisions in the Act of 1857—the Act which established the Court of Divorce and Matrimonial Causes. That Act gave a very large discretion indeed to that Court, in providing for the custody of children, whenever it pronounced a decree, and he did not propose in the Bill to interfere in any way with its jurisdiction, since it did not seem to him to require amendment or enlargement. But even after the passing of the Acts of 1857 and 1873, there still remained very serious hardships in the law. It still failed to recognize the claims of mothers, and in constantly preferring the father often produced injury to the child. In the first place, the mother, under the construction which the Courts had placed upon the Act of 1873, was usually excluded from the custody of her child, except when such grave misconduct could be made out against the father as might affect the child injuriously. Secondly, a guardian appointed by the father was the guardian of the child to the exclusion of the mother, and there was no provision for making the mother the guardian of her child on the death of the father. Even if the father had omitted to appoint a guardian, the mother did not hold that position, and the

father could, out of spite, appoint a guardian who was hostile to the mother, although he might have neglected the child, and she be wholly without blame. Thirdly, when the mother survived the father, she could not appoint a guardian to take care of her child after her death, even when no guardian had been appointed by the father. He need not remind the House of the hardships which had occurred under this law, in which grave injustice and much mental suffering had been inflicted on mothers. Even Judges had remarked upon it as being partial and cruel, when mothers appealed to them, whom they found themselves unable to help. They disapproved and regretted the law, but it was none the less their duty to administer it. Some time ago there was a case of a lady of some eminence in the musical world, who had been obliged to separate from her husband on account of his cruelty. One night she was absent singing at a concert; and, when she returned, she found that her two children had been carried off by her husband during her absence, and it was weeks before her agents succeeded in discovering the children, and the younger one, when found, had been so ill-cared for that its life was in danger. Again, there was a case not long ago in Scotland—and perhaps the Scottish law in this respect was even harsher than the English—where a young lady was so ill-treated by her husband that she had to leave him. Shortly afterwards she gave birth to a child, and when it was only three weeks old the husband carried it off, and she was unable to recover it. Another lady in Scotland, he believed, was compelled to escape from the jurisdiction of the Scotch Courts with her child, in order that her husband, from whom she had been separated, should not take the infant from her. Cases like these showed how much ground mothers had for invoking the aid of the House. The Bill might be regarded as a corollary to the Married Women's Property Act, which had an important bearing upon the subject. The principle of that Act was, that the husband and wife were to have equal rights in regard to property. It surely followed that the right of the wife to a share in the guardianship of her children—a right far more prized by women than any right of property—should also be recognized by the law. Indeed, with-



out such a Bill as he now proposed, the Married Women's Property Act might be rendered null and void, as the power possessed by the husband, over the persons of his children, might enable him to compel a wife to bow to his will in all questions affecting property. The husband now possessed a terrible engine of oppression, which he could bring to bear upon the wife, and thus nullify the benevolent intentions of the Legislature. He had spoken chiefly of England and Ireland, but he believed that in these points the law of Scotland was substantially the same as that of England. There were similar powers vested in the Courts; but there was no Act in Scotland which corresponded to the English Act of 1873. So far as there was a difference, Scotch law was somewhat harsher than English; and the Scottish Courts seemed either to possess a narrower discretion than those of England, or to regard the rights of the father with a still warmer favour. The Scotch Court of Session held that cruelty and brutality on the part of the husband were no reasons for taking the custody of the children from him, and giving them to the wife. They said that nothing less than the father's adultery was sufficient to set up such a claim for transference of the husband's rights, and one Judge had even declared that adultery might not always form a sufficient ground. He would now shortly explain the leading amendments which the Bill before the House would introduce into the law. The 2nd clause of the measure provided that the parents of an infant, during the continuance of their married life, should be the child's joint guardians. This provision was necessary in order to negative the presumption of the Courts in favour of the husband. It was only by laying down such a principle as that that we could get rid of the consequences of that old doctrine of the law which favoured the father at the expense of the mother. Nothing less appeared sufficient to give the Courts that full discretion which they ought to have, in order to guard the interests of the children in the first place, and, in the next, the interests of the parents as persons on a footing of equality. The 3rd clause provided that, on the death of either parent, the survivor should be the child's guardian. The 4th clause dealt with the question of guardianship, and laid down that the

surviving parent might appoint a testamentary guardian, provided that the child were still unmarried at the time the power of the guardian was to take effect. Where no guardian had been appointed by the surviving parent, a guardian appointed by the parent first deceased would act. To both such guardians, however, would be preferred a guardian selected by the two parents jointly in their lifetime. It was further provided that where the child, on the death of the father, became entitled to any real or personal estate, the father, if he died first, might appoint a guardian for such estate; and the reason of this provision was that it might frequently happen that a woman, although she would be the best personal guardian of her child, might not be able to manage the business affairs of a large estate. This provision, however, would not interfere with the mother's right of custody in regard to the infant's person. The 5th clause dealt with the case of parents living separately from one another, and the question arising of the control of the child or of its religious training; and this clause enacted that, on any such question arising, the Courts should have power to make such order as they thought fit regarding the custody or religion of the infant. This clause extended the discretion of the Court to infants over 16, thus going beyond the Act of 1873; and, taken in conjunction with Section 2, the clause very largely increased the power of the Court in regulating the custody of a child. According to the present law, the father was preferred to the mother in any question of guardianship, unless a strong case were made out against him. The Court would, however, under the Bill, regard both parents as equal, and endeavour, while thinking first of what was best for the child, to do full justice between the parents. The general effect of the Bill, therefore, was to place the father and mother on a footing of perfect equality as regarded the guardianship of the child, by extending the power of the Courts, and getting rid of the legal presumption in favour of the father. The discretion of the Court would be exercised with equity and fairness as between both parents. There would, of course, be nothing to prevent either parent from making the child a ward of Court; and, in fact, it would



treat the natural guardians of the child as though they were merely testamentary guardians. He had thought it safer to introduce no special provisions as to religion, as questions of that kind could be safely left to be settled by the Courts when they arose; and the other clauses of the Bill did not call for special mention, inasmuch as they merely extended the operation of the measure to Scotland, and provided for saving the jurisdiction now exercised by the Courts. There was, however, an important question as to the Courts by whom the powers conferred by the Bill should be exercised. The Bill restricted them to the High Courts of Justice in England and Ireland, or any Division thereof, and to the Court of Session in Scotland. A strong case might, no doubt, be made out for giving jurisdiction to the Inferior Courts, since this would make the benefits of the Bill more generally accessible to the poorer classes. It was not easy to say, however, to what Inferior Courts in England such jurisdiction could properly be intrusted. There was, however, a feeling in Scotland for giving them to the Sheriff Courts of that country, Courts which occupied a more important position than the Inferior Courts in England; and if hon. Members from Scotland wished to extend the jurisdiction to the Sheriff Courts, he would be inclined to give his assent to the proposition. Without attempting to anticipate all the objections that might be made to the measure, he would notice one or two. It might be said that the Bill ought to have enabled either parent to appoint a guardian to act on his or her behalf after such parent's death jointly with the surviving parent. On that point, he thought that the surviving parent was the proper guardian of the child, and that it might lead to much unpleasantness if a third person had power to interfere with the surviving parent in bringing up the child. Some might hold it a graver objection to the Bill that where two people lived together one must rule; that the father ought to be at the head and have control of his family, the wife yielding to him; and the usual illustration was given that if two people rode together one must ride behind. But this answer was that the old system of giving the husband supreme power over the child had not worked well in the past; and he believed that nothing

could be more conducive to harmony than that husband and wife should be placed in a position of perfect equality before the law, the former recognizing and respecting the rights of the latter. When women had had the power over their children, they generally used that power well—as well, on the whole, as fathers did. So far from his proposal being likely to breed discord in families, he was sure it would improve the relations between husband and wife, by removing from him an engine of tyranny, and from her a motive for attaining her ends by indirect methods. It must be remembered that the provisions of this measure would only be needed where the parties did not agree. Where they lived together and loved one another, all would go smoothly; where affection had ceased, the Bill would apply the principles of justice. He submitted this measure to the House as an attempt to deal on broad and simple principles with an admittedly difficult question—one which was among the most difficult any Reformer could touch. He recommended it on the ground that it conformed to the whole tendency of recent legislation, and that it protected women to a greater extent than had ever been done formerly. Nothing could be more harsh to women than the present law. In conclusion, he would appeal for support to hon. Members who remembered and acknowledged their obligations to the tender care and loving society of their mothers; to those who, as fathers, could realize what a loss it would be if their own children were deprived of the instruction and sympathy of a mother; and to all hon. Members, whatever their own personal experience or associations might be, he appealed to do justice to a class of persons not directly represented in the House. The Constitution had refused a seat in that House to women. It had also refused them the electoral franchise. There were many in that House, and he was one of them, who thought the Constitution was wisely framed when it made that refusal. But the refusal was made in the confidence that a Parliament of men, elected by men, would care for the interests and feelings of women not less than their own, and would protect those whose voices could not be raised within these walls. He trusted the House would recognize this sacred duty, and in pro-

ceeding to better secure the welfare of children would also grant to mothers those rights which they most valued, and in which their peace and happiness was most involved.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Hopwood.*)

Mr. INCE, in rising to move that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said, he did so because it appeared to him that the measure was faulty in principle, and that the remedy it proposed was wholly incommensurate with the evil which had been stated. If he might epitomize his argument in a somewhat personal manner, he would venture to say that he was a married man himself, and that he was deeply sensible of the advantages of being so; but he did not covet the further distinction of being one of the last of the species. For if this Bill should ever become law, it would, coupled with the legislation which had its origin in a great measure in the efforts of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Lincoln (*Mr. Hinde Palmer*), make the position of married men one which called for such great sympathy that he thought few would be found to follow their inauspicious example. He would ask the House to consider for a moment what the law now was, and what were really the evils of the law; because he admitted, quite as much as his hon. Friend (*Mr. Bryce*), that the law required serious amendment. At present the law rested upon two bases. First of all there was the Judge-made law. As regards that, his hon. Friend had accurately stated his case. As far as the decisions of the Judges had gone, it was not the practice of the Courts to interfere with the custody of children as between husband and wife to the extent of taking them from the husband, except, generally speaking, in cases of gross immorality. But having said this, he parted company with his hon. Friend, for he did not agree with him as to the effect of *Mr. Justice Talfourd's Act*, and of the Statute introduced by his hon. Friend below him (*Mr. W. Fowler*). It had been laid down that the object of those Acts was to extend the power of the Court, and to enable it to interpose not only in cases of immorality, but also in cases when the father was making an unfair and unprincipled use of his power to

interfere with the comfort and happiness of the wife. The defect was that his hon. Friend's Statute applied only to girls up to the age of 16; in his opinion, it ought to be applicable also between the age of 16 and 21. He thought likewise that the law might be altered in this further respect. It might direct that the Court should take into consideration not only the acts of the parents, but also the wishes and views of a child who was above the age of 16. There was a recent case where girls of 16 had been taken away from their mother without their views on the point being either consulted or acted upon; and he admitted that in this instance the law operated both harshly and unjustly. There was another matter which seriously required alteration, and in regard to which he went further than his hon. and learned Friend the Member for the Tower Hamlets. He could conceive no reason why, after the death of the father, the mother should not be the guardian of the children; and if the Bill were limited to giving the mother the rights of a guardian, in that event he would support it. The father now appointed a person in his will as guardian of his children—it might be, no doubt, a perfectly competent person—but the will, perhaps, did not come into operation for years, and there was a tendency in men, as they grew older, of deteriorating in their morals. In this way it had often happened that the surviving mother was put aside for a person who, originally competent, had, in the course of time, become unfitted to be a guardian. He thought that the mother should have the right to appoint the guardian in the same way as the father, and able to give all the rights of guardian to her appointee. The great objection that he had to the Bill under consideration was that it would establish duality of control in the household—a thing to be avoided. Because husbands and wives occasionally quarrelled his hon. Friend would introduce into every household a most fertile source of dispute. Duality of control and of leadership was often to be regretted in other matters; but it would be especially bad within the domestic circle. Take the case of a spendthrift son. The father was the best judge of what would be good for him, and perhaps would conclude that the best thing would be to send the youth abroad, that



he might be away from the influence of bad companions, and have a chance of beginning a new life. But if the present Bill were passed into law, the mother, probably worked upon by Master Scapegrace, would instantly come forward and assert that she had an equal right to be consulted in the matter. If they were rich people the result would be a Chancery suit, and the boy would be made a ward of Court; but if they happened to be poor people there would be perpetual wrangling and misery. For the sake of some fancied philosophical uniformity they were asked to pass a Bill which would lead to constant disputes. What he suggested, however, was that instead of passing a Bill like this, Parliament should give the Court a more extended power, so that it might not be fettered by the old decisions, but might be enabled to intervene with effect as between the father, the mother, and the offspring. If he saw any process by which the Bill could be made to carry out his views he would not move its rejection; but it seemed to him it was based entirely on another theory and principle; these were avowed by the promoters of the Bill; and, therefore, believing the Bill to be a bad one, he must ask the House to reject it.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Ince.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. HEALY wished to ask the hon. Member in charge of the Bill, whether, when it reached the Committee stage, a clause could not be introduced dealing with the subject of mixed marriages?

MR. WALTER said, that most hon. Members would concur in feeling with the hon. Member who moved the second reading of the Bill that in 99 cases out of 100 the widow was the proper guardian of children after the death of the father. The Bill was framed for the purpose, and would probably have the effect of remedying what were, no doubt, grievous hardships in certain cases; but the House ought carefully to consider whether the operation of the Bill might not give rise to other hardships and grievances quite as great. The question of religion had, perhaps, been too much

ignored in the debate. Under the Bill as framed, guardianship was given to both parents, with remainder to the survivor. A case might be put in which two persons marrying when young might be then of the same faith—say, Protestants; and the father, dying when a son was of school age, might wish that son to be sent to a public school, such as Eton or Harrow. The father might have no suspicion of any difficulty which might arise after his death; and he, being estopped from appointing a testamentary guardian by this measure, which makes the widow guardian *ipso facto*, the widow might, in six months, become a Roman Catholic, and might say—"My boy, instead of going to Eton or Harrow, shall go to Oscott." Was the House anxious to facilitate such a proceeding by legislation? The Bill did not give the Courts power to interfere in such a case. Unless a distinct assurance was given that the Bill might be amended so as to enable a Court to decide a question of that kind, not only in cases in which parents were separated, but also in cases in which there had been a change of religion on the part of the surviving parent, which were, perhaps, the most painful and difficult cases that could arise, he could not vote for the second reading of the Bill; and therefore he should like to hear before the Division some expression of opinion on this point from either the Government or the hon. Member in charge of the Bill.

MR. MACFARLANE said, he believed that the Bill omitted to give the surviving parent power to appoint a testamentary guardian; but confessed that he could not interpret the clause. He thought that the clause gave the Court too much power, and that the Court should be bound to choose the religion of the parents or one of them; otherwise it might direct the children of Christians to be brought up as Mahomedans. While, however, he recognized that there were points in which the Bill would require amendment in Committee, he should support the second reading, because the evil which it sought to remedy was a very serious one.

MR. W. FOWLER said, he had always advocated changes in the law which tended to improve the position of women; and the Act that had been alluded to, which he carried 11 years



ago, for improving the position of women and children in cases in which the conduct of the father had been unsatisfactory to the Court, had worked extremely well, much good having resulted from the knowledge of the fact that the Court was able to interfere. He sympathized entirely with the objects of the Bill, and agreed with much that had been said as to the hardships that were suffered; but he had great doubt as to the remedy proposed, whether it would not do more harm than good. The Bill started with the idea that the husband and the wife were equal, a theory which was against Scripture and reason. The man ought to be the head of the household, and, although he might use his power badly, unfortunately that could not be altered by law. The law could interfere in extreme cases to prevent extreme evils; and in ordinary cases we must submit to the jurisdiction that was according to nature. He was saying that which was repugnant to many ladies whom he esteemed; but there were other ladies whom he equally esteemed who agreed with him. They were perfectly willing to be under that natural influence which he believed was according to reason. His difficulty with regard to the Bill was founded on the 2nd clause, which declared that there should be two authorities in the household, equal and co-ordinate. That was the very way to create dissensions and disputes without end; and if his hon. Friend insisted upon the clause the Court must be brought in to settle those disputes. As the law now stood, the husband and wife had to settle their own disputes. Therefore, if they gave the woman the same authority as the man, provision must be made for cases in which the two could not agree. No such provision was made by the Bill under discussion. The only case referred to in Clause 5 was where there was a separation; therefore, if the Bill was read a second time, he should demand some change with regard to the clause. But the main question which they had to decide was whether it was a right principle to say that there ought to be this double authority in the family. He greatly doubted it, and he was afraid, if his hon. Friend divided the House, that he should, very reluctantly, have to vote against him. He freely admitted that nothing could exceed the gross in-

justice of the existing law; but he did not think that the Bill would remedy the evil. With regard to the second part of the Bill, the hon. Member for Berkshire (Mr. Walter) had pointed out one of the difficulties with which it failed to deal. A child, it was true, might be brought up by the mother in a manner which was not intended by the father during his lifetime; but they could not deal with that matter by law. A man who died in early life could not be blamed for what happened to his children after his death. He would not attempt to discuss the numerous questions which arose out of the Bill. All he wished to do was to express his opinion that they were entering upon a most dangerous proceeding in attempting to create a double control in the family. He had much sympathy with those who had been injured by the existing law; but he was not prepared to say that the hardships which arose from what was called the supremacy of the man in his household could be removed by Act of Parliament. The man and the woman could not be made equal by any Act of Parliament in the world. It seemed to him that nature and reason pointed out that the man ought to be supreme, and that he should be the master of his household.

Mr. GREGORY said, he was not indisposed to take the view of the hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. W. Fowler), and confessed it appeared to him, like many other Bills dealing with domestic relations, to be a Bill calculated to create a good deal more discord than it could heal. It would establish a dual jurisdiction in the family; but he held that the father and husband should be the head of the family. He should have the liability and control over the children incident to such a position. To the wife's influence he was not one to object. Let it be exercised to the full if she was a sensible woman, and if she was not a sensible woman let the husband use his authority. With such a Bill law, the position would be this—the children not only appealing to the mother for the exercise of her influence, but appealing directly to her control, she having a separate authority to which she could resort against the wishes of the father; and when they had to deal with the question of the maintenance, education, and marriage, and the entering into

employment by the children, the trouble and discord the dual control would create would be enormous. Then the Bill provided that in all cases the wife should be the guardian, whether the deceased husband wished it or not, thus taking away the testamentary power the husband now had. In the course of his (Mr. Gregory's) professional experience he found the wife generally was appointed guardian, but not sole guardian. It was generally considered desirable to give her some assistance, to which she could resort for advice and support. No doubt, it was desirable generally that the wife should be a guardian; but it was not desirable that she should be sole guardian, and the husband should by no means be ousted from his testamentary power to appoint. Where there was no such testamentary power exercised, then he would suggest the wife should be guardian according to law. But a wife might marry again, and she very often did, and her second husband might not be the most agreeable step-father. He might have a family of his own, and his influence with his wife might be antagonistic to the interests of the children of the first marriage. Then, again, Clause 5 was very defective. Not a word did it contain about the maintenance of the children, or their destination in life. Who was to exercise control over that? But, without further discussing the details, he maintained that the principle of the Bill was defective. The establishment of a direct control by the wife would materially interfere with the welfare and harmony of the family; it would, by the application of the children, bring husband and wife into direct antagonism; and the Bill was unnecessary for the object said to be in view—namely, the appointment of the wife or survivor to be guardian.

MR. M'LAREN, in supporting the second reading, said, in ordinary households the husband and wife did not disagree in matters relating to their children, and he should be sorry to think it was the habit of either to dictate to the other. All that his hon. Friend sought to do was to give expression to what was the actual state of things; for, said he, so long as the husband and wife agree without quarrelling, the law should not interfere. The hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) very truly

said they could not make a man and woman equal and happy together by Act of Parliament; nor did this Bill make any such attempt—it was only where there were disputes that the Bill would come into operation. The clause which had been so much discussed was only inserted in order to give the Court the power of appointing the guardian, which it did not now possess. He appealed to every hon. Member who had read the Bill, and he asked them how, except in cases of dispute, it would affect the ordinary relationship of husband and wife? He cordially supported the Bill, and he thought the hon. Member had earned the gratitude of a very large number of wives. He had himself quite recently received a letter from a lady in a provincial town, whom he did not know, imploring him to support the Bill, and giving instances of great hardship which the Bill would meet. His own experience was in the same direction. He could not conceive any more beneficial exercise of the jurisdiction of that House than to pass such measures as would give effect to what were the true moral obligations of husband and wife, and enable the mother to obtain the rights which were her due.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS said, he hoped if the House read the Bill a second time it would be on the understanding that it contained some few grains of wheat in an immense quantity of chaff. That, however, was not a good principle to proceed upon. It was proposed by Clause 1 to abolish the power which the husband had over his son, and to call in a co-ordinate authority. If at any time a father said that his son was to go to Eton, and the mother said that he should go to Winchester, a Court of Law was to be appealed to in order to decide whether the will of the father or of the mother was to prevail. But until we should get female Judges on the Bench—a thing to which we were fast coming—the Judges, in nine cases out of ten, would side with the father. It was proposed to lay down the principle of equality, where there ought to be none, in the custody of the children. So much during the lifetime of the parents. But, by the 2nd clause, they were going to deprive the father of the right to appoint a testamentary guardian, so that in the case of a Roman Catholic gentleman married to a Protestant wife, if the father wished



that his son should be sent to Oscott, the mother, on the death of her husband, might have the boy brought up at Eton, and *vice versa*. It was a monstrous thing to enable a wife to say that her husband's wishes with respect to the education of his son should not be fulfilled. If the House were to read the Bill a second time in compliment to the hon. Gentleman, who was a very useful Member, he had no objection; but the better course would be to reject the Bill.

Mr. WILLIAMSON said, he intended to vote for the second reading of the Bill, which he considered a most useful measure. It might be necessary to amend it in some points; yet, looking at it as it stood, he intended to vote for it. The essential principle running through the Bill was to be found in the 2nd and 3rd clauses, and he did not think that any reasonable man could object to that principle. The hon. Member for Hastings (Mr. Ince) had said that in Scotland the law was more harsh than in England; yet the hon. Member had wound up by declaring that if they merely assimilated the law of Scotland to that of England everything would be put right. He (Mr. Williamson) sympathized very much with the remark made by the hon. Gentleman who introduced the Bill, that the question of the Courts exercising jurisdiction in connection with the Bill was one worthy of further consideration; and he sincerely hoped that in Scotland the Sheriff Courts would have power given to them. He thought it would be quite possible to draft a clause which would carry out that object. He deeply sympathized with the object of the Bill, and would vote for it.

Mr. GIBSON said, that everyone must admit that the hon. Member opposite had brought forward a question of the greatest social interest, and that there were many points upon which the law might be amended. The hon. Member who had moved the rejection of the Bill admitted that, but pointed out with great and persuasive force that the method proposed was open to grave objection. There were, no doubt, cases of great hardship under the existing law; but the way to remedy that was to give our Courts power to deal with them as they arose, and not to introduce into every home in the country elements of discord and disturbance. He thought

the hon. Member who introduced the Bill was the only one who desired that it should be passed in its present form. The 2nd clause was a very startling one, and when the hon. Member, at the close of his speech, appealed to them by the memory of their mothers to support the Bill, and spoke of it as a message of peace, he could not have been thinking of what the 2nd clause meant. Let them take any household. Did it not work, not by the operation of law, but of domestic affection and common sense? For the sake of a small minority of wives the promoters of this Bill had introduced provisions which might prove the source of widespread unhappiness. If the measure were passed, husbands and wives, who would otherwise settle their little differences at home, would be tempted to appeal to an Act of Parliament. If a wife who was not gifted with that robust and vigorous sense which he was glad to recognize in the great majority of the sex were told that she could back her opinion in opposition to her husband by referring to an Act of Parliament passed at the instigation of a benevolent and unmarried Member of the House of Commons, which declared that she was as good a guardian as her mate, they must not be surprised if the disturbing elements existing in some households already gained greater prominence. Had the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce) thought out the problems involved in the 2nd section of the Bill? In ordinary cases the clause would be inoperative; and, therefore, so far as they were concerned, it was not wanted. But in the cases in which it would be operative, how was the wife to assert herself against her husband? By an appeal to the law; and thus the Bill would be a potent engine for the creation and manufacture of matrimonial quarrels instead of for their settlement. He deprecated as strongly as anyone could the conduct of a husband who, by his will, ejected his wife from the guardianship of her children after his death. In nine cases out of ten, however, a man nominated his wife the guardian of her children; but, with her sanction and by her desire, associated with her some other people to assist and guide her with advice. That sensible arrangement would be put an end to by the 3rd clause of this Bill, which proposed to enact that in



future a wife who survived her husband should be the sole guardian of her children.

MR. BRYCE explained that the arrangement to which the right hon. and learned Gentleman referred could still be made under the 4th clause of the measure.

MR. GIBSON replied, that he could not understand how the 4th clause would enable a father to do alone what he could do at present—namely, associate with his wife wise and discreet friends in the guardianship of his children. He did not think that sufficient attention had been paid by some hon. Members who had spoken to the illustration of the manner in which the Act would work which had been given by the hon. Member for Berkshire (Mr. Walter). That hon. Member referred to the operation of the Bill in cases of difference about religion. Had not a man who was a sincere Christian, but whose wife was inclined to be an Infidel, a right to take some precautions with reference to the religious education of his children after his death? If the Bill were passed that right would practically be destroyed. Then, in regard to education, men of common sense believed that it was good for their sons to go to school; but some mothers were fond of keeping their boys at home. A man might be caused serious unhappiness by the thought that the instant his breath was out of his body his wife might set aside altogether the arrangements which he might have made for the education of his sons at a public school. These were some of the points which must be considered before the House should agree to read the Bill a second time. He was of opinion that it was desirable to amend the law by giving a wider discretion in a certain class of cases to our Courts; but that did not mean that he assented to the second reading of this Bill, to whose methods and clauses he was opposed. He had the courage of his opinions, and he would unhesitatingly vote against the second reading.

MR. HORACE DAVEY said, he thought the author of the Bill, the hon. and learned Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce), was to be congratulated on the reception which the Bill had met, because the measure had elicited a general admission that the

present law required amendment. It had been the desire of the promoters of the Bill to prevent litigation between husband and wife; and, consequently, the right of application to the Courts was only given by the Bill in cases of acute dispute, where the differences were irreconcilable, and had ended in the separation of the parties. It was asked who was to settle any differences between the joint guardians? They must settle it between themselves, doing what had to be done in the case of every partnership known to the law, for the law refused to interfere between partners whilst they continued to carry on business together, and so it should refuse to interfere between man and wife so long as they lived together. A little give-and-take must be employed, wherever business must be carried on; and, however high disputes might run, ultimately some *modus vivendi* was usually arrived at, and it would be the same with married people under the present Bill. They would know that they had to live together, just as partners knew that they had to carry on business together. One great objection was that this Bill would be a fertile source of disputes and quarrel in conjugal life. That he denied. If he had thought that such a result was likely, he would not have taken any part in advocating it; but he believed that what would take place would be exactly the contrary. The Bill would not create any disputes or differences of opinion; and he ventured to say that, where unhappily they did exist already, and were settled by the exercise of the husband's last resource, his legal power, it left behind it a sense of bitterness and injustice in the wife's breast that was not calculated to do good. But if the wife knew that there was a better chance of the dispute being ended by a give-and-take arrangement, however the dispute might be made up, it would not leave behind it that sense of bitterness and injustice of the law which so often rankled in the hearts of married women. There seemed to be an idea in the speeches of several hon. Members who had spoken against the Bill that the wife had nothing to do with the children—that she was, in fact, altogether an outsider in this matter; and one hon. Gentleman had said that the idea that the wife should necessarily be guardian, if the

survivor, was shocking. He (Mr. Horace Davey) could see nothing shocking in the fact of a wife, who survived her husband, being the guardian of her own children. The question between the supporters and opponents of the Bill was not a question of principle, but of degree; and he preferred his hon. and learned Friend's (Mr. Bryce's) way of remedying the defects of the existing law, which even the opponents of the Bill admitted. It was more scientific, and more in accordance with the principles of legislation, that a principle should be laid down, and the Courts left to work it out to its natural consequences. If disputes unhappily arose during the lifetime of both parents, and if they came before the Court, they had now to be settled entirely on the assumption that the father's right alone must necessarily prevail, unless he had committed some grave misconduct and in equity had forfeited that right. What they desired to get, by the 2nd clause of this Bill, was that, if any dispute came before the Courts, it should be decided, not upon any presumption of absolute legal right on the part of either parent, but solely on the consideration of the best interests of the children, without any presumption in favour of either parent. The hon. Member for Cambridge Borough (Mr. W. Fowler) had stated that he was in favour of preserving the natural conditions of husband and wife, and the supremacy of the husband. But they considered that the present law did not, as a matter of fact, adequately recognize the natural conditions, and the supporters of the Bill desired to bring the law into harmony with nature. Another element to be considered was who had the power of the purse-strings. In many instances, especially since the Married Women's Property Act, it was the wife who provided the ways and means; and, in such a case, it was hard that she should have no power. This 2nd clause was intended, not to introduce any new element of discord or litigation, but to lay down a principle to guide the Courts in case of litigation becoming necessary. By the 4th clause the husband might, by his will, appoint guardians to manage the estate for his children jointly with his wife. It had been said that there was a want of clearness about the 4th clause; but, if that was really the case, it could

be considered and amended in Committee. In regard to the children of mixed marriages, it had been thought that, under the Bill as at present framed, the Court would have ample power to decide questions as to which religion such children should be brought up in, with due regard to their own interest and the rights of both parents. It would be a pity to bind the Court absolutely to enforce contracts between the parents; but it would be better that it should have power to give effect wholly or partially to such contracts, or to decline doing so, the governing principle being the benefit of the infants. The hon. Member for Berkshire (Mr. Walter) had put a case of great difficulty, and it was one of great difficulty at the present time. Such cases had come under his (Mr. Horace Davey's) own observation, and they were among the most painful with which the Courts had to deal. A husband and wife, for example, were both Protestants. The husband died, leaving his wife surviving, and, having had confidence in her, he appointed her guardian of his infant children. The wife might turn a Roman Catholic. The Court, at present, under such circumstances, might be compelled to take away the children from the custody of the Roman Catholic mother. It had no option; because it had been decided that the father had an absolute right, without any regard whatever to the mother, to say in what religion his children should be brought up. The law said that the children were to be brought up in his religion. That was, he thought, a great hardship. Looking at it as a practical question, it seemed to him that the present state of the law was a great evil, and that it would be a less evil for the children to be brought up as Roman Catholics, by a Roman Catholic mother, than to deprive them of the mother's care, and have them brought up, it might be by strangers, in order to make them Protestants, with the chance that, when they came to years of discretion and rejoined their mother, the religious impressions they had received might be wiped out of their minds. He did not deny that the case put by the hon. Member for Berkshire was one of great hardship, which would require to be very carefully considered; but there was hardship under the existing law; and they ought, if possible, to avoid producing fresh grievances and hardships. His hon.

*Mr. Horace Davey*



and learned Friend (Mr. Bryce) and he would, however, when the Bill got into Committee, give the most careful consideration to any Amendments that might be proposed from any quarter, with a view to deal with what he might call the religious part of that subject. He was far from denying that the Bill might not be advantageously amended in Committee, or that some of the points which had been alluded to in that debate were not wellworthy of attention; but he thought the measure was one to which the House might fairly agree to give a second reading.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he agreed with a great deal that had been said by his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) in regard to that Bill. It went much too far for the object in view, and it was based, in the mind of the hon. Member who had brought it forward, on the fallacy that the husband and wife were to be exactly co-equal in regard to their children, and that the control now vested in the father alone was to be placed jointly in the father and mother. But almost every Member who had spoken had admitted that the law as it at present stood required alteration, and he was so anxious that the law should be amended on some points that he was disposed to allow the Bill to be read a second time in order that it might be fairly discussed and amended in Committee; but if it came down from the Committee in anything like its present shape he could not support it. He hoped that the Government would take that matter into its own hands and bring forward such a measure upon it as would meet with general acceptance. The particular grievance that he wished to call attention to was the extreme hardship of the Scotch law. Take the two cases which had arisen in the Scottish Courts. In one it was proved to the satisfaction of the Lord Ordinary that the conduct of the husband was such that no woman could submit to. The Lord Ordinary found that there was considerable maltreatment, accompanied by conduct of a contumacious and overbearing character, which was calculated deeply to wound the feelings of the pursuer or any female of ordinary sensibility. But the Court refused the petition of the mother for the custody of the children, as the law

would not take the children from the custody of their father unless it could be shown that the health, or life, or morals of the children would be endangered by remaining in the father's custody. That he considered was a very hard case. Again, a Scotch Court had held that although it had been sufficiently proved that the husband had committed a violent assault and inflicted serious injury on his wife by repeated blows with his clenched fist, and although for years previously his conduct towards her had been violent and unreasonable, the custody of his child could not be taken from him and given to the mother, although it was shown that her conduct throughout was exemplary and unimpeachable. He wished to ask the Lord Advocate whether that state of things was not to be altered, and whether he was in a position to state that some remedy would be applied in the case that had been brought to his notice? He quite agreed that this Bill went so far as to be productive of great inconvenience and disturbance in many a household where peace and happiness now existed; but he could not imagine that it would be necessary to go so far in the direction of disturbance in order to meet the cases he had mentioned to the House. He would vote for the Bill solely for the purpose of getting rid of the great hardships that had been referred to. He hoped, however, that in Committee it would be so modified as not to be a source of danger and disturbance to those households which were peaceful and happy.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, this had been the most important interrogatory discussion he had been present at. Nearly every hon. Member who had addressed the House had put one or two questions to the Government. He would, therefore, ask one more question. He had come down to the House with the full intention of supporting the Bill, which dealt with a case of undoubted grievance. The House must not only consider the case of the father and the mother, but they must also consider the case of the child. What he wished to ask—and no doubt the Lord Advocate would be able to enlighten him—was this—“What would be the position of the child if these two legal guardians which this Bill appointed should differ?” He thought it had been admitted all through the discussion that the Bill was only



needed to meet extreme cases. No doubt there were cases in which the power possessed by the man had been abused; but still the woman was not always an angel. He could imagine extreme cases of this kind occurring, and probably often among men not in the position in life of Members of the House. The woman might say to her husband, that now the law was in her favour she would not allow the child to be sent out to service or to work in a mill, or, in the case of the upper classes, interfering with regard to the choice of a school. What would become of the child in a dispute of that kind? That question, he thought, pointed to some power which should interfere in cases which absolutely demanded it. He did not agree with the right hon. Gentleman opposite in thinking that the hon. Member who brought in the Bill should be asked to give it up in favour of the Government. Experience had shown that it was quite as easy for a private Member to pass a Bill as the Government. They need not, therefore, be discouraged because the Bill was that of a private Member. They should go into Committee on the Bill with the determination to prevent such injustice and cruelty as had often been exercised by husbands over their wives through the affections of their children, and the House should take care that fresh cases of an extreme character should not crop up. It was quite possible they might settle the question, not by giving a dual authority, but by limiting considerably the authority of the husband who was guilty of unjust or cruel conduct.

MR. LEAMY said, that, while he was in favour of the second reading of the Bill, he was of opinion, unless it was altered in Committee, it would be productive of much mischief. If the Bill reached the Committee stage Irish Members would endeavour to provide that the agreements made for the religious education of children should be respected. Unless such an Amendment were inserted in the Bill he did not think he could continue to support it.

MR. RAMSAY said, he concurred with the right hon. Gentleman in his desire that there should be some amendment of the law of Scotland in cases of this kind. No doubt cases of great hardship did occur in Scotland; but he did not feel that this measure had been dis-

cussed sufficiently with reference to the whole population of the Kingdom. The speeches which had been made had reference almost exclusively to the upper and middle classes. He did not say a remedy should not be provided for those classes; yet he thought a Bill of this kind, which provided for the husband and wife having joint guardianship, might furnish a cause of discord among millions of the working classes, and that no such change was necessary to effect the object the hon. Gentleman had in view. He specially referred to the 4th clause of the Bill, where it was indicated that when a child became entitled to real or personal estate consequent on the death of the father the mother should be joint guardian of the estate of the child, and should continue in that capacity during her lifetime. Was it reasonable that the guardianship of the child and the estate of the child should be vested equally in the mother and in the guardian appointed by the father? The father might be the sole source from which the estate of the child was derived, and, in that case, if the mother should marry after the decease of the father, where would the justice be of placing her influence under that of another man, and probably allow the estate which had been left to the child by a former marriage to be misspent, and perhaps destroyed, by the influence of the guardian? He felt that this was a grave objection to this part of the Bill. By agreeing to pass the 2nd clause in the form in which it stood in the Bill, the House would introduce ground for discord in millions of happy homes of the working classes.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I rise to express, on the part of the Government, their willingness to assent to the second reading of this Bill, not because we regard the Bill as by any means perfect—very much the reverse in many respects—but because we believe that it would offer a fitting means and occasion for remedying defects which exist in the law of the three parts of the United Kingdom with respect to the guardianship and custody of children. I do not propose to go through all the clauses of the Bill; but I should like to point out in what respects it appears to me that this Bill, if it is not erroneous, demands very serious consideration, and, further, in what parts

it affords a means of remedying existing evils. The 2nd clause of this Bill is very short, but I must point out that it covers two cases which are by no means the same. It provides that the parents of an infant shall, during the continuance of their marriage, be its joint guardians. The clause as it stands would apply indifferently and without distinction to the case where the husband and wife were living together and to the case where they were living separately. Now, it appears to us that there is a very great distinction between these two cases, and that what may be fitting and proper for the one case may not be fitting and proper for the other; and I am bound to say, subject to the possibility of being convinced in Committee, that at this moment I am not satisfied of the necessity of any such enactment for the case where the husband and wife are living together. The authoritative explanation given by my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) of this part of the Bill has rather increased than diminished the difficulties which I felt on this point. It must have occurred to anyone on reading this Bill that there was something faulty, or something wanting, as between the 2nd and the 5th clauses; because, if it was intended that the joint guardianship which is proposed to be given while the spouses are living together was to be effectual, you should have some means for making it effectual—some sanction, or some remedy—but there is nothing of the sort provided by the Bill. But my hon. and learned Friend has explained that that was not an undesigned omission, but that the 5th clause was intentionally left as it is—in short, that while he proposes to give a joint guardianship even when the spouses are living together, he does not think it necessary that there should be any provision for legal intervention to give effect to that guardianship. The reasons he assigns for this omission are that things will probably work themselves out by the good sense of the husband and the wife who are living together. If that is so, where is the necessity or advantage of giving a joint guardianship while they are living together? I believe that in the great majority of cases, as long as they are living together, and are getting on for better or

worse, they can get on in regard to the children as well as in regard to anything else. It appears to me that if you provide that there should be a joint guardianship, and do not provide any means for making it effectual, the only result would be that the wife might feel that the law had given her a right without also giving a remedy. It therefore appears that if there is to be a joint guardianship while the spouses are living together, it is essential that there should be some provision for the intervention of a Court, and that to provide the intervention by a Court while they are living together would not be a benefit, but the reverse. We get into an entirely different region when the husband and wife are living separately, either voluntarily or under judicial authority, and it is in that case that I believe in England, and I think I may say certainly in Scotland, there is need for a remedy. I shall not go into the law of England in the absence of the Attorney General, who had meant to take part in this discussion, and who has been unavoidably obliged to leave; but I have not heard any challenge of the accuracy of the statement of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Bryce), in which he formulated the law of England as he understood it. He said that under the Act of 1873 the mother was excluded from the custody unless grave misconduct was made out against the father. He did not say exactly what was required to constitute grave misconduct on the part of the father; but I rather understand that something lighter would be enough to constitute misconduct in England than in Scotland. What I shall have to offer upon this point would, of course, apply *a fortiori* to Scotland, but would equally in principle apply to England. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) has quite correctly stated the law of Scotland on this matter. It has been decided that although there is a discretionary power vested in the Court, that discretion has become very much a matter of rule, and it is right that judicial discretion should be settled upon principles that can be known and understood; but it has this effect, that what is originally a discretion really comes in the end to be the application of a hard-and-fast rule. That hard-and-fast rule has gone the length in



Scotland of being applied thus, that even where the husband and wife are living separately under a decree of the Court on the ground of cruelty, the husband is entitled to the custody of the child, however young—it may be weeks or months old—unless it is shown that residence with the husband is likely to be injurious to its morals or health. That is upon the ground that there is a primary right in the husband to the child—a survival of the *patria potestas* of the Roman law. In such a case there is no consideration for the wife, who is the victim; but in so far as the parents are considered at all, the consideration is for the husband, who is the guilty spouse. The primary and governing consideration ought to be the welfare of the child, and where consideration for either parent comes in, it ought to be subordinate and collateral to that. When the interests of the child would be indifferently subserved by giving it to one spouse or the other—and still more if the wife is the better custodian—she should have as good a right to it as the husband. When you have to consider between the husband and the wife, it should be the innocent and not the guilty, or, at all events, it should be open to the Court to take full view of all the considerations, and, other things being equal, to give the custody rather to the innocent than to the guilty spouse. I think it would be very easy, whatever view is taken of the other parts of the Bill, so to modify and amend it in Committee as to make provision for an improvement of the law in that very vital and important respect. There have been points of a more doubtful character mentioned, and I do not propose to go into them in detail or to defend the Bill as regards these points, but only to state the reasons why we assent to going into Committee. The 2nd clause provides that on the death of one of the parents the survivor shall be the guardian of the children. I take that to mean that the survivor shall be the sole guardian. That is a proposal open, certainly, to criticism, and it would demand very careful consideration. I should be disposed to say that the wife, if she was the survivor, should be a guardian; but it is quite another thing to say that she should be the sole guardian. And I may add that the provision is departed from when we come to the end of

Clause 4, where, as regards property left by a husband to a child, while he is to be allowed to nominate a guardian, that guardian is not to have the sole administration even of the property left by the husband, but is only to come in jointly with the mother. It is one thing to say that the mother shall be a guardian, or the sole guardian, when the person of the child and its education and religious training are concerned; a totally different thing to provide that the law shall decline to allow a man to appoint such trustees to a particular part of his property as he may choose, because it happens that that property is left to his child. That does appear to me a very strong proposal, and it would require a great deal of argument to convince one that it is right. That matter of guardianship ought to be considered in Committee, and in that matter, too, with some amendment, the Bill could be turned to some useful purpose—probably, at all events, to the extent of providing that the wife should in all cases be a guardian. Clause 4 is quite consistent with the general scheme of the Bill; but, of course, if the criticisms which I have ventured to submit to the House upon the other proposals in Clauses 2 and 3 have any substance in them, then Clause 4 would either become unnecessary or require a good deal of modification. As regards Clause 5, if the House should come to the conclusion that while the husband and wife are living together there should be judicial intervention—which I am not at the moment satisfied would be a beneficial proposal—then Clause 5 would require to be extended to meet that case, otherwise you would have a law without a sanction, and a right without a remedy. There are various proposals of a minor character which I do not go into now. It is a very fair question whether there ought not to be a power given to apply in certain cases to an Inferior Court. There are other matters in this Bill, particularly in its application to Scotland, which would want a considerable deal of amendment. There is much of the definition and phraseology, and of the Interpretation Clauses, which is not very appropriate to the law of Scotland; but any discussion upon these would be more fitted for Committee. All that seems necessary to be said now is, that we think this Bill may be turned into a



useful measure—it may be by excision to some extent, but possibly also by some addition, and that we assent to the second reading, and hope the House will take the same view.

MR. ELTON said, he thought that by the adoption of a process of excision and alteration in Committee this Bill might be made to effect a useful reform. He thought that a wife who survived her husband should, at the discretion of the Court, have more power than she at present possessed in determining what religion the children should be brought up. He hoped also that occasion would be taken to abolish the whole series of semi-obsolete kinds of guardianship which infested the English law, such as guardianship in socage, by nature, by nurture, and guardianship of the lord of the manor or the Archbishop. He should support the second reading of the Bill.

MR. BRYCE, in reply, begged to express his satisfaction at the tone of the discussion which had taken place, and the admission universally made that the present law was indefensible. Everyone had admitted that the Bill furnished the basis of useful legislation whereby the law might be amended. He was not pledged to any particular form which his Bill might take in the details of its clauses, and would, therefore, be content if the House would read it a second time and subsequently deal with it in Committee.

MR. WARTON said, he objected to the principle laid down by the hon. and learned Member for Christchurch (Mr. Horace Davey) that when a mother changed her religion after her husband's death, she should be allowed to bring up the children in her newly-adopted faith. This Bill, which would bring discord into many happy homes, was promoted by an organization of strong-minded women, supported by weak-minded men, who held meetings, disseminated pamphlets, and wrote letters by the hundred. In many happy households now united they would by their pamphlets and letters stir up the wives to a neglect of their duty, and promote discord. It was perfectly clear to him that the Law of God declared that the husband should be supreme. Scripture said that, "The desire of the wife shall be to her husband, and he shall rule over her;" and, therefore, he had no belief in the equality of the sexes. The best wives did not wish to have the existing

laws to be altered by Acts of Parliament and perversions of God's written Word.

MR. INCE said, that after the statement that his hon. Friend would place the details of the Bill in the hands of the Committee, he would not press his Amendment.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 208; Noes 73: Majority 135.—(Div. List, No. 52.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Monday 7th April.

#### MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.—[BILL 50.]

(Mr. Broadhurst, Sir Thomas Chambers, Mr. Alderman Cotton, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Collins, Mr. Causton, Mr. Puleston, Mr. Burt, Mr. Heneage, Mr. Samuel Morley.)

#### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Order for the Second Reading of this Bill be discharged, and that the Bill be withdrawn."—(Mr. Broadhurst.)

MR. BERESFORD HOPE asked whether the Resolution *in pari materia*, of which the hon. Member had given Notice, was consistent with the Standing Order, it being identical in substance with the Bill now before the House, and having been given previous to the Notice of withdrawal?

MR. SPEAKER: There was nothing informal in the Notice given by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stoke. He now proposes to adopt a different mode of proceeding; but when the hon. Member gave Notice of his Motion, he intended, as I understood, to withdraw the Bill which now stands on the Order Book. I may remind the House that it is action, and not Notice, that is the material point, and the Motion of which Notice has been given could not come on for discussion so long as the Bill remained on the Orders. The hon. Member was quite in Order in taking the action which he did.

MR. HEALY supposed that the right hon. Gentleman might, if he pleased, object to the adoption of the hon. Member's present Motion for discharging the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill?

MR. SPEAKER: Yes; in that case the Order would stand over till to-morrow, but nobody has objected.

MR. HEALY: I object.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Second Reading *deferred till To-morrow*.

#### REVISION OF VOTERS AND JURORS LISTS (DUBLIN COUNTY) [SALARY].

*Considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That it is expedient to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of the annual Salary of the Revising Barrister for the county of Dublin, which may become payable under the provisions of any Act of the present Session to facilitate the Revision of Lists of Jurors and Voters, and the Registration of Voters in the county of Dublin.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

### MOTION.

—o—

#### WATERWORKS RATING BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DODDS, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Rating of Waterworks Undertakings belonging to Local Authorities, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DODDS, Mr. BARRAN, Mr. JACKSON, Mr. NORTHCOTE, and Mr. CODDINGTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 158.]

House adjourned at five minutes  
before Six o'clock.

### HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Thursday, 27th March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Colonial Prisoners Removal \* (44); Criminal Law Amendment \* (45).

*Second Reading*—Local Government Provisional Orders \* (33).

*Second Reading*—Committee *negatived*—*Considered*—*Third Reading*—Consolidated Fund (No. 1), \* and *passed*.

*Third Reading*—Valuation (Metropolis) Amendment \* (31), and *passed*.

#### ARMY—ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE, SANDHURST—EXAMINATIONS.

##### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I rise to ask the noble Earl the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether he will state the nature of the alteration which has been recently made in

the regulations for the examinations for admission to the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, and the grounds upon which the change has been made? I should like to ascertain what object the Government have in view in making this change? The practical result of the change made is that, whereas English composition, English history, and English literature, taken together, were subjects which had the highest number of marks—namely, 3,000—they have now been banished altogether from that favoured position, and put into the position of having only 1,000 marks attached to them. This will make them unlikely to be frequently selected by candidates as their subjects. In place of English literature, German and French literature are to receive the additional number of 1,000 marks. The result is that English literature is altogether swept out, and each candidate must take up Latin and mathematics, or German and French. I wish to know on what ground this set has been made against English literature? At the same time, another change has been made which I confess I regard with some regret. A much smaller value has been given than before to natural science, chemistry, and such subjects. Of course I am aware that public school boys will prefer Latin, but many boys take more readily to the study of English than Latin literature; and to many, not educated at public schools, English literature will be more acceptable and a better test of their capacity; and, certainly, if you look to the utility of the studies, English literature will compare favourably with Latin. The change with respect to natural science is still more to be regretted, because there is no body of men to whom a knowledge of science could be more useful, and conduce more to their happiness, especially when it is considered that they have to pass large portions of their time in various parts of the world, often with no adequate employment for their spare hours. I wish to know what are the latest intentions of Her Majesty's Government on this subject, as I understand that even yet there is some doubt on the subject, and what are the reasons for this change?

THE EARL OF MORLEY, in reply, said, the Question was a very natural one, and he was not at all surprised at its being asked. At the same time, he

was much obliged to the noble Marquess for giving him an opportunity of explaining the main changes in the examinations, and the reasons which had induced Her Majesty's Government to introduce them. The noble Marquess had been, no doubt, fairly accurate in the description of the main features of these changes. At present there were practically eight subjects given to candidates, of which they must take up not less than two or more than four. These were — mathematics, to which 3,000 marks were given; English composition, English literature, and English history, limited to certain fixed periods, also 3,000; Latin, 3,000; Greek, 2,000; French and German, each 2,000; experimental sciences, 2,000; general and physical geography and geology, 2,000; freehand drawing, 1,000; and geometrical drawing, 500 marks. Under the new scheme a different line had been taken. The subjects were divided into three classes. In the first class were subjects having a maximum of 3,000 marks — namely, mathematics, Latin, French, and German, each of which commanded the maximum number of marks. In the second class came five subjects, with a maximum of 2,000 marks, given to Greek and to higher mathematics; 1,500 marks were given to each of the following subjects:—English history, included one general paper and one limited to a fixed period; experimental sciences; and general and physical geography and geology. In the third class came English composition, tested by the power of writing and essay, letter, or *précis*, freehand drawing and geometrical drawing. The maximum for each of these three subjects was 500 marks. It was proposed that every competitor who came up for this examination should have a more restricted option of subjects than he had before. In the first class he must take up three subjects, and, in addition, he might take up one subject in Class I. or Class II., and all the subjects in Class III. Far greater importance was thus given to modern languages in the new scheme, and also to mathematics, while less importance was given to science. The English paper as it had existed before was now abolished. The details which he gave to the House were, he acknowledged, somewhat technical. The object of these changes was not to screw up the

examinations, but as far as possible to improve their character and to encourage the taking up of subjects which must be taught rather than crammed. In drawing up that scheme they had had the advantage of the advice of the noble Viscount behind him (Viscount Enfield) and of the other Civil Service Commissioners, and of communication with a great many gentlemen interested in education. Of course, the War Office had the whole responsibility of the scheme; but he begged to thank them for the assistance which they had given. They had also consulted other gentlemen who had been engaged in education. It was quite unnecessary to argue the question whether competitive examinations were good or bad. The main object was to test the results of a general education, and to do that satisfactorily it was necessary that the subjects should be general subjects, and not set ones. That was one of the faults of the present system. These examinations were not intended to be technical or military, but to test the general education of the candidates; their military education began at Sandhurst. They did not think it necessary or desirable, in drawing up a scheme for the examination of candidates for the Army, to follow the exact lines laid down by public schools. They should consider what were the subjects which should be included in general education, and thus encourage in the schools the study of those subjects which had hitherto been too little attended to in the scholastic curriculum. It was a matter of regret that during the last few years the number of successful candidates for admission to the Military College who came direct from the public schools was rather diminishing than increasing. At the February examination in 1877, out of 177 successful candidates 61 were helped by tutors—that was, 116 went straight from school. In December, 1883, out of 170 there were 123 helped by private tutors—that was, 47 went straight from school. He did not wish for a moment to speak disparagingly of private tutors, some of whom were extremely able and admirable teachers; but, taking them as a rule, he feared that their main object was mark-getting. They did not, in many cases, he believed, even require their pupils to read the books in which they were to be examined, but by an



ingenious process of analyzing all the questions which had been set at a given number of examinations they could almost exhaust the number of questions that were put, and then by means of epitomes, abstracts, and essays of all kinds which they made their pupils commit to memory, there were a great many chances to one that when their pupils came up for examination they would find these "tips" available for use. That, however, was not real education, but simply a process of cramming. It did not last, and had not the same effect on the mind as genuine teaching. But he had a still greater complaint, not against individuals, but against the system of private tutors, and that was the moral effect it had upon young men at a particularly critical period of their life. They went to them for a short time merely to obtain sufficient information to enable them to get the requisite number of marks to secure admission to Sandhurst. These tutors generally had little or no responsibility for and no moral supervision or control over their pupils. These pupils, while at school, were subject to the moral control of their tutors, and, what was even more important, to the public opinion of their school-fellows. He was glad to think that the tone of our public schools was sound and healthy. At Sandhurst, and afterwards in the Army, they were subject to military discipline, and to the influence of their brother officers. In the interval of time which was spent at a tutor's, prematurely emancipated from the restraints of school, they were not subject to the wholesome influences of school traditions, or of military discipline and *esprit de corps*. This he considered as a great danger to boys between 16 and 19 years of age, and he believed was the cause of many bad habits being contracted. Some time ago he had heard a story, though he could not vouch for its truth, which gave an idea of the general impression entertained in regard to the moral responsibility of those private tutors. He was told that a parent, anxious about certain irregularities which his son had committed, complained to his tutor, remarking on the peril which the young man's soul incurred. The tutor replied that he had no responsibility as to the pupil's soul, but had only to get his body into Sandhurst. The training in schools was

more healthy, and it was desirable, as far as they could, to obviate the necessity for the employment of those private tutors. It would be admitted that the staple elements of education were literary and scientific knowledge, languages, and mathematics. Mathematics, Latin, French, and German were now to be placed in the first class, each with a maximum of 3,000 marks. In the second class came Greek. It had been suggested that Greek should be put in the first class, but after careful consideration it had been decided to put it in the second class. When really well learnt, Greek was an admirable instrument of education; but for boys who were going into the Army at 17 or 18, he found that the results to be obtained were so slight that they would not be justified in putting it higher in the scale than they had done. The noble Marquess had complained of the way in which they treated the English paper, which consisted of three parts—composition, literature, and history. The changes now made were to give English history and composition as separate papers, the former in the second, the latter in the third class, and to abolish the examination in literature altogether. With regard to English literature, it was a field in which cramming was most rampant. If they could exact from those young men a general knowledge of English literature it would be advantageous, but, as a matter of fact, it was acknowledged by all who had experience in such examinations to be impossible. He would repeat that in many cases the tutors did not even require the pupils to read the book in which they were to be examined. Much the same remark applied to history, in which also there was much cramming. As regards the examination in the experimental sciences, a deputation of distinguished gentlemen connected with the Royal Society and the British Association had met with the authorities of the War Office a few days ago, and they represented that it was extremely inexpedient to lower the number of marks allotted to experimental science. It was argued by them that lowering the number of marks given to this subject would discourage the instruction carried on in public schools. He was bound to say there was great force in that objection, and his noble Friend the Secretary of State for War was now considering

whether the same number of marks should not be attached to this paper as in the case of higher mathematics and Greek. At the same time, the gentlemen to whom he had referred, among whom were Professor Huxley and Dr. Carpenter, were of opinion that the present papers were not satisfactory. They had sent suggestions to the War Office with the view of re-classifying them in a more satisfactory manner, and this he thought would tend to the improvement of the papers. The last paper was that dealing with geography and geology. The gentlemen to whom he referred had admitted to him that they could not attach so much importance to this paper as to experimental sciences. On this subject, again, the gentlemen to whom he referred had made several suggestions, and it was under consideration as to whether all the subjects should be placed in Class II. or on the same level. He thought he had now stated as carefully as he could the reasons which had induced the Government to alter the present scheme of arrangements at Sandhurst. The scheme he had sketched would still admit of a considerable choice of subjects being made to suit the tastes of candidates; but no doubt it was rather less elastic than the present scheme. He believed that all the subjects could be learnt at school; and the public schools must make efforts to improve the instructions which they gave in them, if they desired to retain their pupils, and to obviate the great evil which had resulted in the necessity of leaving the school to go to private tutors. He did not wish to say a word against private tutors as a rule. He did not deny that many of them were able teachers; but, for reasons already given, he considered that, both morally and intellectually, the time spent with private tutors was in too many cases badly spent. The scheme would not come into effect until the middle, or, perhaps, the end of next year, and therefore ample time would be afforded to all schools and individuals engaged in educational work to make any necessary alterations in their systems to suit the requirements which were now laid down for admission to the Army.

LORD WAVENEY said, he knew, from his own experience, of the degradation of the moral fibre of young men who were allowed, through the careless-

ness of private tutors, to dispense with the discipline that was so essential. He believed it to be essential that the young soldier should be familiarized with his weapons as early as possible in his career. He thought it was better to train a young soldier up to a certain point and until he was capable of attaining a certain amount of military knowledge. He referred to the establishment of the military school at Oxford for the purpose of breaking through the barrack system. The system had been an efficacious one. Young men were taught all kinds of athletic sports, and he was confident that they did honour to the regiments by which they were selected.

LORD RIBBLESDALE said, he hoped the noble Earl (the Earl of Morley) was correct in telling their Lordships that the alteration in the number of marks would not in any way tend to discourage English composition. He believed the early habit of English composition was of the greatest use in these days of examination to young officers who intended to make the Army their profession, because to attain the rank of captain they had to pass an important examination in tactics, and they could not write a good paper unless they knew something of composition.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD said, the noble Earl was correct in saying that the changes that had been sketched were the result of correspondence and consultation between the War Office on the one hand and the Civil Service Commission on the other. He believed that his noble Friend, together with the noble Marquess at the head of the War Office and the Civil Service Commissioners, acting in favour of the public and the Army, had but one object in view—namely, to make such changes in the examination as would give the fairest chance to young men who were educated in the public schools in order that they might be able to pass from those public schools direct to Woolwich and Sandhurst without the intervention of crammers. In regard to the subjects that were to be taught under this scheme, he thought elementary mathematics was a *sine quâ non* to any young man entering the Army. Latin and mathematics were subjects which were likely to be thoroughly taught in our public schools; but, unfortunately, it was too often the case that young men who had been edu-



cated in great schools like Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Cheltenham, and Marlborough, were obliged afterwards to have recourse to cramming. In limiting the subjects to Latin, mathematics, and French or German, good results were likely to be produced. The noble Marquess expressed regret that the number of marks allowed for English history had been reduced. Some correspondence had passed between the War Office and the Civil Service Commission on this point, and it was probable that the number of marks for this subject would be raised to 2,000, which would be a very fair amount. The parents and guardians of the young men who were candidates for the Army desired that the education which they received before they competed should be of a practical character, and that what they learnt they should learn thoroughly. With this object he thought it would be well if the War Office insisted upon elementary mathematics, one modern language, and Latin or Greek as essential in the examination for entrance into the Army, added to which there should be a competent knowledge of English history. The deliberations between the War Office and the Civil Service Commission on these matters had been of the most harmonious character.

LORD STRATHNAIRN said, it was absolutely necessary that English officers should be thoroughly educated and trained for their work. He trusted that the short-service system would soon be replaced by long service, which would ensure better soldiers and improve the condition of the Army generally. They should not forget past dangers resulting from the state of the Forces. The noble Lord went into a criticism of the tactics that had been employed in the conduct of the Zulu and Soudan Campaigns; but the drift of his observations did not reach the Gallery.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE: My Lords, I shall not attempt to enter into the large military questions dealt with by the noble and gallant Lord who has just sat down, for I do not think that they are raised by the Question of the noble Marquess. But I should like to make this observation without giving any special opinion—that I think his condemnation of any particular movement is rather a dangerous thing, and I cannot help thinking that the result of what

we have heard is quite inconsistent with the existence of the grave evils of which the noble Marquess is afraid. I think we may safely say that the gallantry of the troops serving in Egypt has been very conspicuous; and though, perhaps, some persons are disposed to think lightly of the enemy they have had to deal with, I venture to think it is a very peculiar and special enemy, inspired with very great fanaticism, who it is well known will do anything and court death really with more pleasure than if he escaped destruction. Therefore, I do not think it can be said the enemy was not a formidable one. But, without going into that question, I will merely remark that the great object of our examinations was to open up the education of the country. We want to do away with cramming as much as possible, and to see young men enter Sandhurst and Woolwich from the great schools—from Eton, Harrow, or Winchester, or from the more modern schools, such as Wellington College and Marlborough College or Cheltenham College—rather than to come from a course of cramming, which, I am sorry to say, has been very much the practice. I wish to draw the attention of your Lordships to the desirability that the great schools should try to accommodate themselves to educating their young men so as to enable them to go direct to Sandhurst. We want young men to come up to the general education, such as I should think any young gentleman ought to have, whatever the special sphere of life he intends to adopt; and, therefore, our endeavour is to put forward such a syllabus of examination that all these young candidates should have a fair opportunity of entering Woolwich or Sandhurst direct from those schools, and that I may say is the object we have in view, and that I believe is the object of the noble Earl and of the noble Lord behind him. When they come to Woolwich or Sandhurst we try to instil into them those necessary military subjects which it is essential for them to know for the practice of their Profession; but up to that time we only look for an education in general subjects, and not special subjects—an education such as any gentleman ought to have if he wishes to be useful to his country. These changes have been made entirely with that object in view. I am con-



vinced, however, that should anything arise to lead us to suppose that some modifications in the proposed change are necessary to secure the result we desire, I have no doubt they will be gladly and willingly accepted. But I think, on the whole, the principle now laid down is a sound principle; and therefore I trust the great schools of the country will give us their assistance in enabling the young lads whom they educate to enter directly into the great Colleges of the Public Service without having to pass through an ordeal which I believe is not at all to their advantage.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I do not propose to follow my noble Friend who spoke before me the illustrious Duke in the interesting matter with which he dealt. The judgment of military evolutions can only be satisfactorily performed by those who know the object of them, and I, at least, have not advanced to that knowledge yet. I have listened with great attention to the speeches of the illustrious Duke and the noble Earl the Under Secretary of State, from which it is evident that the policy which animates the ruling powers in this matter is to put down cramming. I dare say that may be theoretically desirable. I am not sure, however, that I can go without reserve even so far as that, for in many walks in life there is no power more desirable than the power of acquiring knowledge rapidly. But, on the whole, I sympathize with the efforts that are being made to repress the practice. I can also understand and sympathize with the feelings that have been expressed by the noble Earl as to the want of moral discipline which characterizes some of the establishments for private tuition. You will, however, never get rid of cramming as long as you have a system of competitive examinations. You might as well dream of having races without trainers, as of having competitive examinations without cramming. When we were at Oxford we thought it no shame or harm to have special coaches to prepare us for examinations. We were crammed, and my belief is that, wherever you have examinations, you will have crammers. I admit that, in connection with particular subjects, the system of cramming may be pushed too far; but wherever that is the case, the fault is due to the practice of the educational establish-

ments of the country, which have not brought themselves into harmony with your educational policy, and are pursuing a different system. A sudden change has consequently to be made at the time when a boy leaves school and before he enters the Army. The object of the military authorities is that sympathy should be established between them and the public schools, and that such a sudden reversal of study should not be necessary. I am inclined to think that they are pursuing that object in rather a dangerous way. If there is a difference of opinion between the great public authorities and the public schools, I think the former should hold out and not give way to the schools. When, in deference to the wishes of the public schools, you give up any particular branch of education, you are removing them from the influence of public opinion to which they ought to be subject. By deferring to the schools in educational matters, you may even preserve systems and methods of education which public opinion is beginning to condemn. With respect to the importance of English literature, I noticed that the noble Earl, in arguing against the subject, said—

“You cannot expect boys of this age to have any general knowledge of English literature and history.”

But you expect them to have a general knowledge of Latin literature and history. Why cannot they have as general a knowledge of English as they can have of Latin? The only reason is that the public schools will not teach English literature and history, and if you tell them that you will change your course to suit their preconceived ideas, that will still continue to be the case. It is you who must force them, not they who must force you. I do not desire to depreciate the subjects of education hitherto taught, and I recognize the advantages arising from the study of Latin literature and history; but there is also some advantage arising from the study of English literature and history. There is no civilized country that treats its own tongue as badly as we do ours. In France and Germany the French language and the German language are the subjects of careful study, while we seem to treat our language and history as subjects of no importance, which may be learnt accidentally in the nursery or in conversation after school hours. That is

the great fault of our public school education; and I am sorry that the Government should not use the influence which these examinations give them, to lead the public schools into a more desirable path than that which they follow at present.

#### EGYPT—(MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE SOUDAN).—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, he wished to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question of which he had given him private Notice. There was a report that some fresh information had been received from the Soudan with regard to the advance of General Graham. It would be a great advantage if the noble Earl would state how far it was correct?

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, Notice of this Question was given to me only two minutes ago. Therefore, it is necessary that the answer I give to the noble Earl should be received with reservation. As far as I know, the information which has been received from the Soudan is contained in a telegram from Sir William Hewett, dated Suakin, 2 P.M., this day. He says that the enemy had been driven away without loss on our side from a village the name of which I will not venture to pronounce, where water, which was much wanted by most of the men and animals, was found, and that the rebels were dispersing.

#### COLONIAL PRISONERS REMOVAL BILL. [H.L.]

A Bill to make further provision respecting the removal of prisoners and criminal lunatics from Her Majesty's Possessions out of the United Kingdom—Was *presented* by The Earl of DERBY; read 1<sup>a</sup>. (No. 44.)

#### CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL. [H.L.]

A Bill to make further provision for the protection of women and girls, the suppression of brothels, and other purposes—Was *presented* by The Earl of DALHOUSIE; read 1<sup>a</sup>. (No. 45.)

#### CONSOLIDATED FUND (NO. 1) BILL.

Read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order); Committee *negatived*: Then Standing Order No. XXXV. *considered* (according to order), and *dispensed with*; Bill read 3<sup>a</sup>, and *passed*.

House adjourned at Six o'clock, till  
To-morrow, a quarter past  
Ten o'clock.

The Marquess of Salisbury

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 27th March, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Thames River Preservation, *nominated*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Representation of the People [119] [Second Night], *debate further adjourned*.

Committee—*Report*—Summary Jurisdiction over Children (Ireland) [75].

Committee—*Report*—*Third Reading*—Isle of Man Harbours \* [138], and *passed*.

*Third Reading*—Bankruptcy Appeals (County Courts) [118], and *passed*.

## QUESTIONS.

### INLAND REVENUE—DIVIDED PARISHES ACTS—THE LAND TAX.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, in those parts of parishes which, under the Divided Parishes Acts, have been added to other parishes, Land Tax levied therein forms a part of the quota of the ancient parish, or part of the quota of the parish into which such divided parts of such parish have been cast; and, if the latter is the case, whether the Government is prepared to recommend legislation with a view to alter the quota of the enlarged parish in accordance with the rateable property added thereto?

MR. COURTNEY: It has been judicially decided that in the cases of parts of parishes which, under the Divided Parishes Acts, have been added to other parishes, the Land Tax forms part of the quota of the ancient parish.

### THE EGYPTIAN WAR (1882)—THE INDIAN CONTINGENT—CASE OF MR. STRINGER.

MR. SALT asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether any decision has been arrived at with respect to an appeal which he said, on 7th August last, had been forwarded to the Government of India regarding certain disputed claims; and, whether any, and, if so, what compensation has been given in respect of such claims?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The appeal in question having been sent to the Government of India, they replied—

"We are of opinion that Mr. Stringer received every consideration from the military authorities of the Indian Contingent, and that there are no sufficient grounds why the award of the arbitrator should be set aside, and any further sums paid to Mr. Stringer."

Mr. Stringer was, therefore, informed last December that he would receive no grant in excess of the sum awarded by the arbitrators appointed at Alexandria to settle his dispute.

**PUBLIC HEALTH ACT—WATER SUPPLY (IRELAND)—GUARDIANS OF BALLYBAY.**

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a Memorial, influentially and numerously signed, forwarded on 30th January to the Local Government Board, alleging that the water supply to the town of Ballybay, county Monaghan, was totally inadequate; that a large portion of the townspeople were compelled to use the water of a river polluted with sewage matter; and that typhus fever prevailed in the town for a considerable time; whether the Memorialists asked for an investigation by a Local Government Board inspector into the grievance mentioned and the general unsanitary condition of the town, and what action has been taken thereupon; whether the water supply (temporarily improved after Memorial was forwarded) is now as deficient as before; has the number of fever cases in the town increased largely of late; has the Local Government Board been dependent for answers to the allegations in the Memorial on the parties responsible for the present state of the town, viz. the Board of Guardians and the local sanitary officer; and, whether an Inspector will now be sent to take the evidence of the inhabitants on the water question, and to inquire generally into other matters seriously affecting the health of the town?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed by the Local Government Board that a Memorial was received as to the shortness of water supply to the town of Ballybay, and such inquiries as have been made leave no doubt that the water supply of the town is defective. The Inspector of the Local Government Board went to examine into the matter of the water supply; and the Board have recom-

mended the Guardians to employ professional assistance for the purpose of ascertaining the best means of improving the water supply, and they will not allow the matter to drop, and, if necessary, will send a Medical Inspector to report on the state of the town. At present they do not consider this necessary. The Reports of the medical officer show that there has been in all 13 cases of fever under his charge since the 1st of January. On the 1st of this month he reported that he had none, and on the 18th he stated that he had no patients suffering from any disease likely to become infectious. The Board of Guardians are quite willing that the Town Commissioners should become the Urban Sanitary Authority and manage their own affairs; and the Local Government Board are willing to consider an application with that object under Section 7 of the Public Health Act.

**CRIMINAL LAW (SCOTLAND)—CASE OF LACHLAN M'LEOD.**

MR. BIGGAR asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been called to the case of Lachlan M'Leod, Uig, Island of Skye, who some time ago was sentenced by Sheriff Substitute Speirs, Portree, to ten days' imprisonment with hard labour for supposed prevarication while giving evidence in a civil action; whether, on the case being appealed to the High Court of Justiciary, Edinburgh, for suspension of the sentence, appeal was refused, Lord Young dissenting from the other Judges; whether his attention has been called to the words of Lord Young, that this was a

"High-handed summary procedure, founded on a fiction long since abandoned in the Supreme Criminal Court, where alone, so far as he knew, it was ever adopted;"

and, whether he would order a full inquiry into the sheriff's conduct in the matter?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (MR. J. B. BALFOUR): This question has been finally decided by the highest Court of Appeal in Scotland, and there appears to be no necessity, and indeed no room, for further inquiry into the matter.

**POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—SUB-POST BETWEEN DORRA AND BLACKLION.**

MR. BIGGAR asked the Postmaster General, Has the report of Mr. Bell,



surveyor of the Northern Division, been yet laid before the Lords of the Treasury regarding a Sub Post Office between Dorra and Blacklion; did the surveyor disapprove of the premises of a man named Wynne; and, did surveyor report in favour of any other; and, if so, why has the vacancy not been filled up?

Mr. FAWCETT, in reply, said, it had been reported to him that a Mr. Lee was a qualified person who would be willing to take this office, and he would be at once appointed.

#### IRISH REPRODUCTIVE LOAN FUND ACT.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that, at a public inquiry held within the last few months at Union Hall, county Cork, at which the three Inspectors of Fisheries were present, complaint was made by the parish priest of the short period (only three years in general) for which loans under the Reproductive Fund were granted, thus involving an annual payment of more than thirty-three per cent., and that he had been obliged to back bills for borrowers in order to enable them to meet these instalments; whether, according to the last Report, not more than one-third in 1882, and one-half in 1883, have been expended of the money available for the county Cork; and, whether he would advise the Inspector in charge to extend the time for repayment to five or six years?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am informed that at a meeting of the Piers and Harbours Committee in Ireland, held at Union Hall, County Cork, on the 24th of January, complaint was made of the short period for which loans under the Reproductive Fund were granted. It is true that only a comparatively small part of the money available for the county of Cork in 1882 was expended; but the greater portion of it only became available in October (in consequence of the passing of the Act 45 *Vict.* c. 16). Out of the money available in 1883, loans to the extent of over three-fourths were recommended. I understand that all this money has not yet been actually advanced, in consequence of delay arising from the Inspectors themselves supplying the articles and paying for them. The last paragraph, which is the

most important, I cannot answer now because it has not been replied to by the Inspector, and I must wait for further communications from him.

#### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT (1876) —THE PUPIL TEACHER GRANT.

Mr. SALT asked the Vice President of the Council, If in view of the hardship that may be occasioned to many schools by the proposed Article 114 of the New Code, he will consider the expediency of allowing, as heretofore, the special grant for pupil teachers (Articles 110 and 110\*) to be exempt from the operation of the money limitation?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Last year, for the first time, we excepted the pupil teacher grant from the operation of the money limitation of the Act of 1876. But it has been pointed out to us that this was contrary to the 19th section of Viscount Sandon's Act, and, therefore cannot be sustained. The consequent reduction, however, is a very small matter.

Mr. BOURKE: Has the Vice President considered what effect that decision would have on the various schools?

Mr. MUNDELLA: The effect will be that the pupil teachers' grant will be in the same position as it was in 1876, and has been since.

Mr. BOURKE: Will the House have an opportunity of expressing its opinion on the New Code?

Mr. MUNDELLA: Of course, any Member can at any time before the New Code becomes law call attention to it.

In reply to Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON,

Mr. MUNDELLA said, the New Code would come into operation 30 days from the date of its being laid on the Table.

Mr. J. G. TALBOT: Will an opportunity be given to discuss the Code?

Mr. MUNDELLA: As the matter cannot be blocked, it can be discussed any night.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—MANAGEMENT OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

Mr. R. H. PAGET asked the Vice President of the Council, If he will be good enough to explain to the House to what extent managers of public elementary schools are to be held responsible for the health of individual scholars under

Article 8 of the Educational Code of 1884; whether it is intended that it shall rest with the managers to decide as to the need of withholding individual scholars from examination; whether the action of managers in this respect is to be subject to review by school inspectors; and, what effect such withholding by managers of individual scholars from examination will have upon the merit or other portion of the Government grant?

MR. MUNDELLA: The Question is an important one. It is intended that managers of public elementary schools shall be generally responsible for the conduct of the schools and of the schoolmasters for issuing directions to the teacher as to not pressing children of weakly constitution, and for seeing that these directions are obeyed. It is obvious that there are two reasons for withholding children from examination—one is for the protection of the child; the other is for the purpose of enabling the school to obtain a larger grant. The first is a very proper object; the other ought to be discouraged. The Department has a right to expect the co-operation of managers in distinguishing between these two classes of cases. If any children are withheld from examination by the teacher and managers, the reasons for so doing will be stated to the Inspector, and it will be for him to judge whether they are satisfactory. The Inspector will be instructed to pay special regard to the representations of the managers, and if they are in this respect overruled by the Inspector they will, of course, have the right to appeal to the Department. It will strengthen the position of teachers, to be supported by their managers in their claims for withdrawals. The effect of improperly withholding individual scholars will be that they will be treated as failures. But such withdrawal will not affect the merit grant.

MR. R. H. PAGET: Are we to understand the right hon. Gentleman that if the managers of a school withdraw 8 or 10 per cent under this Article, it will in no way affect the grant—that the Inspector will be in no way entitled to reduce the grant?

MR. MUNDELLA: No, Sir. I say that the withdrawal will in no respect affect the grant, although withholding from examination may do so.

MR. ONSLOW: Who is judge of the weakly condition of the children—the manager, the schoolmaster or schoolmistress, or the parents?

MR. MUNDELLA: I do not know anyone so well able to judge as the local managers and the teachers. It is impossible for the Central Department at Whitehall to judge; and it is because we wish the local managers to exercise some discretion that we have left the matter in the hands of the teachers.

MR. R. H. PAGET: If it is to be left to the discretion of the managers, is it to be understood that that discretion is liable to be overruled by the Inspector?

MR. MUNDELLA: If the Inspector thinks that scholars have been improperly withheld for the purpose of obtaining an additional grant, he will disallow the claim. The managers have the right to appeal to the Department.

#### IRISH COURT OF PROBATE—DISTRICT REGISTRARS.

MR. GIBSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there is any truth in the report that Her Majesty's Government intend to bring in a Bill to abolish the District Registrars of the Irish Court of Probate; whether the Judge of that Court has been consulted on the subject; and, whether a similar measure is contemplated as regards the District Registrars in England?

MR. O'BRIEN asked whether there was any intention to abolish the Probate Judgeship?

MR. TREVELYAN: A proposal has been made, and is now under the consideration of the Irish Government, for providing greater facilities for obtaining probate and letters of administration in the localities in which the executors or administrators reside. Up to the present nothing has been determined about it. It has been only within the last day or two that the matter has come before the Irish Government, and the Judge of the Court of Probate will be consulted. I have no information as to any similar proposal having been made respecting the District Registrars in England.

#### NAVY (DOCKYARDS)—CHATHAM DOCKYARD.

MR. GORST asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether a practice has

been recently commenced, in Her Majesty's Dockyard at Chatham, of placing workmen on piecework without previously informing them of the prices that will be paid for such work; and, whether he will direct that in future such information shall be given before piecework is commenced?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The practice referred to by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham is not new, but has always prevailed in the Dockyard. It is not considered desirable that the scheme of prices for piecework should be officially communicated to the workmen.

#### NAVY (DOCKYARDS)—ARTIZANS' MEMORIALS.

MR. GORST asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether any decisions have yet been arrived at by the Lords of the Admiralty upon the Petitions presented by various classes of workmen, in Her Majesty's Dockyards, at the beginning of last year; and, when it is expected that their Lordships' decisions will be communicated to the persons interested?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In introducing the Navy Estimates in Committee of Supply I made a full statement of the position of this matter. I hope there will not be much longer delay.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked when the answers would be officially communicated to the men; and, also, whether Her Majesty's Government would consent to present to Parliament copies of the various Memorials which had been sent in by the men in reference to their claims?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not think that it would serve any useful purpose to present these Memorials to Parliament. As to when the Memorials would be answered, the nature of the answers must be determined upon in the first place.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether the Admiralty always took a whole year to consider such Memorials?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that if the hon. Gentleman had been present when he made his Statement in moving the Navy Estimates and heard the explanation given, he would not have asked such a Question.

*Mr. Gorst*

#### ARMY (INDIA)—INDIAN GRADATION LIST—GENERAL ORDER No. 579.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is a fact that the "Cavalry" Officers who elected the terms offered them in General Order No. 579, dated 27th October 1882, have been denied the brevet promotion on the Indian Gradation List to which they consider themselves entitled through the promise given them before electing, in the reply by the Government of India to Question VII. in its letter No. 1527 A, dated 11th December 1882; whether the brevet promotion on the Indian Gradation List of any Cavalry Officer has been cancelled since December 1882; and, whether, in view of the loss of Army rank to such officers through the misunderstanding under which they elected the above terms, they will now be permitted to revert to their former positions?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The Cavalry officers who came under the terms of the General Order in question waived their claim to all advantages attaching to their position as local Cavalry officers; one of these advantages being brevet promotion in succession to General Officers. Finding, however, that the Government of India had already formally promised these officers the continuance of their brevet promotion, the Secretary of State determined to accept this decision; and the Government of India was informed, in January last, that the system of brevet promotion would be continued. The brevet promotion of an officer, made in anticipation by the local authorities, but which had not been confirmed, was thereupon submitted for Her Majesty's approval.

#### GRANTING OF CHARTERS BY THE BOARD OF TRADE—FACILITIES FOR OPPOSITION.

MR. ROUNDELL asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, when applications for the grant of a Charter are referred by the Privy Council to the Board of Trade, it is the practice of the Board, before making a Report upon the subject, to give opportunity, by the issue of advertisements or otherwise, for the making of objections; and, whether there is uniformity in the practice of the Board in this matter?



MR. CHAMBERLAIN: When applications for the grant of a Charter are referred by the Privy Council Office to the Board of Trade, it is the uniform practice of the Board of Trade to cause an advertisement to be issued for the purpose of ascertaining what objections there are against the proposed grant.

#### ARMY—WOOLWICH ARSENAL—SURPLUS STORES—THE "REMAIN."

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, Whether the "Remain," now being taken at Woolwich, will include all the "old" stores and all the "unserviceable" stores at the Arsenal and at the Dockyard; whether it is intended to sell by auction, or otherwise, any of the old stores or of the unserviceable stores at the above-mentioned depôts without first taking stock of them; whether any facilities will be furnished for the perusal by Members of this House of any auction or other catalogue prepared for the purpose of such sale; and, whether there would be any objection to produce, for the information of the House, after the comparison between the ledger-balances and the result and the stock-taking has been made, a Statement of the surpluses and deficiencies found?

MR. BRAND: The "Remain" now being taken at Woolwich will include all the stores in Woolwich Arsenal and Dockyard. It is not intended to sell old or unserviceable stores without first taking stock of them. As I have before explained to the hon. Member, catalogues of sales by auction (which will be advertised in the Press) will be obtainable at the War Office or from the auctioneer. With regard to the hon. Member's concluding inquiry, there would be no objection to give the Return, except that it would be long and complicated, and its printing would entail a considerable expense.

#### ROAD MAINTENANCE (IRELAND).

COLONEL NOLAN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If contributions are made from the Imperial Exchequer towards the expenses of certain roads in England and Scotland; and, if he would consider the propriety of extending this advantage to some

districts in Ireland where the County Rates are very high?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): The answer to the first Question of the hon. and gallant Gentleman is in the affirmative. As to the second, I am not prepared to propose this grant without reviewing the whole question of the contributions from Imperial funds towards local burdens in Ireland. At present, Ireland is far more favourably situated than England and Scotland in this respect; and I fear that the additional cost to the Irish ratepayers would be very heavy if the three countries were placed on an equality.

#### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE RECORDER OF DUBLIN.

MR. WHITLEY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he could inform the House what is the salary of the Recorder of Dublin; how many working days did he sit in the year 1883; and, how many of those days were occupied in the revision of jurors' or voters' lists?

MR. TREVELYAN: The salary of the Recorder of Dublin is fixed by statute at £2,500 a-year. It appears, from Returns which have been furnished from the officers of the several Courts over which the Recorder presides, that in 1883 he sat on 162 days, of which 20 were occupied in the revision of voters' and jurors' lists. It is necessary to add that by law the sittings of the Recorder for the revision of the Parliamentary lists are fixed to begin on the 8th of September in each year. I am informed by the Recorder that his summer sittings in the Civil Bill Court last late into August, and that he resumes these sittings on the 1st of October, without any interval between the Parliamentary Revision and the Civil Bill Court duty. In this way the pressure upon the autumn quarter is greater than at any other period of the year.

MR. HEALY asked whether it was not the fact that the Recorder last year threatened that he might be unable to finish the year's work within the statutory time; and whether, in such an event, a legal question would not arise involving the disfranchisement of the county of Dublin?

MR. TREVELYAN: Yes.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY (IRELAND)  
—QUEEN'S COLLEGES—CORK  
COLLEGE.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government are prepared to grant the Returns, of which Notices stand upon the Notice Paper, relating to the Queen's Colleges, (Ireland) and the Royal University (Ireland)?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Irish Government have received an application from the corporate body of the Cork College for a Royal Commission of Inquiry; and while of opinion that an inquiry is necessary, are at present considering the form in which it should be made and the field which it should cover. Such inquiry, if held, would probably obviate the necessity for the Returns the hon. Member is anxious to obtain; but as I cannot speak definitely on that point, I should be glad if the hon. Member would repeat his Question next week, and if, in the meantime, he and the other hon. Members would not press for Returns.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND) ACT  
—THE KINSALE QUAY AND PIER.

MR. DEASY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he has ascertained whether the Kinsale Harbour Board contributed £2,000 or £3,000 towards the building of the Kinsale Quay and Pier; if the latter sum, could he explain the letter from the Board of Works to the Piers and Harbours Commissioners, and read by them at the public meeting held in Kinsale, in which it was stated that the amount contributed was only £2,000; if it is a fact that no memorial was at any time received by the Board of Works, in accordance with the sixth section of the Piers and Harbours Act, 9 Vic. c. 3, for works at the World's End, and that the only memorial in accordance with that section was for a pier at Scilly; if it was sworn to at the late inquiry by the harbour master that—

"There would be little use in carrying out the present works without dredging and deepening,"

and that this has not been provided for in the Board of Works' plans; and that to carry out this so as to enable fishing vessels to come to the quay for nearly its entire length—

"Will cost as much, if not more, than the original estimate;"

if it is true that one of the Commissioners, Mr. Johnston, stated at the inquiry—

"That a sum of £16,000 would be thrown away unless a further large sum will be expended in dredging and deepening, and that, if the works were carried on at Scilly, no such extra expenditure would be necessary;"

and, whether the Commissioners of Piers and Harbours have made any Report consequent on the inquiry above referred to respecting the alleged inadequacy of the proposed works to meet the requirements of the craft engaged in the mackerel fishery; and, if not, when may the Report be expected?

MR. COURTNEY: The original contribution by the Kinsale Harbour Board was £2,000; but there was a subsequent addition of £1,000, and the omission of the latter sum in the letter referred to has since been rectified. Two Memorials under the Piers and Harbours Act, 1846, have been received in favour of the site which has been chosen, one in favour of the alternative site at Scilly, and none about the site called "World's End." The Report of the inquiry which I have seen is somewhat confused. Mr. Johnston suggested in a question that the money would be wasted unless more was spent; but the witness did not agree with him, and he did not make the erroneous statement that the Scilly scheme would be cheaper. The Report of the Piers and Harbours Commission has not been received; and, in the meanwhile, nothing is being done to prejudice the decision as to whether additional work should be done.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE  
(IRELAND)—THE SHANNON SLUICES.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the Board of Works has received any Report as to the efficiency of the Shannon sluices at Killoe; and, if any complaints have been received as to the upper water being caught by the sluices when raised?

MR. COURTNEY: Weekly Reports are received from all the Shannon sluices; and I am glad to say that their action throughout the winter has been attended with good results. The only complaints received have been to the effect that floods have not been put a stop to altogether; but a total

cessation of flooding could never be attained, and was never expected.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)  
—ILLEGAL DISTRESS—MR. ARTHUR  
HAMILL, COUNTY COURT JUDGE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How it happened that Mr. Arthur Hamill, Q.C., County Court Judge, was allowed, on the 20th ultimo, to seize certain cattle and other stock of his tenant, Mr. Patrick Bellew, at Tully, near Mullaveir, County Louth, drive them a distance of about ten miles, and sell them by public auction on a fair day in the town of Dundalk, although the movement and sale of cattle in that district was forbidden by proclamation; and, whether Mr. Patrick Bellew, or any other tenant farmer, who had driven in his cattle to Dundalk upon that day, and proceeded to offer them for public sale, in order to pay his rent or meet any other liability, would, by so doing, have incurred prosecution and penalty?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that the cattle referred to were seized and sold at Dundalk. No licence was given by the Lord Lieutenant for the sale. The matter was not reported to the Government, and they heard nothing of it until inquiries were made regarding the hon. Member's Question. The Sheriff had been asked for an explanation. Any person disposing of cattle by sale in Dundalk on that day laid himself open to prosecution.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS (IRELAND).

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, considering the great interest taken in the settlement of the endowed schools question in Ireland, he will consider the advisability of introducing, and at least having read a first time, the Bill which the Government have prepared, dealing with the subject?

MR. TREVELYAN: I regret to say that at present I see no prospect of finding an opportunity of getting forward with this measure. The two Members who are most prominently interested in it are the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), and the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), whom I do not see in his place; and if they will help us in

getting forward with Public Business, there will be a fair chance of carrying an Endowed School Act this Session.

MR. HEALY asked, whether it was not unprecedented for the Government to introduce a Bill, and have it read a first time, simply for the purpose of gratifying legitimate curiosity of Members and of the public generally?

MR. TREVELYAN said, it was not unprecedented, and he was afraid the Government were doubly committed to this policy already by the Irish Department.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—SUP-  
PRESSION OF ASSIZES.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Assize in any city in Ireland can be abolished except by Bill?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER), in reply, said, that an Assize Court could not be abolished except by Bill.

PORTUGAL—THE CONGO RIVER  
TREATY.

MR. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Native Chiefs on the Congo, with whom Great Britain made Treaties, 1854—1877, for the establishment of free trade throughout their dominions, had signified their acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of Portugal; and, whether these Chiefs have been consulted by Her Majesty's Government regarding the Treaty with Portugal not yet ratified?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government are not aware whether there have been any communications between the Native Chiefs referred to and Portugal as to their acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of Portugal. These Native Chiefs were not consulted by Her Majesty's Government.

BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1883—THE CASE  
OF MR. KIRKBY.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been called to an article in *The Law Times* of Saturday last, reflecting in severe terms upon the circumstances connected with the removal of Mr. Kirkby from the office of Trustee in Bankruptcy, to which he had been ap-



pointed by a majority of the creditors, and which they still wish him to fill; and, if he will explain the reasons which induced the Board of Trade to rescind the appointment of Mr. Kirkby?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I am afraid I cannot give a complete answer to this Question at present. The subject is a very important one, and it is possible that ulterior proceedings may have to be taken. In the meantime, in reply to the latter part of the hon. Member's Question, I may say that the Board of Trade did not rescind Mr. Kirkby's appointment; but, acting under the powers conferred upon them by Section 21 of the Bankruptcy Act, they refused to confirm it. I have seen the article in *The Law Times* referred to; but the reason assigned in that article for the course pursued by the Board of Trade had absolutely nothing to do with the action of the Department in the matter. Certain circumstances connected with the bankruptcy which came to the knowledge of the Board of Trade, but which had no reference to Mr. Kirkby's personal character, led them to believe that the appointment was not, in the present case, an altogether desirable one, or in the interest of all the creditors. The creditors have power, under the Statute, to appeal to the High Court against the action of the Board of Trade.

MR. E. STANHOPE wished to know whether there was more than one creditor who objected to the appointment?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I am not aware.

MR. E. STANHOPE: Will the right hon. Gentleman lay the Correspondence on the Table?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: No.

MR. E. STANHOPE: Then I beg to give Notice that I shall move for its production.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether the appeal by the creditors would not be at the cost of the estate?

[No reply.]

#### INDIA (FINANCE, &c.)—THE OPIUM TRADE.

MR. CROPPER asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If his attention has been drawn to a telegram published in *The Times* of March 17th, stating that Sir Auckland Colvin, in his Financial Statement, says as follows:—

*Mr. E. Stanhope*

"That the Government is indebted to Mr. Rivett Carnac, opium agent at Benares, for some successful experiments in the preparation of Malwa opium into a form suited for local consumption, experiments which, in 1882, set free 1,372 chests, and, in 1883, 3,000 chests, of provision opium (or opium available for export), at a profit to the Government of 194,845 rupees in the former, and of 756,347 rupees in the latter year;"

whether the Indian Government did, during the last two years, purchase a quantity of opium produced in the Native States of India, and prepare it, in the Government factories, for sale in British India; whether this new form of the opium trade has the approval of Her Majesty's Government; whether any limit is to be put to the quantity of Malwa opium which may thus be purchased and prepared for local consumption, or whether it is to be increased indefinitely; and, whether this system of purchasing Malwa opium, for preparation in the Government factories, is to be confined to opium for local consumption in India, or extended to the preparation of the Malwa opium into the form suitable for exportation to China?

MR. J. K. CROSS: I have read the telegram referred to. Two thousand maunds of Malwa opium were purchased in 1882 under circumstances referred to in Sir Evelyn Baring's Financial Statement for 1883-4, paragraph 202; and a further quantity was purchased in 1883. The export demand is as much as the present production of Bengal can usually supply; and it has been thought better to set free the Bengal production to meet this export demand, supplying the local consumption of Bengal by Malwa opium, rather than to extend the cultivation of the poppy in Bengal. The Malwa opium, so purchased, is not intended for export, but will be confined to local consumption. The Secretary of State sees no reason to disapprove of this arrangement.

#### EGYPT—THE LAW OF LIQUIDATION.

MR. GOSCHEN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What effect has been given to the following declaration, signed on the 31st March 1880, at Cairo, by the Representatives of Great Britain, Germany, Austro-Hungary, France, and Italy—

"Les Gouvernements précités s'engagent, à accepter comme obligatoire, et sans appel, la

décision qui sera rendue, en ce qui concerne les obligations et dettes du Gouvernement Egyptien, ainsi que les Dairas Kassa et Sanieh, par la Commission de Liquidation établie en vertu du dit Décret. Ils consentent aussi à ce que les décisions de la Commission constituée en vertu de ce Décret soient reconnues par les Tribunaux de la Réforme comme une loi obligatoire aussitôt qu'elles auront été publiées officiellement par le Gouvernement de son Altesse le Khédive ;

“ Les Gouvernements de Grande Bretagne, d'Allemagne, d'Autriche-Hongrie, de France, et d'Italie s'engagent, en outre, à porter collectivement cette Déclaration à la connaissance des Puissances qui ont pris part à l'établissement des Tribunaux Mixtes instituées en Egypte, et à les inviter à y adhérer ; ”

and, whether the collective step contemplated in the last paragraph of the foregoing Declaration has been taken by the five Powers in question ; and, if not, whether the remaining Powers who took part in the establishment of the Mixed Tribunals have been in any way parties to the Law of Liquidation, or would have any *locus standi* in negotiation for its modification ?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE : The collective step contemplated was taken, and all the Powers who took part in the establishment of the Mixed Tribunals acceded to the Law of Liquidation in the course of the year 1880.

MR. GOSCHEN : Is there any relation in the Blue Book on the subject ?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE : No, Sir. I think the right hon. Gentleman is correct in stating that the Blue Books do not mention it ; but I can give the dates.

MR. GOSCHEN : Would there be any objection to laying the despatches upon the Table of the House ?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE : Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to consider it.

MR. BOURKE : I wish to ask a Question which arises out of this, and of which I have given private Notice. The Question is—Whether the Powers who had taken part in the establishment of the Mixed Tribunals were those represented on the International Commission which assembled at Cairo in 1869—namely, Austria, Germany, France, England, Italy, the United States, Russia, and Egypt ?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE : Yes, Sir ; with the addition of the Governments of Belgium, Denmark, Greece, Holland, Portugal, Spain, and Sweden.

# TURKEY IN ASIA—NAVIGATION OF THE RIVERS TIGRIS AND EUPHRATES.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, having regard to the difficulty of maintaining the rights of navigation upon the Tigris and Euphrates, Her Majesty's Government will propose to the Porte that it is desirable to place those rivers under an International Commission ?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE : The subject of the navigation of the Tigris and Euphrates is still under discussion, and I cannot pledge Her Majesty's Government to any particular proposal.

## CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has been informed that at a public meeting for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, held at St. James's Hall, on the 28th February last, Mr. Stevenson A. Blackwood, C.B., Secretary of the General Post Office, made the following observations :—

“ We denounce and oppose these Acts, because they are an outrage upon the weaker and most defenceless portion of the population, whom they hand over to the mercies of a spy-police, and to the danger of imprisonment without trial. These Acts must be demoralizing to the agents who enforce them, for what can we think of a system which is used to put money into the hands of the spy-police to lead women into acts of sin with themselves in order that they may be detected and in order to denounce them ; ”

whether it is true that any case has occurred where a person has been imprisoned without trial under the provisions of the Acts ; whether there is any foundation for the assertion that the mode in which the Contagious Diseases Acts have been administered is demoralizing to the agents who have enforced them ; and, whether any case has ever occurred of money being put into the hands of the police for the purposes mentioned by Mr. Blackwood ?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT : I have not seen the speech to which the right hon. and learned Gentleman refers. With reference to the last three paragraphs in the Question, the statements in those paragraphs are incorrect and unfounded.

### ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE MILITIA (NUMBERS).

MR. TOTTENHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the case that the Militia Force is 561 officers below its establishment, and if his attention has been called to an advertisement in *The Army and Navy Gazette* of 22nd instant, for officers for the Kilkenny Militia, in the following terms:—

"5th Battalion the Royal Irish Regiment (Kilkenny Militia); Several commissions for Lieutenants are vacant.—Applications will be duly considered by the Commanding Officer at Kilkenny;"

and, whether this dearth of officers has accrued since the inauguration of the territorial system, and how long it has been the practice to advertise for candidates for commissions?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes, Sir; the number of vacancies for subaltern officers is as stated by the hon. Member, the number having increased since the introduction of the territorial system in 1881; but the vacancies have no apparent connection with the territorial system. Among other causes, I may mention compulsory retirement by age; the temporary reduction of the number of Line commissions allotted to the Militia from 120 to 60; and the non-training of the Irish Militia for some years. The advertisement referred to by the hon. Member is the first of the kind that has come under my notice, and I have given orders for its withdrawal.

### ARMY (SMALL ARMS)—MARTINI-HENRY RIFLES.

COLONEL WALROND asked the Surveyor General of Ordnance, Whether it is a fact that there are at present 250,000 Martini Rifles in store; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government could not at once issue 200,000 to the Volunteers, the Commanding Officers of Volunteer Battalions undertaking to return them to store within a week of their being called in?

MR. BRAND: There are at present 250,000 Martini-Henry rifles in store. This is somewhat below the ordinary reserve, it not having been thought desirable to manufacture any large number of rifles in view of the possible alteration of the arm. The Government cannot undertake to issue 200,000 Mar-

mini-Henry rifles on loan to the Volunteers.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked, when would the improved arm be ready?

MR. BRAND said, that he had used the word "possible," in contradistinction to "probable." The change had not yet been decided on by the Secretary of State for War.

### NAVY—H.M. DOCKYARDS—WAGES OF LABOURERS IN THE VICTUALLING YARDS.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the inquiry which is at present going on at the Admiralty respecting the labourers employed at the various dockyards includes those employed at the victualling yards; and, whether any steps will be taken for removing the particular grievance suffered by the labourers at the victualling yards in consequence of the time served on the hired list not counting towards their superannuation allowance on being discharged from the established list?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The question of the wages of labourers in the Victualling Yards is not before the Admiralty. No difference exists in the mode of calculating pensions for Dockyard and Victualling Yard labourers, hired time never being allowed to reckon for pension.

### INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND) ACT—CATHOLIC EXAMINERS.

MR. BIGGAR (for Mr. LEAMY) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What was the number of examiners under the Intermediate Education Act in the years 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1883; and, what was the proportion of Catholic examiners to those of other religious denominations in each of these years?

MR. TREVELYAN: I answered the first paragraph of the Question on Monday. With regard to the proportion under the Intermediate Education Act of Catholic examiners, I have received the following communication from the Commissioners:—

"The Board are not in the habit, when selecting examiners, of inquiring into the religious profession of the candidate. They consider it their main duty to select in each subject of examination examiners in whom the public will have thorough confidence. Having regard to the above predominant consideration, they have



been always anxious to give proportionate representation to candidates of the different religious denominations."

MR. HEALY: Are we to understand, then, that the reason there are so few Catholic examiners is that the Irish public would not have confidence in them?

MR. TREVELYAN said, he had as little control over this Board as others. He gave the answer which he received.

STATE OF IRELAND—MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE—INTRUSION OF THE POLICE AT KNOCKAMORE, CO. WATERFORD.

MR. BIGGAR (for Mr. LEAMY) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the constables who attended a Committee meeting of the National League at Knockamore, county Waterford, on the 16th of this month, refused to leave the house in which the meeting was held when requested to do so by some members of the Committee, and stated that they were instructed to remain until they were removed by force; whether they had been so instructed; if so, by whom; and, whether the Irish Executive approves of such instructions?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have already stated that the police entered without opposition the place where the meeting was held, and remained there because the owner of the house raised no objection to their presence. They were acting under the instructions of their superior officers. Both constables distinctly deny that they stated that they would not leave unless turned out by force. They would have left if requested by the owner of the house.

MR. SEXTON: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether the Irish Government will not, to prevent the struggle about these meetings, issue general instructions to the Constabulary that they are not to remain at the meetings when requested to leave; and, if special instructions are given with regard to particular meetings, that they shall produce those instructions when called on to do so?

MR. BIGGAR: The right hon. Gentleman did not answer the last paragraph of the Question.

MR. TREVELYAN: I answered, on previous Questions with regard to the

general attitude of the Irish Executive in this matter, that they do not wish the police to attend the meetings of the National League unless it is considered very necessary by the officers in charge of the peace of the district, and in such cases the matter is communicated to the Executive; but the burden of it rests with the officers.

MR. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman give us any guarantee, if the police are ejected by force, that the persons who eject them will not be prosecuted under the Prevention of Crime Act?

[No reply.]

BANKRUPTCY ACT, 1883—OFFICIAL RECEIVERS.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE asked the President of the Board of Trade, If there is in existence a Treasury Minute which orders that an official receiver, under the Bankruptcy Act of last Session, shall not be allowed to hold or accept any political agency; and, whether that Treasury Minute continues and is intended to continue in force?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I am not aware that there is any Treasury Minute dealing with the holding of a political agency by an Official Receiver in Bankruptcy; but in December last a Minute was issued by the Board of Trade setting out the conditions attached to the office of Official Receiver, and one of the conditions is as follows:—

"An Official Receiver appointed in pursuance of this Minute will not be allowed, either by himself or his partner, to engage in any private business or practice connected with bankruptcy or insolvency proceedings, nor may he accept any political agency; but in so far as is consistent with the due discharge of the duties of his office, and except as otherwise determined by the Act and Rules or by Regulations issued by the Board of Trade, he will not be precluded from engaging in other business."

POOR RELIEF (IRELAND)—NUMBERS.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER (for Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that, during the year which ended 29th September 1882, 465,646 persons received poor relief in Ireland; and, if there is any ground for hoping that the number of the population receiving aid from the rates, either

in the shape of poor relief or medical relief during the past year, will be sensibly diminished?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the method in which this Question is stated might give rise to some misapprehension. It is true that 465,646 persons received relief for the year ending the 29th of September, 1882, exclusive of the number who received medical relief, which, of course, is very different in Ireland to England or Scotland; but that number does not represent individuals, but cases. The same person is often relieved many times in the year, and each time he is relieved or enters a workhouse is put down as a fresh case. The more reliable gauge of pauperism is the average daily number receiving relief. In 1882 the average daily number receiving relief in Ireland was 109,404, in a population of about 5,000,000. In Scotland, 99,341 were receiving relief on the 14th of May, in a population of 3,773,128. In England, on the 1st of January, 803,381 were receiving relief, in a population of 25,965,000. There is, I think, some ground for hope that the number of those persons receiving relief is decreasing. I calculate it may be put at about 5,000.

#### THE BOARD OF TRADE—CONSTITUTION.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER (for Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK) asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he can inform the House who constitute at present the Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council for Trade and Foreign Plantations; how many members are required to make a quorum; how many meetings were held during the year 1883; how many members were present at each meeting; and, of how many Departments of Trade and Commerce the Board of Trade has control?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The facts which the hon. Member desires to elicit have been several times stated to the House; but I may, perhaps, be allowed to refer him more particularly to a debate which took place the Session before last on the constitution of a Minister of Commerce. An Order in Council, dated August, 1786, regulates the legal constitution of the Board of Trade, and specifies the various high officers of State (including the Archbishop of Canterbury) who are to form the Committee

for Trade and Foreign Plantations. In the last century and at the beginning of this, the business of the Board of Trade appears to have been transacted at meetings of the Committee; but no quorum was required by the Order in Council. No meetings have been held for many years, and all business is now, and has been for a long time past, conducted by the President. The Board of Trade is divided into five Departments—the Commercial, Railway, Marine, Harbour, and Finance—under one or other of which the various duties of the office are grouped.

#### NAVY—PAYMASTERS.

MR. GABBETT asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether certain of the Assistant Paymasters of the Royal Navy, at present serving as such, have been some 20 years in the Service; whether optional retirement of Paymasters is ever allowed (except for ill-health) until the age of 55 is reached; whether, if every Paymaster who arrives at that age up to the end of 1889 avails himself of the option allowed, the promotion of the Assistant Paymasters of the standing of 1871 can be reached before about 18 years have been served in that rank; whether such officers will have then been some 22 years in the Navy, and of an age of about 39; and, whether the retardation of promotion, which now exists, will continue and tend to increase until the year 1890?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I believe that, excluding the case of any officer who may have lost time or promotion owing to misconduct, there are two Assistant Paymasters who have been 20 years in the Service. Optional retirement of Paymasters is not allowed, except for ill-health, before the age of 55, which is earlier than the age prescribed for the Civil Service. No conclusion can be drawn from an estimate of the effect on promotion which would be caused if every Paymaster retired at 55, because promotion depends on vacancies arising from death, dismissal, and retirement for physical unfitness, as well as optional or compulsory retirement. Owing to over-entries in past years, it is quite possible that the time for obtaining promotion may be slightly longer than at present up to 1889-90, after which year it should considerably decrease.

*Major General Alexander*

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN) —  
GENERAL GRAHAM'S SUMMONS  
TO THE TRIBES.

MR. RICHARD asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there is any objection to produce the letter which General Graham stated he sent to the outposts, with white flag, before the battle of Teb, and which it is understood was affixed to a pole and stuck in the sand?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: We have received a copy of the letter referred to in the Question; but, as it is short, perhaps the most convenient course will be for me to read it. It is a translation of a letter written in Arabic, and is dated Thursday, 27th March. It is as follows:—

"From General Commanding English Army to the Sheikhs of the Tribes between Trinkitat and Tokar—I summon you, in the name of the English Government, to disperse your fighting men before daybreak to-morrow morning, or the consequences will be on your own heads. Instead of fighting with English troops you should send delegates to Khartoum, to consult with Gordon Pasha as to the future settlement of the Soudan Provinces. The English Government is not at war with the Arabs; but is determined to disperse the forces now in arms in this neighbourhood and near Suakin. An answer to this letter must be left at the same place before daybreak to-morrow morning, or the consequences will be on the heads of the Sheikhs."

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May I ask whether General Graham's despatches have arrived, and when they will be communicated to the public?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes; several despatches have been received, and will be published in a Special Government *Gazette* this evening.

MR. O'DONNELL wished to know whether there had been any other negotiations with the Arabs besides those referred to in the hon. Member for Merthyr Tydvil's Question?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Does the hon. Member mean before the battle of Teb? I have often referred to frequent communications which passed between Admiral Hewett and the leader of the tribes before the arrival of General Graham's force at all.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether General Gordon had also addressed the Sheikhs and tribes in the name of the British Government?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am unable to answer that Question.

JAPAN—CLAIMS OF MR. HARTLEY.

MR. GRANTHAM asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government will place upon the Table of the House Copies of Mr. Hartley's 1874 and 1879 claims, with all the Correspondence relating to the same; and, Copy of the Agreement entered into by Lord Salisbury with the Japanese Government respecting the importation of medicinal opium into Japan?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: No agreement was entered into by Lord Salisbury with the Japanese Government respecting the importation of medicinal opium into Japan. Mr. Hartley's complaints against the Japanese Government were examined at the time by Her Majesty's Minister in Japan, and by the late and the present Government, and were not considered such as to justify diplomatic intervention. Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to incur the expense of printing and laying the voluminous Correspondence on the subject, being of opinion that it would serve no useful purpose.

LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—CORK  
DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUM--DIS-  
POSAL OF DECEASED PATIENTS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any amount is paid to the Cork Lunatic Asylum for the bodies sent to the Queen's College for dissection?

MR. TREVELYAN: No, Sir; no money is paid.

MR. HEALY: Well, then, I will draw attention to the fact that while no money is paid for these bodies the Professors charge the students a fee for dissection.

EVICCTIONS (IRELAND)—THE CORPORATION OF KILKENNY.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the Corporation of Kilkenny have obtained an eviction decree against their tenant John Bergin, who holds a farm under them in the neighbourhood of Borris-in-Ossory, and have refused to allow him to sell his interest in his holding, although the amount realizable for it would far exceed the year and a-half's rent due from him; and, whether, if this is in accordance with the



existing Law, the Government propose to remove the restrictions imposed on the sale of a tenant's interest?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am informed that the Kilkenny Corporation obtained a decree against John Bergin, and that he has been evicted. They did not refuse him permission to sell his interest; but the difficulty was that there was such an amount due by him that his interest was practically valueless.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION (IRELAND)  
—PRIMARY SCHOOLS—MINIMUM  
ATTENDANCE OF SCHOLARS RE-  
QUISITE FOR EMPLOYMENT OF  
ASSISTANT TEACHERS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether an average attendance of 70 children is required to justify the employment of an assistant teacher in the National Schools in Ireland, whereas the average required in Primary Schools in England is only 60; whether the Catholic Hierarchy and the General Assembly of Ulster have made representations as to the inequality and the necessity of maintaining the lower average of 50 formerly allowed on account of the greater difficulties experienced in Ireland in securing the attendance of children; and, whether the Government propose to remove the grievance?

MR. TREVELYAN: I went fully into this matter last year in consequence of a Question put to me by the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), and I satisfied myself that the Irish schools are not in an unfavourable position as compared with the English schools, but that the comparison is entirely the other way. This I found to be also the view taken by the Heads of both the English and Irish Education Departments. When I suggested the notion of assimilation to Sir Patrick Keenan, he was quite dumfounded at the effect that would be produced to the disadvantage of Irish education. In England, for a school attendance of 60 children one certificated teacher and a pupil teacher are paid by the manager, who, of course, receives a certain assistance from the Treasury, while in Ireland a certificated teacher and two monitors are allowed and paid by the Commissioners. A large school, however, is the best illustration of the difference between the

Irish and the English system. In England, for a school of 140 children two certificated teachers and two pupil teachers are specified; while in Ireland four certificated teachers and three monitors are allowed and paid by the Board. Under these circumstances, the hon. Member, I am sure, will not be anxious to assimilate the two systems. I am aware that there is an impression in some quarters that the regulations are more favourable in English than in Irish schools; but this arises from an imperfect acquaintance with the facts.

SUPPLY—THE EDUCATION  
ESTIMATES.

MR. J. G. TALBOT asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether he can now fix a day on which the Education Estimates will be moved?

MR. MUNDELLA: I should be glad to bring on the Education Estimates as early as possible, and will take advantage of the first opportunity that offers; but I can say nothing more till after Easter. I find, however, that since 1876 only once have the Estimates been moved before July.

SUPPLY—THE FINANCIAL  
STATEMENT.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, before he makes his Financial Statement, he will cause to be distributed to Members a "Statement of Income and Expenditure as laid before the House," similar to that in Return 0-60 of last Session; and, whether he will be able to include in it a statement of the Exchequer Issues for 1883-4, as well as of the payments into the Exchequer for the same year?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): I have to say that before making my Financial Statement I will distribute a Paper for the use of Members during my speech giving all the necessary figures as to 1882-3 and 1883-4 which may have been already published. I cannot, however, include in that Paper any figures not yet published, which will be, for the first time, given in my Financial Statement. The Exchequer issues will be only known from my speech; but the payments into the Exchequer will have been published on the 1st of April. If the hon. Member has any suggestion to make as to this

Paper, perhaps he will speak to my hon. Friend the Financial Secretary to the Treasury.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT, 1870—  
OFFENCES AGAINST THE ACT—INCIDENCE OF COSTS.

MR. BRINTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, Whether he is aware that the acting Justices for the Petty Sessional Division of Brimstred South and Chelmarsh, in Shropshire, expressly ordered, on the 18th of August last, that in all cases of offences against the Education Act, all costs shall be paid by the School Attendance Committee as complainant, and that the fines in such cases be paid to the complainant towards payment of such costs; such costs, deducting the fines, amounted last half-year in this division to £25 2s. 8d.; that a similar course is taken by the Borough Bench at Shrewsbury, whose costs as against complainant amounted in four months last year to £15 4s.; and, whether he can suggest any legislative remedy for meeting difficulties of this character, which tend to impede the successful working of the Education Act in these districts?

MR. MUNDELLA: I was not aware that the course specified had been adopted. There can be no doubt that the throwing of the costs upon the School Attendance Committee impedes the working of the Education Acts and increases the rate; but I see no remedy for this action on the part of the magistrates without fresh legislation. I find that in West Somerset, where the magistrates have co-operated with the School Attendance Committees, the most beneficial results have followed, and attendance has risen from 70 up to 80 and even 86 per cent.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE  
HOUSE—LONDON GOVERNMENT BILL.

MR. S. C. BUXTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he can now state definitely on what day he proposes to introduce the London Government Bill; and, whether, having regard to the state of Public Business, and to the anxiety of the rate-payers of London to learn the provisions of the Measure, he will consider the propriety of devoting a Morning Sitting before Easter to the Debate on such Measure?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am very anxious to get the earliest day possible for this Bill; but I am afraid I can say no more than that I will obtain for it the earliest day I can after the second reading of the Representation of the People Bill, and after the Financial Statement has been disposed of. The hon. Member asks whether I will consider the propriety of devoting a Morning Sitting before Easter to the Bill. I am unable so long beforehand to say anything about a Morning Sitting for the purpose. That will be a matter for future consideration.

LORD JOHN MANNERS asked if the London Government Bill would take precedence of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: As only the first reading of the London Government Bill is in question, I do not contemplate that the two things will necessarily clash.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, he hoped the Home Secretary would undertake to introduce the London Government Bill before Easter.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I cannot give an undertaking of that kind.

MR. GORST asked whether the measure would take precedence of the Merchant Shipping Bill?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The introduction of the London Government Bill will take place at the earliest time after the second reading of the Representation of the People Bill and the Financial Statement.

MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS—LOST OR  
MISSING SHIPS.

MR. BARRY asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he will lay upon the Table of the House a list of the British steamships lost or missing during the past ten years, with the names of owners and builders?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Lists of the steamships lost or missing, with the names of the owners, are published annually in *The Wreck Abstract*, and similar information for the past five years has been ordered upon the Motion of the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone); but the names of the builders have not been given. In the volume for 1882-3, now in the hands of the printers, the names of the builders will be added. But to obtain and publish

this information for the past 10 years would involve a great amount of labour and considerable expense; and I should like to see the Return for 1882-3 before deciding whether it is worth while incurring that expense.

LAW AND JUSTICE—"BELT v. LAWES."

COLONEL NOLAN asked Mr. Attorney General, If his attention has been drawn to the Correspondence on the "*Belt v. Lawes*" case, in *The Standard* of the 26th, by which it appears that both sides are becoming bankrupt on account of the costs of that case; and, if Her Majesty's Government will introduce a measure by which the speed of trials may be increased, and the costs diminished?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): It would be very difficult to frame any Rule which would add to the speed or diminish the length of trials. I am afraid it is a disease incurable by legislation. As to costs, some Rules framed last year with the assent of this House have, I am glad to say, considerably diminished the costs of litigation.

#### METROPOLITAN RAILWAY (PARK RAILWAY AND PARLIAMENT STREET IMPROVEMENT) BILL.

Mr. FIRTH asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he can state to the House where it is proposed to place the ventilating shafts of the Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement) Bill, and how many of such shafts there are to be, and what is to be their height and distance from each other; and, whether, having regard to the positive statements made last year by the District Railway Company as to the impossibility of ventilating underground railways in London, he will require the Metropolitan Railway Company to show the possibility of the suggested method of ventilation by practical experiment on the Metropolitan line between Portland Road and King's Cross before proceeding with the projected railway under the Parks?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I am informed by the promoters of the Bill that the engineer, Sir John Hawkshaw, is prepared to lay before the Select Committee to whom this Bill has been referred his plans for ventilating the Rail-

way. He believes he can satisfy the Committee that it can be effected without any detriment to the public Parks. The promoters are unwilling at this stage to give details, and they do not think they ought to be called upon to do so.

Mr. FIRTH: Will the right hon. Gentleman answer the last part of my Question?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I do not know what their plans may be; and therefore I cannot say whether it is reasonable that they should be asked to make experiments.

Mr. GORST: May I ask whether we are to understand from the First Commissioner of Works that he has assented to the railway under the Parks without knowing how it is to be ventilated?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: When I spoke in the debate the other day, I said we had consented to it on the assurance of Sir John Hawkshaw that ventilators would not be necessary.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman give an undertaking on the part of the Government that if the promoters cannot carry out that undertaking they will oppose the Bill?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: I have stated all along that this is the condition of the assent to the scheme, that there are to be no ventilators in the Parks. Of course, I shall require to be assured that they shall ventilate it in some other way.

#### RAILWAYS (INDIA)—EXPENDITURE ON INDIAN RAILWAYS.

Mr. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, with reference to the recent statement of Lord Kimberley, that—

"They had spent upon Railways in India during the last three years the following sums:—In 1881-2, £5,729,606; 1882-3, £6,493,100; and in 1883-4 £8,304,700;"

If he can state to what extent interest upon this outlay has been guaranteed by the Government; and, for what time the guarantee is to run?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: I am glad of the opportunity of correcting an error in the figures which were supplied to Lord Kimberley by the Department, and I need not say how much the Secretary of State regrets the mistake. On further examination, it has been found that those figures included certain consider-



able items which will be charged to the Revenue account of the Indian Railways, and which, therefore, should not have been treated as capital expenditure, though temporarily appearing in the capital account. The correct figures of capital expenditure on Indian Railways are—1881-2, £4,020,000; 1882-3, £4,452,000 (revised Estimate); 1883-4, £6,626,000 (Budget Estimate). Besides which, the Bengal and North-Western Company, which is not in any way subsidized by the State, may have spent from £400,000 to £500,000. The Estimate of expenditure for 1883-4 appears to be in excess of the amount actually spent, which, according to the latest telegram, is £5,368,000. The portion of the estimated expenditure of these three years on which interest would be guaranteed is £4,980,000; interest on £900,000 being guaranteed for about five years, and on the remainder until the lines become the property of the State by purchase.

#### INDIA—EXPORT OF WHEAT.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, with regard to Lord Kimberley's statement to a deputation of English manufacturers and capitalists on Friday, that—

“There has been a surprising increase of the wheat trade, which was open to still further development;”

if he can give the grounds for expecting this further development; and, if he can show to the House that this development is not taking place at the expense of the food supplies of the population?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The production of wheat in the Central Provinces and the Punjab will naturally develop as a greater population devotes itself to the cultivation of the waste lands, and in the Punjab as the irrigation works in progress, and lately opened, exercise their natural influence. That the development is not taking place at the expense of the food supplies of the people is shown by the fact that, whereas in 1879, when the export of wheat was only 1,056,720 cwt., the price of millets averaged 5s. 7½d. per cwt.; in 1882, when the export of wheat was 19,910,005 cwt., the price of millets was 3s. 4½d., showing that, along with an enormous increase in the export of wheat, there had been a fall in the value of ordinary grain foods of 40 per cent.

MR. O'DONNELL asked whether it was not the case that Dr. Hunter, in his work on India, had admitted that if all the poorer classes of India had two full meals a-day the surplus of wheat for export had been less than it was at present; whether the Famine Commissioners reported that the famines of 1866 and 1877 were partly due to the reduction of the wheat stocks owing to excessive exportation; and, whether 500,000 people did not perish in the latter year in the North-West Provinces, although two lines of railway were exporting corn to Southern India and to Europe?

MR. JAMES HOWARD asked whether it was not the fact that the total exports of wheat from India to England only amounted to the difference between a good crop and a bad crop; and, whether it was not in consequence of the unusually good crop that there had been larger exports?

MR. SPEAKER: I am bound to say that these two last Questions partake of the nature of debate.

#### RAILWAYS (INDIA)—COMMITTEE ON INDIAN RAILWAYS.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If witnesses representing the views of the Government of India will be examined before the Special Committee on Indian Railways?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The Government of India have deputed Major Conway-Gordon, one of the Under Secretaries in the Public Works Department, and Mr. Westland, the Comptroller General, to represent their views to the Select Committee.

MR. O'DONNELL asked how many witnesses representing the various classes of the Indian population would be heard?

MR. J. K. CROSS said, that if the hon. Member would communicate with any of the Indian Associations appearing before the Committee, he could probably secure the examination of any witnesses he desired to recommend.

#### CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS—TABLES OF COMPARISON.

MR. SAMUEL SMITH asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, in reference to a correspondence published by Dr. Birbeck Nevins of Liverpool, Whether it is true that a misleading comparison of the

amount of venereal disease as between "protected and unprotected" ports has been published in the Navy Report for several years past; and, whether it is the intention of the Government to discontinue the comparison, and acknowledge that it was erroneous?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Table of Comparison of the amount of contagious disease at protected and unprotected ports was originally suggested by the leading opponents of the Contagious Diseases Acts, and was, at their instance, included in the annual Reports on the health of the Navy. Last year, on looking into the matter, the Admiralty came to the conclusion that the comparison was of no real value, and resolved to discontinue it. Through a pure inadvertence in the Office, however, the Table was repeated in the early copies of the Report issued this year. The mistake was at once corrected, and no such Table appears in the copies of the Report which have been provided for Members of Parliament, or put into general circulation.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked, whether the rate of admission to Plymouth Hospital for Contagious Diseases had not risen from 104 per 1,000 during the last six months of 1882, when the Acts were in full operation, to 230 per 1,000 during the last six months of 1883, when the Acts were suspended?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The figures quoted by the noble Lord appear to be correct. They are taken from a Return on the subject laid on the Table on the 7th of March.

#### PARLIAMENT—NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—"BLOCKING."

MR. FIRTH: Sir, I wish to put a Question to you upon a point of Order in reference to the application of the Standing Order which was passed in November, 1882, as to the abuse of the Rules of the House by "persistently and wilfully obstructing the Business of the House." The Order Book shows that one Member has blocked no fewer than 34 Bills, ranging over the whole area of the legislation proposed during the present Session. They include simple Consolidation Bills, Bills affecting election matters, Bills affecting Ireland, Bills affecting London, Bills relating to the Church, and Bills upon various other subjects. The Question I wish to ask

is, Whether this procedure on the part of one hon. Member does or does not come within the Rule as to Obstruction; and, if not, whether there is any Rule that can be applied to a case of this sort?

MR. SPEAKER: In reply to the hon. Member for Chelsea, I may say that I am not of opinion that the blocking of Bills, even on the scale referred to by the hon. Gentleman, would bring the Member who should indulge in that practice within the penalties imposed by the Standing Order for "persistently and wilfully obstructing the Business of the House." At the same time, I am bound to say that a wholesale system of throwing obstacles in the way of Bills, not out of consideration for the merits or the demerits of such Bills, but from a desire to prevent the several Bills themselves from being discussed, is, in my opinion, a violation of the spirit of the Rule, and ought to be very much deprecated. But I think it is for the House itself to decide whether the abuse, if it be deemed to be an abuse, has reached such a point as that a remedy ought to be applied in this stage, in order to remove it. I cannot myself but think that the spirit of the Rule is violated, when not only is a Rule which was intended for the promotion of the course of legislation turned into a means of obstructing legislation, but also into a means of withdrawing Bills from the consideration of the House, and thus limiting the discretion of the House itself in dealing with them. As I have stated, the matter is one which rests with the House itself; and it will be for the House to judge whether the abuse is of such a nature as to require a remedy.

#### AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE RIVER CONGO—MR. STANLEY.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Secretary of State for War, How many British officers are serving with the expedition directed by Mr. Stanley upon the Congo; whether he is aware that the Stanley Expedition is attempting the armed conquest of the Native tribes, that battles with the Natives have occurred near Stanley Pool, on the River Congo, at Tchoumbiri, at Bolobo, where cannon have been employed, in the country of the Mangalas, whose chief town has been burnt; whether vast

amounts in ivory and other commodities are exacted as war indemnities ; and, whether British Officers are authorized to take part in these proceedings ?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON : I have no knowledge at present of any British officers being with Mr. Stanley. There is no information at the War Office, nor, as far as I can ascertain, at the Foreign Office, with respect to the battles and the circumstances referred to in the further part of the hon. Member's Question.

#### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)— TELEGRAMS.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT : I wish to ask the Secretary of State for War, Whether any telegram has been received from General Graham, confirming the telegram of to-day of the action that has taken place between the forces under his command and Osman Digna's forces ?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON : We have received the following telegram from Sir William Hewett, dated this day at 2 P.M. :—

"Thursday.—General Graham has driven enemy away from Tamanieb village, and got at water much needed by men and horses. No casualties on our side. Arabs dispersing. Foregoing information from messengers."

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

#### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—[BILL 119.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.*)

#### SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[SECOND NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [24th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House declines to proceed further with a measure, having for its object the addition of two million voters to the electoral body of the United Kingdom, until it has before it the entire scheme contemplated by the Government for the amendment of the Representation of the People,"—(*Lord John Manners,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate resumed.

MR. RAIKES said, that the first sentiment which he took to prevail that evening throughout the whole of that House with regard to this measure was one of sincere personal regret at the absence of the right hon. Gentleman who introduced it. He could assure the House, and those who generally acted with the right hon. Gentleman, that that feeling was at least as cordial and as genuine among those who were usually occupied in combating his policy as it could be among any of those upon whose fidelity he had so often relied. At the same time, he was bound to say that close upon this conviction there followed another as to the enormous embarrassment under which the House laboured in consequence of the absence of its Leader. He might have risen on Monday last, when the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) indicated his proposal for this momentous change, to call attention to the extremely unusual and extremely irregular course adopted on that occasion. The noble Marquess had no more to do with the conduct of that Bill through the House than he (Mr. Raikes) had. His name was not on the back of it. The only names upon the back of it were those of the Prime Minister, the Attorney General, the Lord Advocate for Scotland, and the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant ; and he presumed that it was to these Gentlemen that the House must look for any exposition of the course which the Government were prepared to take with regard to the measure. As regarded the other Members of the Ministry, they might, perhaps, be better employed in holding Cabinet Councils elsewhere than in sitting and listening to a discussion in which they were not authorized to speak in the name of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was Her Majesty's Government ; and in his absence they might make a certain amount of impression upon those who sat with him in his Cabinet ; but they could not have the slightest hope that any impression they might make upon those right hon. Gentlemen would be likely to affect the mind of the author of the scheme. He had to go back for

[*Second Night.*]



something like a century to recall a state of things at all similar to this, and that was when the great Lord Chatham was struck down by indisposition, and was precluded from taking his place in Parliament. The Business of the Government had at that time to be conducted for many weeks by Colleagues who were destitute of his authority, debarred from his counsel, entirely unable to speak in his name, and who, therefore, produced a state of extraordinary confusion in Public Business. This headless Ministry invited the House to embark upon the "most important organic change"—to quote the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—which this country had witnessed for something like two centuries. For the first time in their history they were asked to undertake a complete political revolution at the bidding of a provisional Administration. On Monday last the House listened to a speech from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright). The right hon. Gentleman came forward as the apologist of the Government, and, as far as he could, vindicated the policy which had suggested this measure. He taunted hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House with not having met the Motion for the second reading with a direct negative, and suggested that it was their duty to have abstained from bringing forward an Amendment of an abstract character; and he also reminded them that when Mr. Disraeli, in 1859, brought forward a measure for the purpose of making the franchise in the boroughs and counties identical, he was supported by Gentlemen who at that time acted with him. Whether Mr. Disraeli succeeded in converting his Colleagues and Party to the view which he then held or not he certainly did not succeed in converting the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, who not only made a powerful speech against Mr. Disraeli's proposal, but supported the abstract Resolution then moved as an Amendment by Lord John Russell. He would leave the right hon. Gentleman to settle that part of the question with his own historical conscience. The right hon. Gentleman, on Monday last, posed as an old-fashioned Tory in his adhesion to the Act of Union; but, unfortunately, the old Adam crept out in his remarks, and he could not for-

bear having a fling at the Irish Church by telling the House what meaning he attached to the words "for ever" in such a document. The right hon. Gentleman said the stronger party to such a convention might modify it against themselves, but not against the weaker party. That appeared to him to be a most unfortunate argument to use in connection with the Irish Church, for if ever a convention was modified by the stronger party against the weaker that was it. The right hon. Gentleman said that nothing would induce him to depart from the Act of Union. Possibly there was a more recent document from which he would be equally unwilling to depart. He might have cognizance of an unpublished article in an instrument known as "The Treaty of Kilmainham." There were three excellent speeches made against the Bill on Monday last. The first was by his noble Friend (Lord John Manners), the second by his right hon. Friend the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), and the third and best of all by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War. With regard to the speech of the noble Marquess, he thought that of all the argumentative displays he had ever listened to in that House, he had never heard anything which appeared so completely to show all the weak points of the measure which the noble Marquess was supposed to champion, although, at the same time, it did not seem to have produced any effect upon his own convictions. The noble Marquess admitted that this was an incomplete measure. That was what the Opposition contended. The noble Marquess admitted that the redistribution of seats should be accomplished in the same Parliament, and, if possible, in the same Session, as the Bill for the extension of the franchise. That was what the Opposition said. The noble Marquess further observed that the representation of minorities, and questions connected with proportionate representation, should receive most careful consideration. The Opposition made it one of the principal objections to the proposal of the Government that these matters received no consideration whatever in the Bill before the House. The noble Marquess also said that the sketch of redistribution by the Prime Minister was not a declaration of the absolute conclusions of the Cabinet; but that it represented only in a

general manner certain lines of agreement to which they had come. This, also, was a principal objection which the Opposition were prepared to take to the Bill. Then the noble Marquess went on to speak about Ireland, and this was the most interesting part of his speech, because they all remembered that not many months had passed since he spoke at a meeting in the country against including Ireland. On Monday night the noble Marquess said that the extension of the franchise in England and Scotland had generally led to increased loyalty; but he added that it was difficult to expect that anything of the sort would occur in Ireland among the people whose minds had been poisoned by agitators against the English Government. He also, with great candour, proceeded to observe that, as far as he could see, such a measure must entirely extinguish the whole representation of the loyal subjects of Her Majesty in Ireland; but he told the House that the loyal law-abiding classes in Ireland who were unrepresented were to find representation among the English and Scotch Representatives, who were supposed to take an interest in them. That was the argument used years ago with regard to the people of Leeds and Manchester when they were unrepresented. They were told that they would find their representation in that of other important communities, and that they should be content with that sort of representation. Never before, in his recollection, had a Minister supposed to be in charge of the Business of the House made a speech containing so many unanswerable arguments—expressed with all the noble Marquess's characteristic moderation—against the very measure for which he was obliged to stand up. He thought the noble Marquess would have done better had he contented himself with that simple touch of the hat which he gave in moving the second reading. The speech of the Prime Minister in introducing the measure was one of remarkable power and eloquence, and they had all listened to it with the very greatest attention, because it was a great effort of a great man in his best manner. It dealt with the exposition of details, in which, as the House knew, he was unrivalled; and he trusted they might soon again have the pleasure of hearing from the right hon. Gentleman a speech of the same sort in that House.

But, having listened to that speech from the first word to the last, he must say that he failed to find one argument or pretence of argument in it in favour of the measure. The Bill was explained with perfect lucidity and great detail; but as for any argument why they were to pass it there was absolutely none. Hon. Members might have thought that that was reserved for the second reading; but, instead of having the right hon. Gentleman to make up for the deficiency, they had the noble Marquess arguing in the manner he had pointed out. He supposed the advocates of the Bill must either base their arguments upon expediency or abstract right. Few would think that this question ought to be determined by considerations of abstract right. Even the junior Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) would hardly take up the position of the rights of man; he would say that it was rather a question of political expediency than of philosophical theory. But the Prime Minister had long had a curious foible in regard to this matter. He (Mr. Raikes) thought he could trace that foible to the ancient days when the right hon. Gentleman represented a nomination borough, and when he seemed to have got into his head the notion that the vote was a personal privilege and not a public trust, and he seemed to regard it as a nice thing that persons who now had not votes should share the privileges of the electors for Newark. The only word in the right hon. Gentleman's speech which had a syllable of recommendation with regard to the measure was the reference to "capable citizens." Did that mean persons capable of performing the duties of citizens, or persons capable of being turned into citizens? Was the House to give a commanding voice to those who, up to the present time, had had no opportunity of showing their capacity? The case of 1867 had been referred to, when it was said that Parliament had legislated in the dark. But Parliament did not at that time legislate altogether in the dark. The persons upon whom the franchise was conferred were accustomed to political discussion and political combination. They had a knowledge of trades unions, and of all the controversies that arose between capital and labour. They had been in the habit of criticizing the Budget of



their Town Councils, and of voting for or against their municipal representatives, according as they had made good use of the rates or otherwise. They had been concerned in the management of Benefit Societies. Therefore, although a very hazardous experiment was tried, the question was absolutely different from that of to-day. He was not in the House in 1867, and the measure of 1867 appeared to him bolder and perhaps rather wider than was desirable in the interests of the country. But, in the main, it was sound and had answered. The experience they had had in the borough constituencies was such as largely to justify the prescience of Mr. Disraeli when he had the courage to take that step, and had the unequalled honour of establishing the borough franchise upon a firm and stable basis. The effect had been such that the boroughs had become so Conservative that the Liberal Party had found it necessary to recruit their strength from the counties. Nevertheless, as far as they had gone there were certain tendencies observable in Parliament, on which the Prime Minister himself had enlarged more than once, showing that the extension of the franchise in the boroughs had very considerably modified the character of that House. Still, their ancient forms were preserved; but there had been no doubt that the debates were conducted in a somewhat different manner, and Public Business was transacted in a fashion extremely unlike that which prevailed in the years before the Reformed Parliament met. The Parliaments which sat since 1867 had passed several measures with regard to Ireland which could not have been passed in any preceding Parliament. When they came nearer home, property in this country was reasonably safe; Consols had not been attacked; and the Duke of Westminster's ground-rents were, at all events, held sacred against invasion. They seemed to have hit the happy medium between general confiscation and ordinary honesty which he supposed characterized the best Legislative Assemblies. They must come, then, as regarded this measure, to the question of expediency, and discarded abstract rights. He did not wish to take up the time of the House by referring at length to the experience of foreign countries. In France they had the spectacle of a

perpetual change of Government and of perfect legislative sterility. In this country they did not have a perpetual change of Government; but they had something of legislative sterility. As that legislative sterility dated from the epoch when they had extended the suffrage, was it unreasonable to assume that the more they extended the suffrage the greater would become that legislative sterility? In America they had a different form of things. American politics were chiefly distinguished by cynical profligacy and undisguised corruption. They had had in that House recently some very edifying harangues. They had heard something of "spoils to the victors," and they might be tending in that direction. If the extent of the suffrage produced the condition of things which was rampant in the United States, they would be acting very foolishly if they were to take a step which no one could justify in order to arrive at that condition. The Prime Minister had said that they were going to add about 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 voters. He did not suppose that the right hon. Gentleman proposed to mislead the House; but what they were asked to do, as far as England and Wales were concerned, was to add 1,400,000 to 900,000 voters, or not 60, but 150 per cent to the present number. If they should do that, they had only to look forward to the uncertain event whether the majority in the existing constituencies would or would not be absolutely swamped. They were going to hand over every county seat in England to a new electorate, which, if dominated by passion, prejudice, agitation, or uncontrollable distrust against those who at the present time held political power, might return a Parliament in which the whole face of the county representation might be absolutely changed. They were told that this proposal was only supplementary to the Bill of 1867; that, as that Bill enfranchised the householders in boroughs, this Bill would enfranchise the householders in counties. That appeared to him absolutely the opposite of the fact. In 1832, as they all knew, there was a great number of powerful Peers and wealthy merchants who had interests in many boroughs. It was proposed by the first Reform Bill to take those boroughs from them; but they were allowed to regain in the



counties what they lost in the boroughs. The Chandos Clause gave them power in the counties which they never had before. In 1867 it appeared to him exactly the same process went on. The middle classes had to surrender most of the boroughs, for which they were compensated by the £12 franchise in counties. The principle acted upon was that property should be represented in the counties and population in the boroughs. Every Reform Bill had proceeded mainly on that basis, and the principle had found no more distinguished advocates than the great men of the Whig Party. How could they say that a proposal to hand over the whole representation of the country to one class alone, to obliterate and disfranchise all others, was in any sense a supplement to measures which it would have been impossible to carry through the House of Commons except on the basis he had stated? It might be a good thing to do away with the property qualification altogether; but if that was their view, pray let it not be done under false pretences. Do not let them come forward and say—"We are carrying out the principles of the Act of 1867," when the effect of this Bill would be to annul the Act of 1867. He thought it well to say one word with regard to the attitude of the Conservative Party as to the rural labourers. It was said they were hostile to the aspirations of the labourers. That assertion could only be made by men who had no regard for truth, or no knowledge of the subject. The rural labourers possessed great virtues and qualities, which made England proud of them; but it was possible that a population possessing many virtues might not be qualified to exercise a very complicated trust. The same might be said of the good qualities of English women at large; but the House had refused to give them an equal franchise with men. He did not believe the rural labourers were the persons best qualified to administer the affairs of this country; and he invited hon. Members opposite to say if they would go to the rural labourers in their vicinity for trustees under a will or of a marriage settlement? They had, then, to confront the question of redistribution. The noble Marquess told them there was no difficulty in dealing with it next year; that the difficulties were not so great as on former occasions. But the fact was

the difficulties were much greater now. They were asked to pass a measure which involved, as a necessary consequence, electoral districts. It was impossible to avoid that if they passed this Bill, which would change the whole electoral map of England, and disfranchise half the constituencies represented in the present House. After such a measure was passed, what chance would they have of passing a Redistribution Bill? No Minister would be strong enough to accomplish such a task. If they were going to pass this Bill as it stood, and not a Redistribution Bill before Parliament was dissolved, they would never have justice done to the persons they now proposed to enfranchise. They were going to give South-West Lancashire, for instance, with its 65,000 voters, two Members; while they were going to retain for Calne, with 860 electors, and Liskeard, with 750, one Member each. What a ridiculous position this would be to place the voters in! This would give to the people of Calne and Liskeard ten times the influence in the councils of the nation which would be enjoyed by the electors in Lancashire, and thus a difficulty would be created which Parliament would find beyond its power to surmount. Parliament, further, would not be so self-denying as to do justice to the new constituencies if they were to be created in the way which was proposed. The powers of the petty boroughs would prevail; and before he had ended his days it might be expected of the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) that he would pronounce a dithyrambic eulogy upon the villages in the West of England which returned Liberal Members to Parliament. The Bill would refuse to men of enormous property, or great wealth, experience, knowledge, or public service, any greater weight in returning his Representative to the House of Commons than was possessed by the hedger or ditcher who worked outside his gates; and the Government had the effrontery, when making such a proposal, to say that they were not in a position to put an end to the petty oligarchies whose existence happened to be convenient to Her Majesty's Government. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had told the House that he did not believe that this Bill would lead to the making of electoral districts; but did any reasonable

man believe that it would lead to anything else? They knew that the noble Marquess was a man of guileless simplicity. He was the only man in England, he believed, who had doubted whether the Prime Minister would accept Office when the present Government was formed; so perhaps the noble Marquess might be pardoned for another display of this attractive characteristic—namely, a reluctance to believe that electoral districts would be a necessary sequence of the Bill. With regard to the position of Ireland in relation to this Bill, he heard the other day from an hon. Member sitting on the Ministerial side of the House, who was one of the greatest masters of statistics—particularly educational statistics—in this country, that 40 per cent of the people of Ireland could not read and write; and he had also recently seen in the Press a statement based, he believed, upon the Census Returns, to the effect that 40 per cent of the Irish people lived in tenements with only one room; 40 per cent more in tenements containing only two rooms; and that only 20 per cent of the inhabitants of Ireland lived in tenements of more than two rooms. Leaving the political aspect of the question aside for a moment, it was clear, therefore, that the Government were about to add to the existing Irish county electorate of about 200,000 persons other 400,000 or 500,000 of these gentlemen who could not read and write, and who lived in one—or at the least in two—roomed tenements. This, he maintained, was equivalent to the disfranchisement of the whole of the population above those in the very lowest condition. He hoped by the time the Bill was through Committee—if it ever got through—that they should have some very decided and marked expression of feeling from the House as to the prudence of placing the destinies of the country entirely in the hands of such a class as that. In Ireland, as was known, the Protestants, who were the wealthiest, the most educated, and most loyal—he did not mean to say that there were not many loyal Roman Catholics in the country—lived chiefly in the Province of Ulster; but there was also a large numerical majority of other persons who lived in houses below the value at present entitling the occupiers to vote, and if they were enfranchised the pre-

sent representation would be entirely obliterated by what would practically be an enfranchisement of barbarism. The Government was going, in fact, to silence the vote of Protestant Ulster, for it was doubtful whether anywhere, except in Belfast, the Protestant Loyalists would be able to return Members who would do justice to them. He had dealt with the main points in favour of or against the Bill; but he should like to say a word on the question of whether the Bill was or was not an unavoidable concession to popular demands. Whenever on that side of the House they asked if any proposal made had excited popular interest in the country, they were told that if they wanted an exhibition of popular interest they could have it to-morrow. It was a case of Brennus throwing his sword into the scale; and the right hon. Gentleman the junior Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) was ready to perform the office on the present occasion. There could be no doubt that these agitations were easy of manufacture, and that outrages would be ready to order. Those who had profited so much by the reign of outrage in Ireland would be quite ready to produce, at all events, a tolerable imitation of the same thing in this country. Those who resorted to calculated brutality might, perhaps, wait until argument had failed before they applied it; and the dramatist of the Revolution was not so poor a workman as not to know that the climax should come somewhere in the third act. If their windows were to be broken, and the Members of that House were to be intimidated—["Oh, oh!"] They had not done these things! No; because they were to wait until it was necessary. In regard to the question of opportuneness, he should not say much; but he would allude to a phrase of the Prime Minister, which he had repeated so often that it seemed to have become a sort of fetish with him—that the Liberal Party had always trusted the people more than their opponents had. How did the Liberal Party trust the people in Ireland? Ireland exhibited a wonderful example of Liberal confidence in the people. The Government had abolished the right of public meeting, suppressed the freedom of the Press, and governed the country by means of English bayonets and carefully-selected juries. No



doubt the Government had done these things under a sense of public duty; but now they had the audacity to ask the House of Commons, in view of such a state of things, to multiply three-fold the elements of disaffection in that country, and to extinguish at once and for ever the voice of loyalty and order in that country. There was, however, an opportuneness in the matter. The Government had declined to take the House into its confidence, and to communicate to Parliament the necessary complement of their scheme; but they were more afraid of the constituencies than they were of Parliament. They were determined, in any case and at any hazard, not to face again the constituencies who returned them to power. They wanted a new constituency, who would be more accessible to their arts than the one which elected the present Parliament. On that side of the House they asked why this question was brought forward at a time when no one had asked for it? He knew that the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) recently got up a meeting at Leeds on the subject; but he did not count that as a great representation of popular feeling. They on the Opposition side of the House could not tell why, when the Cabinet was so disunited on the subject, when the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) and the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) had been disputing on the subject on different platforms throughout the country, when the country was facing a crisis daily deepening, and when the political horizon was constantly darkening abroad, the Government had selected this precise mode and method of forcing this measure upon that House. Was it that the Government went forth, like M. Emile Ollivier, "with a light heart," to a work which might be more disastrous than his? He hardly believed that. It was, he believed, a policy of despair. After the battle of Cannæ the Senate came out to welcome the defeated Consul, because he had not despaired of his country. If the Liberal Government believed at that moment that this legislation was demanded of them by some fatality which they could not resist, and that although they saw the danger and felt the doubt, they were yet drifting in this manner, because they had no hope in them of any other method of meeting

the difficulties of the position, he would say to them that if they would yet have heart to face their difficulties and their dangers, without recourse to those desperate expedients, it might be possible for them to earn, at least, the credit of the General who earned the gratitude of his country, because they had dared to resist the temptation of political suicide.

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL remarked, that he could not help thinking that it was a little significant that the right hon. Gentleman opposite, occupying, as he deservedly did, a position of so much importance in the eyes of his Party, should have been driven, in speaking on the second reading of a measure of this kind, to rely on the trifling technicality that the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington), in moving the second reading, had raised his hat instead of making his Motion formally. When the right hon. Gentleman was forced to fall back upon a plea of that kind, it showed that he and those who acted with him were reduced to the most miserable shifts of exhausted polemics. When the right hon. Gentleman went on to express his sympathy with the Liberal Party for the absence from his place of the right hon. Gentleman the Head of the Government, he could not deplore that absence more than those who sat on the Government Benches did; and he might, perhaps, add that the same influences that had deprived the Government of their head had almost deprived them of their tail in the person of their humble servant the Secretary to the Local Government Board, who had, therefore, to appeal to the House for a greater indulgence than usual. The right hon. Gentleman had condoled with the Liberal Party of the temporary loss of their Head; but he could not compliment hon. Members opposite on their double headship. Whether the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was in his place or not, at all events his supporters followed him, and they did not immediately break up during his temporary absence. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of legislative sterility. Well, in 1867, Parliament passed the Reform Bill; in 1869, they legislated upon the Irish Church Question; in 1870, they dealt with the Irish Land Question, and subsequently they had legislated in refer-

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ence to Public Education, and to the Abolition of Purchase in the Army. He stopped when he came to 1874, because then the period of legislative sterility commenced. Since the present Government had come into power Obstruction had been elevated into a fine art. The right hon. Gentleman opposite had said that we were going from bad to worse; that every change was a deterioration; that all apparent progress was essential retrogression; and that the more citizens they could keep outside the franchise the better—that the narrower the foundation the safer the superstructure. All that was very suitable matter of observation for the right hon. Gentleman, who had three times unsuccessfully solicited the suffrages of the working-class constituencies, and who, after a few and evil days of his connection with such bodies, had found refuge in the embraces of a constituency composed exclusively of country clergymen and non-resident M.A.'s.

MR. RAIKES: The hon. Gentleman is inaccurate in his statement. I would remind him that I have three times successfully contested such constituencies.

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, that the right hon. Gentleman expanded without contradicting his statement. It was high time for someone to strike a bolder note. The difficulty of the Government lay in the fact that of all the previous speakers hardly anyone had ventured to attack the principle of the Bill. If the time-honoured metaphor of the red herring and the scent had not long been eschewed by even provincial rhetoricians, it would be applicable to the present attempt to draw off attention from what was in the Bill by talking of what was not in it—from franchise to redistribution. He did not in the least underrate the difficulties of the question of redistribution. There was the difficulty of dealing fairly by London and Yorkshire and Lancashire, and yet not unfairly by the rest of the country. The question of redistribution was one of detail, of degree, of application of principle, not of principle itself. On that all were agreed. But the question of the Bill was a question of principle. On that point the Government would not be drawn off from the vital principle of the Bill, which was that every householder should have the vote. With

regard to this there were four main criticisms. In the first place, they were told that there was no enthusiasm in the House, and they were bidden to contrast the present time with 1866, which was undoubtedly a very exciting time, a time of much good speaking and much bad voting, when they heard of Caves of Adul-lam, and Skyeterriers, and wooden horses of Troy. But there many reasons for the excitement then and the calmness now. The House of Commons was at that time, on the question of Reform, rotten to the core, while on this subject the present House of Commons was sound as a bell. The House of Commons of 1866 had not been elected for Reform; while the present House, if for anything after the reversal of Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy, had been elected to extend the suffrage to the labourer. The Bill of 1866 was full of dangerous points, which might be fatal to the Bill and to the Government; while the present Bill was perfectly clear and simple. It would not be fatal to the existence of any Ministry, and its passage through the House of Commons, at any rate, was perfectly secure. In that House of Commons no one knew of his next-door neighbour whether he was a Reformer or not. In the present House of Commons, if the majority were not Reformers they would not be where they were. Of course, he excepted the case of the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen); but he was one among many, and they had not the commanding personality of his right hon. Friend nor such an obliging constituency. These facts might sufficiently account for the comparatively quiet and business-like attitude of the House of Commons with regard to the Bill now under discussion as compared with the excited atmosphere of 1866. The right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken asserted that there was no enthusiasm for this Bill out-of-doors. They were asked—"Where are your big meetings?" as if they could convene them at any moment. In point of fact, they had no need to convene them, because they had been held over and over again. There was the great Conference assembled at Leeds last autumn. That was no mere fortuitous concourse of atoms; it was an assemblage of deputies commissioned by the organized Liberal opinion of the country. That great meeting, by an

*Mr. George Russell*

overwhelming majority, pronounced in favour of dealing with the franchise first. Since his right hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) carried his Motion in 1877 in favour of the extension of the franchise to the agricultural labourers, Resolutions had been passed at every Liberal meeting in favour of that extension; and, as far as the Liberal Party was concerned, its verdict had been given over and over again. Reference had been made on various occasions to the waning interest in this measure, as evidenced by the decreasing success of the Government at bye-elections. He was one of those who hated to underrate a defeat; and he was as ready as anybody could be to allow hon. Gentlemen opposite the maximum of satisfaction from recent Ministerial disasters. But, while they admitted the fact, the causes of it might be matter for speculation. They were told there had been a marked defection among Liberal voters. He was not prepared to say so. Rather he was disposed to look at the defection in the growing distrust on the part of the electors in the fidelity of the present House of Commons as regarded Reform. It was incumbent upon them to make it clear to their constituents, to whom they were so deeply pledged, that they were as resolute, as keen, and as united in support of Reform as their forefathers were in 1832, and their Predecessors in 1866. A third argument against the Bill was used much more sparingly than either of the two to which he had referred. They were told by some persons that the agricultural labourers were not fit for the vote. The right hon. Gentleman who spoke last made a warm profession of affection and respect for the agricultural labourers. He echoed those remarks. He had lived among them; he knew them; he respected them; and, what was considerably more than the right hon. Gentleman could say, he represented them. Hon. Gentlemen who had visited his constituents could bear witness when he said that the agricultural labourer yielded to none, either in his eagerness for political knowledge, his zeal for the principles which he had espoused, and his unfailing steadfastness to those to whom he had once given his allegiance. But the most important point was that they were voters already. The hon. Member for Berkshire (Mr. Walter) did good service the other night

by pointing out that there were five boroughs which comprised altogether 600,000 acres. That which he represented (Aylesbury) comprised in all some 68,699, out of which 65,597 were exterior to the borough proper. It contained over 4,000 electors, of whom more than 3,000 belonged precisely to that class which it was now proposed to enfranchise. Out of the whole of these 4,000 electors, and they were nearly all polled, there were only 29 spoilt votes, including the blind, the sick, and the palsied, and the vote of a certain country clergyman. The reason it was known that he had spoilt his vote was that when he came out of the polling booth he said—"I have no need to claim the protection of the Ballot; I crossed Russell's name out and ran my pencil through it." They were told that such voters would be led away by charlatans, by faddists, and bogus candidates, and men of straw, and that wealth and education would be not only not qualifications, but objects of hatred. Well, the electors of Aylesbury manifested their hatred of capital by electing the head of the great financial family of Rothschild, and their hatred of intelligence and culture by returning the humble individual who was now addressing the House. The fourth point which had been repeatedly urged was that even if the agricultural labourers were fit for the vote they had not asked for it. They were told that the labourers were knocking at the door of the Constitution so feebly that their knock could not be heard. But it was not always safe for them to knock loudly. It was not safe for them to pronounce too plainly their political views and hopes. When they were voters they were bolder. In the great majority of villages the official who used to be called the "black recruiting sergeant," the clergyman, the squire, and the farmer, forgetting for the moment their mutual antipathies, united and banded themselves together in order to preclude the agricultural labourers from the attainment and the exercise of political power, and from the formation and expression of political opinions. They were the employers of labour and the dispensers of charity, and "charity covers a multitude of sins," including the blackness of political intolerance. Two or three years ago there was a Conservative banquet at Aylesbury, and a farmer, who was

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an enthusiastic Conservative, asked one of his supporters to go with him to it. A political meeting followed. The bill of fare was peculiarly extensive and attractive. It included a speech from the hon. Member for Leitrim (Mr. Tottenham), and it would be admitted that a speech from the hon. Gentleman was of itself a satisfying meal. Lighter refreshment was supplied in the form of a speech by his hon. Friend the Member for Exeter (Mr. Northcote), and he was not sure that there was not some mention in the *menu* of a discourse by the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) on the affairs of Eastern Europe. One of his (Mr. Russell's) constituents was of the farmer's party of labourers, and when he had been driven safely home he went to the Dissenting minister and gave an account of the proceedings; but added—"I did not believe what they said." "Then, as it was a free meeting," said the minister, "I hope you got up and told them so." "Not such a fool," said the man; "I should have had to walk home if I had." Which things were an allegory. The agricultural labourer was capable of forming a right judgment in politics; but in nine cases out of ten he had not the means of expressing it, and where he had it was not safe for him to speak. From that bondage they could not deliver him; but they could put him in a position to deliver himself. That was the work to which the Government had set their hands, and they would not be deterred either by open opposition in "another place" or dilatory and evasive criticisms in the House of Commons. They were resolved, so far as they could encompass that end, that the agricultural labourer should be no longer either serf or cypher; but a free man and a self-governing citizen.

Mr. CUBITT said, that the Prime Minister, in introducing the Bill, had stated that fancy franchises had been killed by a playful remark of the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright). It was strange that the right hon. Gentleman had not remembered that there was one fancy franchise which the House had established—namely, the lodger franchise. No franchise had been received with greater favour, and from none were greater results anticipated. He could only find, in the various debates in which that franchise had been discussed, one hesitating adverse criti-

cism. Sir George Cornewall Lewis said that the lodger franchise would bring on the register a population, mostly working men, who flitted about from one place to another, and who were, therefore, little qualified to vote for Members of Parliament. On the other hand, the proposal to give votes to lodgers met with the warm approval of Mr. Disraeli and Lord Derby. At last, in 1867, that which had in several Bills been introduced as a fancy franchise was incorporated in a Reform Act. A useful Return, presented on the Motion of the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. A. Arnold), had given the results of the lodger franchise in the Three Kingdoms. In Scotland only 323 lodgers were found on the list, and of those 173 were in Glasgow, out of 63,716 electors, and 50 in Edinburgh. The remainder were scattered by twos and threes in the other constituencies. In Ireland 1,213 lodgers had votes, of whom 1,082 were resident in Dublin, in consequence, mainly, of the exertions of the Home Rule Party. In England there were 21,918 lodger votes out of 1,651,732 electors. Of these there were 379 in Liverpool, 115 in Manchester, 120 in Leeds, and Birmingham, notwithstanding the exertions of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), only rejoiced in 72. Out of the 21,918 lodgers in England 15,690 were in the Metropolitan boroughs. In Westminster there were 3,774, or one-sixth of the total number of lodger electors in the United Kingdom. It was remarkable that the increase in the number of lodger electors in the Metropolis coincided with an increase of effort and of success on the part of the Conservative Party in the Metropolis. But the main result had established the fact that the lodger franchise was almost entirely an election agent's franchise, for it was hardly possible for a lodger to get his name on the list of voters without the aid of an agent. There were no fewer than five forms of claim for lodgers; and it was mainly on the ground of the difficulties with regard to them which had arisen that the stringent penal clause, introduced by the late Member for Cambridge (Mr. Marten), had been introduced into the Registration Act of 1878. It was found that the great number of false claims and fraudulent declarations required a



sure remedy. In the view of those facts, it must be admitted that the lodger franchise had proved a complete failure. Some convictions in the Metropolis for tampering with the claims of lodgers showed that the penal Act had not put an end to all difficulties. He should be glad to hear from the Government what means they had found of making the lodger and the service franchise self-acting? If the Attorney General had been able to accomplish this, he would prove a great benefactor to the country. The reason for extending the lodger franchise to the counties appeared to be that uniformity of the occupation franchise in boroughs and counties would prepare the way for electoral districts, although the idea of electoral districts had been repudiated by both the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for War. The only difference it would leave between borough and county constituencies would be that the borough freeholders generally would have votes for their counties. He would give two or three examples. The effect of the Bill would probably be to raise the number of electors in West Surrey from 8,400 to about 20,000; and in Guildford, which was probably doomed, there were 1,542 electors and 154 freeholders who would still vote for the county. The electors in South Hants would probably be increased from 10,510 to 30,500; and the division included Portsmouth, with 18,112, and Southampton, with 7,464 electors; while in the two boroughs there were 3,000 freeholders who would vote for the county. But in South Norfolk there were 7,417 electors, and in Norwich 13,131 and 732 freeholders, and these freeholders voted by old custom in the city, so that in this division of a county there would be identity of the county and borough franchise. They were really and truly coming to electoral districts, although Ministers said that was what they did not wish. He would support the Amendment of his noble Friend the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners), or any other Amendment hostile to the Bill. He did not believe that they had sufficient experience of the working of the Reform Bill of 1867. The Election of 1868 gave a Liberal majority, which was lost in 1874 and regained in 1880; and keen observers believed that a General Elec-

tion now would result in another reversal of the country's last decision. For the first time they had had a Government who had prided themselves on reversing the foreign policy of their Predecessors; the present Government's domestic policy might be reversed by their Successors; and so they might go on, until they got into great confusion. For these reasons he supported the Amendment, and he hoped the Bill would be shipwrecked either in that House or the House of Lords.

MR. SPENCER said, he was anxious not to lose the opportunity of stating how very keenly he felt the importance of passing the Bill, and how great was the desire for it in the country at large, and certainly in that part of it which he represented (North Northampton). Those who thought otherwise could not be conversant with the feeling of the country. All the conferences and meetings that had been held had spoken out strongly in favour of the reduction of the county franchise. It might be that there had been no extraordinary excitement about the Bill; no Park railings had been knocked down, as some noble Lords seemed to expect; there had been no visits to the Home Secretary by Presidents of Reform Leagues; still, all the same, there was a feeling in the country, and if Ministers receded one jot from the position they had taken up, a great agitation would probably ensue—not "to order," as some hon. Members had suggested, but as the spontaneous expression of public opinion. If the country was supposed not to be in favour of the Bill—if it were a bad Bill for the country at large—how was it that the noble Lord (Lord John Manners), instead of moving the Amendment, had not moved the rejection of the Bill altogether? He suspected the reason was that the noble Lord knew what an enormous force such a Motion would put into the hands of the Government at that terrible time—the next General Election. The noble Lord also knew that if the Conservatives came into power they would have this incubus on their future policy—that the country was in favour of Reform, and that they had denied the necessity for and the desirability of Reform. The country had made up its mind to have this Bill, and he had no doubt that, in the long run, the measure would be passed. The Cam-

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bridgeshire Election had been put forward as a sign that the Bill was not wished for by the country. He expected that some portion of the large majority which the hon. Member for Cambridge-shire (Mr. A. Thornhill) secured was obtained by hon. Gentlemen telling the farmers that if the labourers had a vote they would be entirely swamped. The part of the country which he represented was very much in favour of the Bill, not only for the reasons he had given, but also because Ireland had been included in the measure. Many hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite had made strong remarks with reference to the manner in which the Bill proposed to deal with Ireland. He did not share the feelings of fear which had been expressed, and he was quite certain that the inclusion of Ireland was not a cause of alarm. If Ireland had not been included, he thought that the country would have shared that feeling of injustice which Irishmen of all sides in politics would have felt at the strong slap in the face which would have been given to that country by the Liberal Party. The Government, he rejoiced to think, had not given way upon this point. The fears and terrors of hon. Gentlemen opposite would not, in his opinion, commend themselves to the constituencies at the next Election. Notwithstanding what had been said, he could not help thinking that the agricultural labourer was quite as anxious for the welfare of his country as any other member of the community; and, considering the spread of education, that he was quite as well able to exercise the privilege of voting as the more exclusive electors in days that were past. There would be a great deal more power and force in the vote of an elector when they obtained an extended electorate. He should be glad to give his vote against the Amendment and in favour of the measure of Reform now before the House, chiefly because he wished that there should be no invidious distinction made between England, Scotland, and Ireland.

MR. J. A. CAMPBELL said, that, in supporting the Amendment, he had no wish to oppose any well-considered measure for assimilating the borough and county franchise, provided it was a complete measure, embracing redistribution of seats, and giving a promise that all classes of the electorate should have

a fair share in the representation. The Bill before the House was, however, not a Bill of that kind, and never professed to be. It was entitled a Bill to amend the Representation; but it dealt only with one part of the subject—the extension of the franchise—so that its title was a misnomer. The House had been already informed of the precedents and authorities that supported the contention of the noble Lord who had moved the Amendment. No answer had been attempted to the application of those authorities to the present case, except this argument—that the separation of the two parts of a complete measure was not of such consequence now, because after passing the Franchise Bill the Redistribution Bill would not make any further change in the franchise. But the question of what the constituencies were to be was quite as important as the question of who the voters were to be. It required to be kept in view from the very beginning, in any satisfactory treatment of the general question of the representation of the people. If there was to be any separation of the two parts, the Bill for the redistribution of seats ought to have the first place, rather than the second place. Lord Stanley, speaking in 1866, said—

“You cannot deal conveniently or satisfactorily with the question of the extension of the franchise in boroughs and in counties—but more especially with the question of the franchise in counties—unless you know what is to be the nature and what is to be the extent of the constituencies you are about to create. . . . What I contend for is simply this—that we ought to know what the constituencies are to be as regards their nature and extent before we settle the question of who is to vote in these constituencies. . . . I believe that we ought to take the question of the redistribution of seats before we take the question of an extension of the franchise.”—(3 *Hansard*, [183] 2059-2061.)

Now, he failed to see that those words had lost any of their force because of the difference between the proposals of the present Bill and those of the Bill of 1866. For instance, he would ask the House to consider the proposals of the Bill with regard to Ireland. The electorate there was to be increased threefold; and, in the words of the hon. Member for Kerry (Mr. Blennerhassett), “this was making a complete transfer of political power from those who now possessed it to the new electorate.” It seemed essential, before the House com-



mitted itself to such a change, that information be given as to how the increased electorate was to be arranged, and under what conditions as to voting it was to exercise its privileges. The hon. Member for Kerry warned the House of the danger of allowing those who held extreme views, who, he said, were 65 or 70 per cent of the population, to have the whole power in the representation of Ireland, condemning to extinction the political energy and public life of the minority. That danger could only be averted by a fair and just scheme of redistribution. Of the two parts of the scheme of the Government, it seemed to him that redistribution was more urgently called for than the extension of the franchise. They had heard it stated that there was a demand for a Reform Bill. But that demand had mostly come, not from the agricultural population, but from people in towns. The grievances which had been heard of were mostly such as might be remedied by redistribution. The anomaly of one man living on one side of the street and having a vote, while his comrade in the same circumstances, but living on the other side of the street, had no vote, was to be remedied by an extension of the boundaries of the borough. Even the case cited by the Prime Minister of a considerable population which had gathered about ship-building yards on the Clyde, some miles below the municipal boundaries of Glasgow, was a case calling for redistribution rather than for a reduction of the county franchise. It was the case of an unrepresented urban population, with urban and not rural interests, and their enfranchisement was to be sought rather by joining them to other town populations than by admitting them as county voters. But the Government themselves plainly admitted that redistribution was inseparably connected with, and, in fact, was a part of, the subject which this Bill opened to the House. Why, otherwise, was it that the Prime Minister gave them a sketch of his own ideas as to redistribution? Was that not an admission that an exposition of a large enfranchising scheme would be incomplete and insufficient without some explanation which went further than merely informing the House who were to have votes? But while the sketch presented was enough to justify the House in asking that the entire scheme

contemplated by the Government should be placed before them in outline at least, it was not enough to satisfy their demand. It was an admission that they were right in asking for information as to what was intended; but it failed to give that information in a sufficient or satisfactory manner. The sketch was unsatisfactory both in form and in substance. In form, because it was not given as from the Cabinet—it did not come as binding on the Cabinet. It was true the Prime Minister stated that he would not have submitted that sketch if he believed that it was vitally in conflict with any of the opinions his Colleagues entertained; and the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had strengthened that statement by speaking of the Prime Minister's sketch as submitted with the assent of his Colleagues, as a declaration generally accepted and concurred in by the Members of the Cabinet. But why should there not be some information more definite and unqualified than that? It was only reasonable to suppose that the Government had considered what their entire scheme was to be. If they had, why did they not make a statement to the House? This Reform measure was to consist of two parts. Why should the House be asked to commit themselves to the first part without knowing what the second part was to be, especially as the first part might be entirely changed in its effects according to the manner in which the second part was dealt with? The Prime Minister had said, with reference to a demand on the Government to tell its plan for redistribution, that the Government "did not intend to walk into any trap." But as regarded the sketch of redistribution which had been put forward with the view of satisfying them, the House might say that without the positive assurance that it bound the Government they must decline to regard it as offering any pathway that was certainly clear of traps and pitfalls. It was said that redistribution was too difficult a subject to treat in conjunction with the extension of the franchise. He should have thought that its difficulty would have been the very reason why the Government should have endeavoured first to deal with that part of their scheme. To show that it was not a subject impossible to deal with, the House would shortly have in their hands the Bill

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of his right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for the Wigtown Burghs (Sir John Hay), in which it would be found that the subject was treated in a thorough and comprehensive way. But the substance, as well as the form, of the Prime Minister's sketch called for some remarks. One portion of it was re-assuring enough, where he said that the distinction of town and country known as burgh and shire was to be maintained. But was there not a danger of that distinction being lost if the Franchise Bill were passed before the redistribution scheme was considered? If it should so happen that there was a Dissolution of Parliament after the passing of this Franchise Bill, but before a Redistribution Bill was passed, large suburban populations and many small towns which, under a Redistribution of Seats Bill, would be included in borough constituencies, would vote in the county, outnumbering, in some cases, the proper rural electorate. As an illustration, he might state what the result would be in the case of Glasgow. The population within the Parliamentary borough of Glasgow was 488,000; but there was a population in the suburbs of 186,000. If this Representation of the People Bill was passed the suburban population would receive the same privilege of voting as those now had who lived within the borough; but if the redistribution scheme were not passed they would vote in the counties of Lanark and Renfrew, and not in the town. The Parliamentary borough of Glasgow, with its population of 488,000, had a constituency of 68,000. In the same proportion the suburban population that would be enfranchised by this Bill would give a constituency of 26,000. That constituency was considerably larger than the whole present constituency of the two counties within whose bounds it now resided. The constituency of North Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire was 18,000; and if this Bill passed, there would be added to it—without taking into account the smaller towns—a suburban Glasgow constituency of 26,000. But the great blot on the Prime Minister's sketch was the proposal that had been so often referred to, of retaining the number of Irish seats undiminished. He was quite aware that representation had not been given strictly according to population, and that the highest authori-

ties on the subject did not propose it. They had not yet come to equal electoral districts, and he trusted they never would; but if they were to have all classes fairly represented they must have a certain variety in their constituencies, even although the borough and county franchises were assimilated. The three Divisions of the United Kingdom contained populations that were approximately similar. There was the same need for variety in constituencies in England and Wales, in Scotland, and in Ireland; so that, though population was not the only thing to be taken into account in distributing seats, the respective populations of the three countries might fairly be taken as affording some guide to the number of Members to which each country was entitled. On that ground it could be said that England and Scotland were under-represented, and that Ireland and Wales were over-represented; and yet the proposal was that Ireland should retain its present number of Members, and that a few Members be taken from England and given to Scotland. Nothing had been said by the Prime Minister to justify this exceptional favour to be shown to Ireland. He hardly thought that its distance from London would really be insisted upon as a reason for it, especially in the absence of any proposal to give more Members on that account to the far North of Scotland. Therefore, it was impossible to avoid the conclusion that the proposal was simply a bid for the Irish vote. He could well understand the difficulty of bringing in a Representation of the People Bill for Great Britain that was not to apply to Ireland; and he could also well understand the feeling of alarm of those loyal to the Union at the idea of extending the franchise in Ireland under present circumstances. Many said this was not a time for such a measure for Ireland; and the conclusion one would be led to was to doubt whether the present was a good time for a Franchise Bill at all—whether it should not be deferred to a later and a safer time. But if they were to legislate on the subject now, and if Ireland was to be admitted to the same privileges, why should not Ireland be subjected to the same conditions, as the other parts of the United Kingdom? If favour was to be shown, why should it be shown to Ireland, which, on any

grounds which could be held to have a bearing on this question, had the least claim to be favoured? Since the Reform Act of 1832 the population of England and Wales had increased from 14,000,000 to 27,000,000, and that of Scotland from 2,333,000 to 3,750,000, while that of Ireland had decreased from 7,750,000 to about 5,000,000; and yet the proposal was that whatever happened to England and Scotland, Ireland was to have its present number of Members continued undiminished. Passing from the question of population, let them look at the statistics recently furnished of the contributions of Scotland and Ireland to the Exchequer. Scotland contributed last year to the Exchequer £9,138,000, and Ireland £8,195,000. On the other hand, Scotland received out of public money during the year £2,665,000, whilst Ireland received £7,000,000. He did not say that these grants to Ireland were unnecessary or ill-bestowed; but he said that, the two countries showing such differences in their relations to the public Exchequer, it was altogether unreasonable to place Ireland in a more favourable position with regard to representation than Scotland. What was the object of a Reform Bill? To amend the representation. But for what purpose? For the purpose of securing better government for the country. But they could not look for good government if all classes, minorities as well as majorities, were not fairly represented in the House of Commons. A Household Franchise Bill, if it stood alone, might place the power wholly in the hands of the most numerous class of householders. He thought it was no want of charity to say that the most numerous class was not necessarily the best qualified to govern the country. They might be capable citizens, but they could not claim to be the most capable. Until they knew what the intentions of the Government were as to the redistribution of seats, it was impossible to forecast the effects of the present Bill—whether it was likely to lead to salutary reform or to make a dangerous revolution.

MR. ANDERSON said, the hon. Member for the Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities (Mr. J. A. Campbell) had confined himself to the stereotyped views of his Party on this question by attacking only the redistribution part of the measure. He had no wish to an-

swer that, at least at present, but to refer to the historical sketch they had in the earlier part of the evening from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), in which he drew a picture—he (Mr. Anderson) believed it was only a fancy picture—of the way in which on former Franchise Bills the two Parties bargained away the political power of the people to suit or defeat each other. He did not think that such bargaining ever really took place; but he wished to point out that the right hon. Gentleman spoke of it not only as having taken place, but spoke of it as approving of that kind of thing. Well, that was exactly the kind of thing that hon. Members on his side of the House did not approve of—namely, bargaining away the political power of the people, without proper reference to the people themselves, whose power was to be dealt with in that way, and that reminded one that this mode of bargaining followed out the principle of the Tory Party, that the franchise was not a right of the people, but only a trust. The noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners), the other night, stated that in the broadest way, when he said it was the Birmingham heresy that the franchise was a right and not a trust. Whether it was a heresy or not, it was not confined to Birmingham, because they in the North shared it thoroughly. They looked upon the franchise as the inherent right of everyone of full age and sound mind in this country; and it was for those who denied any class their right in that respect to show good and cogent reasons for it. No doubt society had a right to protect itself against criminals and lunatics; but they were the only ones who should not exercise the right. It had been tried to show that women should not possess the franchise, but he thought with very doubtful success; and he thought that women who were to obey the laws and pay the taxes, the same as men, had the same inherent right to have some say in the election of those men who made the laws they were bound to obey. He did not think those who had argued against the admission of women had made out their case for exclusion. There was also the class of lodgers. They had an attack on the lodger franchise from the right hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr.

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Cubitt). There was no doubt that the lodger franchise had been a failure; but he thought all would admit that it ought not to be that. There was a very extensive class of lodgers all over the country who were thoroughly well qualified to exercise the franchise, and who ought to have it; and if the lodger franchise was now re-arranged, and all its difficulties and technicalities removed so as to make it more easy for intelligent lodgers to obtain the franchise, it would be no longer the failure the right hon. Member described. Then, beyond that, there was a large and floating population, not now included, that would be embraced under manhood suffrage. They said, not without some reason, there were difficulties in the way of including these; but they were difficulties, not in the way of denying them the rights, but in denying the expediency of including them, on account of the almost impossibility of getting their names upon any register, so that it should be known they voted once, and once only. These appeared to be great difficulties in connection with any extension of the franchise beyond household suffrage; but they surely did not apply to agricultural labourers. There were agricultural labourers, certainly in Scotland, if not in England, who were abundantly suited to exercise the franchise intelligently. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) went to Edinburgh last winter, and attempted to tell a Scotch meeting that the Scotch agricultural labourers were not sufficiently intelligent to have the franchise; but the meeting only laughed at him. They who had had parochical schools for 300 years in the country had an intelligent people all over the country; and the agricultural labourers were, perhaps, even rather better fitted to exercise the franchise intelligently than those in towns. If the agricultural labourers in England were ignorant, whose fault was it? It was the fault of the parson and the squire, who had had them under subjection for hundreds of years, and who, in order to keep them in subjection, had been keeping them in ignorance. That alone was the reason why; but the franchise was a great educator, and if they once gave them the franchise they would before long know well how to use it. The hon. Member who had just sat down gave Glasgow as an illustration against the Bill. It was really one of the strongest

that could be given in its favour. In Glasgow they had a population of 500,000 in the burgh, 250,000 immediately outside the burgh boundaries, and another 250,000 a little further afield; so that altogether there was a population of 1,000,000 in this centre of industry. These men might be said to be interchangeable. They went with their employment. They were this year working and living within the burgh, next year they had gone with their work into the counties. They had a vote when they were living in the burgh, and why should they be deprived of it when they went to live in the country? They had not become less intelligent; but yet, by their stupid law, the moment they got out of the borough they lost their vote. He did not think much greater injustice could be done than that, or that there could be a better argument for the extension of the franchise. When they lived in the counties they could not have a vote for the reason that they were not living in a house of £14 a-year, and that was another injustice they suffered from in Scotland. He did not know where the Scotch Members were in 1868 when they submitted to that; but in Scotland their county franchise was £14, and in England it was £12, and he had never been able to see any reason for the injustice. As it was an injustice, the best way of getting quit of it would be to adopt household suffrage altogether. The hon. Member who had just spoken said a good deal about the redistribution scheme as it was to apply to Ireland. The Scotch Members, of course, felt a great deal about that. They were anxious to give the fullest justice possible to Ireland; but, at the same time, they felt they required justice for themselves also. They had not got justice at present, because, according to population, they ought to have 71 Members instead of 60. He certainly thought if they got 71 Members they might be content—[“No, no!”]—but he did not think they could be content with one single Member less. If the hon. Member opposite wanted more he did not object; but he did not see where they were to come from, and that was his great difficulty about the justice to Ireland. If Ireland was to maintain her present number of Members at 105, he did not quite see where Scotland was to get the 11 extra she ought to have. The right hon. Gentle-



man the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) the other night spoke very strongly about maintaining for Ireland the number given to Ireland by the Treaty of Union; but Ireland had at present five more. She had three actually; but she had a right to five more than were given by the Treaty of Union. According to population, she would only have a right to three less than was given by the Treaty of Union; and if they could not prevail on their Irish Friends to come to a just measure of the population and be content with the 97, and allow Scotland to have the other eight, he hoped, at least, they would be content with the number awarded to them by the Treaty of Union, and surrender the five given them in 1832, when the population was a great deal larger than now. Then there was another source from which they might possibly hope to get a few Members; but, so far, it had not been hinted at by the Prime Minister, or anyone else. Although this Bill was not to abolish any existing franchise, the franchise to which he was alluding might be abolished by means of the Redistribution Bill—he meant the University franchise. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Members might laugh; but he, and a great many people, looked upon the University franchise as a mere device for giving certain classes a double vote. They looked upon a single vote as the right of a man, and that double votes were not his right. Of course, if England surrendered her University seats, Scotland would surrender hers equally. He much regretted that certain Members would, by that means, lose their seats, who were at present great ornaments to the House; but he thought that the grievance of giving certain persons a double vote ought to be got rid of. The only other subject he would allude to was that of proportional representation. He had been asked to sign a document approving of this, which had been signed by many Members on both sides of the House; but he disapproved entirely of proportional representation, and the attempt to represent minorities. If hon. Members who signed it had as much experience of minority representation as he had they would not be so anxious for it. The best way, and the only correct way, of getting minorities represented was to abandon the system of having double and triple constituencies. Let them abandon the very large consti-

tuencies as well as the very small ones, and have moderate-sized constituencies, with only one Member for each. If they adopted that system, they would have minorities represented in what appeared to him to be the only fair and proper system of minority representation.

COLONEL WALROND said, that he was glad to have the opportunity of stating his reasons for giving a cordial support to the Amendment of the noble Lord (Lord John Manners). It was estimated that about 2,000,000 of new electors would be added to the electoral roll, and the consent of the House was asked to that increase without any scheme of redistribution being presented. There were many Members on the Conservative side of the House who did not object, in principle, to the assimilation of the borough and county franchise, as it seemed to them but natural such a measure should follow the Bill of 1867. He, however, would not give a very willing assent to it unless it was accompanied by a redistribution which would insure a due maintenance of the distinction between borough and shire—a distinction which, in his opinion, ought to be maintained. He fully admitted there were many anomalies under the present system; but he was willing to remove them. There were, however, many things in the present Bill which he would shrink from. If it were desirable that the county and borough franchise should be assimilated, they ought to ask whether that was the proper time for the change; and he was quite convinced it was not the proper moment, and that it was not a wise or statesmanlike policy to bring forward a measure which was to include in it the reduction and extension of the franchise in Ireland. Something like 400,000 or 500,000 voters would be added to the electorate of Ireland. Now, the essence of the Premier's speech, as he understood it, was that they were to enrol capable citizens by means of this Bill; but would everybody entertain the idea that these 400,000 new voters in Ireland could be called capable citizens? His own definition of a capable citizen was a man who went quietly about his daily labour and was a loyal subject; but of these 400,000 additional Irish voters fully two-thirds would be men whom it would be impossible to call law-abiding citizens. It might possibly be argued that it was very wrong to bring in

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a mere temporary Bill for England and Scotland, and he rather agreed to that. When the franchise was extended he thought it ought to be extended to the three countries, and that was a strong argument in favour of the postponement of the measure. They would be taunted that they desired no reform; but he could not think there was any very great desire in the country for this measure at the present time. No doubt, it was desired in large towns where there was no direct representation, and among the mining population of the North and in the suburbs of those boroughs, where there certainly was a hardship which ought to be redressed; but to say that the rural population desired this change was, in his opinion, incorrect. He represented a constituency (East Devon) largely composed of agriculturists, and with a large town in it. He knew that in the town of Torquay there was a strong desire that a measure something like this should be brought forward; but he had not had a single Petition from the rural districts, and he believed his Colleague had had only one Petition—and that from Torquay—that this measure should pass. He had looked through the latest summary of the Petitions, and he found that up to Saturday there were 61 Petitions only, and, with two or three exceptions, they all came from Scotland. The Premier had said that household suffrage was generally desired in the counties; but in the West of England he thought he had shown that that was not the case, except among the town population. No doubt, however, the Birmingham Caucus would soon manufacture Petitions enough to show the feeling of the rural population. Among farmers he believed there was a feeling of alarm, not at the prospect that the agricultural labourer would receive the franchise, but lest their interests should be annihilated under this Bill. Without redistribution the agricultural interest in the counties would be swamped by the urban voters. The principle which had been hitherto invariably recognized in the extensions of the franchise would be obliterated. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) said he was entirely in favour of electoral districts and manhood suffrage; but that was not the general feeling of the House. Anyone who was in the House during the discussion of the last Reform Bill would know that

both Liberals and Conservatives accepted the principle that there should be a distinction between town and country. In 1859 Lord Derby defined the distinction as being, as regarded the counties, that property was the basis, and that in the boroughs numbers and residence was the basis; and Lord John Russell himself said, with regard to that speech, that the expression was clear, the authority high, and the argument conclusive. The Government might say they had no other alternative than such a Bill as this; but he believed that if they could appoint a Boundary Commission to enlarge some of the present boroughs, and also to group certain of the small boroughs together, the real requirements of the case might be met in that way. Gentlemen on his side asked that the present Bill should be postponed until a complete scheme of redistribution was submitted to the House. There were some Members of the Government who were in favour of electoral districts, manhood suffrage, and payment of Members, although, from a desire to work with their Colleagues, they kept their more extreme doctrines to themselves. The proposed service franchise, he believed, would be popular in many quarters; but he could not quite understand it, and he thought it might create great anomalies. If he built a lodge for his coachman, his coachman would have a vote; but if his coachman lived in his house he would have no vote. That seemed rather a hardship, and he suggested whether all for whom the taxes were paid might not have a vote. He also considered it right not to allow faggot voters to be created in future, and the Prime Minister had exercised a wise discretion in not disfranchising those now upon the register; but he hoped some Amendment to the Bill would be brought forward by which female suffrage would be introduced. Something like 25,000 or 30,000 women were farming their own land; and he thought it very hard that when they were proposing to enfranchise the labourers they should refuse these women the franchise. The Prime Minister had deprecated what he called fancy franchise; but he thought it would not be at all difficult, if the House could agree, to give votes to all who had a certain amount in the savings bank, or who paid a certain amount in direct taxation. Without saying anything more upon the



Bill, he wished to add that there was nothing in this Amendment which negatived the principle of Reform. It simply expressed the feeling which Lord Derby expressed in 1866, when he said the House did not know that the Government, if they had made up their minds with regard to redistribution, would not change their minds. They had been told that the scheme of redistribution could not be brought forward at the same time with the Bill. He believed, however, that in the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867 the details of the redistribution scheme were joined to each Bill, which in one case contained 80, and in another case 60 clauses, while the present measure only contained 12 clauses. There was no reason, therefore, on that ground why the scheme should not be brought forward now. So far as the House knew it was intended to take Members from the boroughs of the South of England and give them to Ireland, a measure which he considered would be utterly unjust. They had heard a great deal about justice being meted out to Ireland. He was as anxious as anyone to see justice done to Ireland; but he certainly protested against that justice being conferred at the expense of England. It was quite certain that if the population or the taxation of Ireland were considered relatively to that of England and Scotland, Ireland should lose in any scheme of redistribution 10 or 12 Members. In his opinion, therefore, it was absurd to say that Ireland was entitled to 105 Members. He believed that the whole of this Bill was simply meant as a sop to the Irish vote. It was a sop, not only to the Irish vote in Ireland, but to the Irish voters in the large towns of England. It was well known that if there was an appeal to the constituencies in a short time, many hon. Gentlemen opposite who had Irish voters among their constituents might find it very hard to please them. Upon all grounds, therefore, he contended that piecemeal proposal was inopportune. As Lord Derby said in 1868, redistribution ought rather to come before extension. He objected also that there was no finality about this proposal; and, in the words of the Prime Minister, he urged that the constant agitation of organic changes diminished the stability of their institutions, and tended to disqualify England for the performance of

those great duties which she had to discharge for herself and the world. There were so many persons who had just claims to be enfranchised left outside the purview of the Bill, that he was quite certain in a very few years the House would have to all do this work over again. It was, therefore, an unfortunate circumstance for the country that the House should be asked within a short period to re-open this question and discuss another Reform Bill. He cordially supported the Amendment of the noble Lord.

MR. MELLOR: Mr. Speaker, I think that the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Walrond) who has just spoken has somewhat needlessly alarmed himself about manhood suffrage and electoral districts. As I understand the Bill, there is nothing in it which points to anything of the kind, and there has been nothing in the speeches delivered in this debate which tend to that conclusion. The speech of the noble Lord (Lord John Manners) who has moved the Amendment was one of considerable power; in every way worthy of the occasion, and of the great experience of the noble Lord. But I cannot understand why, if he anticipates all the mischief which he believes will result from this Bill, he moved an Amendment of this description, which is in the nature of a dilatory plea. Why did he not say boldly that the Bill was a mischievous one, and that it ought to be at once rejected? Can the noble Lord, in moving this Amendment, have reflected upon the magnitude of the interests with which he was dealing? Two millions of householders in the United Kingdom, at the present time, are without the franchise. I can understand hon. Members considering that to add 2,000,000 to the voters of the country is a serious matter; but I hope that those hon. Members will also remember that it is an equally serious matter to keep 2,000,000 of householders out of the franchise, if they are entitled to it. Either it is very wrong to admit them, or most unjust to keep them out; and if I anticipated half the evils from admitting them that hon. Gentlemen opposite have done, I would unquestionably vote against the Bill itself. The only excuse for the course taken by the noble Lord that I have heard was given by the right hon. Gentleman who spoke after him



(Mr. J. Lowther). He said that this Amendment was according to precedent. Sir, I can understand the value of precedent, if the unwritten law of this House were in question; but how can precedents be of any value when the question is whether a Bill of this kind should be passed or not? It is either right or wrong. If it is wrong, and the noble Lord said that it was, then, in my opinion, he was bound to move its rejection. Now, Sir, the speakers who followed him have contrived to drag Birmingham and the Caucus into this discussion, although the noble Lord wisely tried to keep them out. It is said that, according to what they call the Birmingham heresy, the franchise is looked upon as a right, whereas it ought to be considered a trust. Surely, if it is a right, there can be no question that every man, woman, and child in the country is entitled to it? If, on the other hand, it is called a trust, where is the responsibility, and who is to call the trustees to account? Why, non-voters are not even entitled to inquire how those having the franchise voted. I have always understood that the franchise has long been considered to be a privilege, conferred upon those that, in the opinion of the nation, are capable citizens. The position of the labourer in this country has, for many years past, called for the attention of statesmen; and I am surprised to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) speak so strongly against his being entrusted with the franchise. That right hon. Gentleman can hardly have considered the statement in 1867 of Mr. Disraeli, whom I suppose hon. Gentlemen opposite would call a prudent and far-seeing statesman. In 1867, quoting a speech he made in 1852, he spoke as follows in this House, with respect to the Reform Bill of 1832, which took the franchise from the freemen:—

"I have also another objection to this Bill. I have often said to this House—I repeat it now, and it is the expression of a deep and sincere conviction on my part—that I think in the construction of that remarkable law, the Reform Act of 1832, there was a very great deficiency, which consisted of a want of due consideration of the rights of the working-classes to the franchise. . . . Under our old system, by the suffrages of the freemen, the political rights of the labourer were acknowledged by the Constitution. We virtually destroyed those rights."—(3 *Hansard*, [185] 1200.)

*Mr. Mellor*

Again, Sir Robert Peel also pointed out that—

"You will find the labouring class, whose Parliamentary rights you are now destroying, will take the opportunity of claiming again those privileges which you have thoughtlessly taken from them."

Surely it cannot be said that those two statesmen did not give a great deal of attention to the subject. It is true that the present proposal is to give the franchise to a much larger number than at that time. And hon. Gentlemen talk about appealing to the constituencies! Do they suppose that if this Bill were thrown out upon such an excuse as this, and the constituencies were gravely told that 2,000,000 of people were denied what they consider to be their right, on the ground that the way in which they were afterwards to be locally arranged was not introduced into the measure, that then the constituencies would be satisfied? Why, Sir, the noble Lord has actually told us that the labourer was sufficiently represented at present—that he was represented in agricultural boroughs. And this he afterwards qualified by saying, "that is as far as it goes." He then said that recent elections had shown that no interest was taken in this question. As to the election for West Somerset, I claim to know something about that, as I live there, and I can tell him that this question was never made the principal subject. But I can also tell him that many electors expressed very strong views with regard to faggot-voting in West Somerset, where it actually happened that one tithe-rent charge had been divided amongst 33 Bristol Tory merchants, who had nothing to do with West Somerset, and never came there except to vote at the elections. But what did his argument amount to? Why to this, and this only—that some of those who had got the franchise themselves wanted to keep, and did their best to keep, others out. This is a question not so much for those who have the franchise, as for those who have not, and who now desire it. Something has been said about there having been no agitation on the subject. Agitation, Sir! Why has there been no agitation? Because the people believe and trust in the justice of Parliament. Why should they agitate, when they believe that they will get the franchise without? The English labourer, to begin

with, is not accustomed to agitate. He has no means nor many opportunities of meeting his fellow-labourers for the purpose. But if this Bill is rejected, and if what they consider their just claim is refused, does anyone doubt that a very strong feeling of indignation will arise throughout the country, and agitation enough to satisfy its strongest lover, or any hon. Gentleman opposite? It has been suggested in the course of the debate that these claims could be met sufficiently by enlarging the boundaries of boroughs. But, in my opinion, no advantage would be gained by that. By that means, you would only take a large number of voters from the counties and put them in the boroughs, and how could you go on always extending the boundaries? Men are attracted by superior wages into the towns, where they acquire votes. They are in constant communication with their friends in the country, who remain without, and great dissatisfaction is caused, both in the country and also to the enfranchised householders of the towns, by the exclusion of their friends. But not only by this is great dissatisfaction caused. In the borough that I have the honour to represent (Grantham), working men, machine makers, and such, often go to the other unrepresented towns in Lincolnshire—such as Gainsborough, or Sleaford, or Spalding—and what do they find? Why, they find as soon as they have stepped across the borough boundary of Grantham to live for a time elsewhere, they have lost their votes. If this is the case with regard to Grantham, what would hon. Members say about Nottingham, where, if a man crosses the street, he may lose his vote! The man's wages, house rent, and all remain the same. He wants to vote for the county where he lives. How can you, in the name of justice prevent him? The noble Lord tells us that the constituencies would become unmanageable. I say so much the better. We want to get rid of management and canvassing, and all the evils that this system leads to. He quoted South-West Lancashire, which, he said, would then contain 60,000 voters. Well, but he must have forgotten that such a constituency would be no larger than Liverpool, Birmingham, or Glasgow, and very little larger

than Lambeth or Finsbury. Surely this was a very small argument to use, to induce the House to reject a Bill of such magnitude. Important as it is, still hon. Members opposite are not satisfied with it, and are now trying to get rid of it on various grounds, but amongst others, because it contains no scheme for redistribution. Why, Sir, would any Prime Minister in his senses have brought in a redistribution scheme when he wanted to carry a Franchise Bill, so as to raise every element of discord against him? Is it, indeed, the object of hon. Gentlemen opposite to make extension of the franchise impossible, while some of them profess, or have professed, to be in favour of it? Surely this shows that the noble Lord tried to get rid of this Bill by a side-wind, because he knew that he could not collect the enemies, open and secret, to the Bill if he moved its rejection. Sir, we want nothing but what is fair and honest in the way of redistribution. For my part, although, of course, I wish the supremacy of the Party to which I have the honour to belong to be maintained, I do not wish seriously to weaken the Opposition. I think this House most likely to promote good government when there is a sufficient Opposition. But, Sir, how have we been treated in this matter? Why, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge, who spoke to-night, said that we kept outrages to order! I indignantly repudiate, for the Liberal Party, that it has ever been or is the Party of outrage or disorder. We seek to obtain our ends by reason, and not by violence; and I think that the right hon. Gentleman never made a greater mistake than when he condescended to use such language. Sir, everyone must be conscious of the difficulties connected with Ireland. Certainly I am. But I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible to legislate on this subject for one part of the United Kingdom only. We ought to deal with the whole, and try to do equal justice to all. By doing so, you will bring Ireland to the belief that this country is now, at all events, willing to treat her fairly. Sir, I sincerely trust that this House will come to the conclusion that the Bill ought to be extended to that country; and that, in the interests of all



who love peace and order, this Amendment may be rejected and the Bill read a second time.

MR. RITCHIE said, he took a slightly different view of this question from that of some of his hon. Friends near him, inasmuch as he was not opposed to the extension of the franchise to agricultural labourers. On the contrary, he was one of those who thought that it was impossible to maintain that artificial distinction which at present existed between voters in the towns and a similar class in the counties; and, as he could not see the principle upon which the distinction was based, he felt that it was only a question of time when that barrier should be broken down, and when the vote given by the Bill of 1867 to householders in towns should be extended to counties. He did not agree with those who argued that this would be a greater leap in the dark, large as the numbers were it proposed to enfranchise, than that of the measure of 1867. The Conservatives certainly had no reason to regret the enfranchisement of 1867. His own constituency was a working-class one, and if he were not able to appeal to the working men it would be useless to show his face there; but the fact was that the number of working men who supported him increased 50 per cent between 1867 and 1880. He was aware that Conservatives could not compete with Liberals in the bribes which they held out to that class; but the working classes were beginning to discover that there was a considerable amount of difference between promises and performance, and would resent the deception practised upon them merely for the purpose of catching their votes. He would, therefore, ask his hon. Friends not to lose courage at the prospect of the extension of the franchise as now proposed. It might, no doubt, entail a considerable amount of additional labour upon hon. Members, for a great deal of attention would have to be paid to the wants and wishes of the people, and that, perhaps, was one argument in favour of the Bill. Of one thing he was certain—namely, that there was no class of the community that showed more gratitude for services rendered to them than the working classes. He would say unhesitatingly that he was not opposed to the extension of the franchise to the counties; on the con-

trary, he had always felt it a mere question of time that this proposal should be carried. He thought, however, that it was wise to withhold what he believed to be an act of abstract justice to the county householder until he had shown by his education that he was entitled to it; and he could not help thinking that, considering the time which had elapsed since the passing of the Education Act in 1870, it was not unnatural for the Party opposite to think that the time had now arrived when the franchise might be safely extended to the county householders. That being admitted, it was desirable, in his opinion, that the boon should not be granted owing to pressure from outside. There was, he believed, no strong feeling either inside or outside the House with regard to this measure; but, at the same time, he could not agree with those hon. Members who believed that the recent county elections were any indication of public feeling with regard to it. Then, with regard to Ireland, the question was one of great difficulty. They might well hesitate before extending the provisions of the Bill to Ireland; at the same time, it was difficult to see how they could deal with one part of the United Kingdom without also dealing with the other. On the other hand, there was not one Member of the House who could be ignorant of the effect in Ireland of this extension of the franchise. A great number of the voters it was proposed to enfranchise could neither read nor write; and the extension of the franchise to such people could not be viewed without the gravest apprehension. Neither could Government disguise from themselves that by this extension of the franchise they were giving it to those who did not belong to what might be termed the Loyal Party in that country. On these grounds, therefore, he thought it would have been wiser to defer this Bill a little longer until things were in a more settled condition in Ireland. Another difficulty in omitting Ireland was that justice could not in that case be obtained for England and Scotland; because, as a matter of strict justice, it was evident some seats would have to be taken from Ireland to provide for the additional seats required for England and Scotland. As far as what the Bill included was concerned, he was in favour of it. In many respects it was distinctly



Conservative. It retained the property qualifications for the county voters which many on his side of the House feared would be taken from them. Nor did he object to the service franchise. Indeed, he hoped that the principle might be extended, because there were many besides the class it would enfranchise who were perfectly fit to enjoy the franchise, but who would not have it under the Bill. Like many others, he objected not to what the Bill included, but to what it did not include. An hon. Member opposite, who had spoken of redistribution, had said that they could afford to wait till that question arose; but he thought that was a vital part of the question of the franchise. It had been contended that distance from the seat of Government was a reason for having larger representation. As a Member for the Metropolis, he altogether objected to that argument. He thought it was admitted on all hands that in any redistribution of seats the Metropolis had a very large claim for an increase in the number of her Members, both as regarded population and wealth. But, according to the Prime Minister's argument, referred to by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), he was afraid that so far from any addition being made to the number of her Representatives she would be deprived even of those she had. The right hon. Gentleman had asked the House to look at the number of Members London now had, and the influential newspapers in which the public opinion of the Metropolis was represented. If that argument meant anything at all, it meant that there was no necessity for any further representation in London; but to that he entirely objected, as having no basis in justice. The redistribution scheme shadowed out by the Prime Minister meant the taking away of Members from Conservative parts of England, and giving them to Liberal constituencies in Scotland, while disloyal Ireland was to be rewarded by being allowed to keep Members to which it was not entitled at the expense of England and Scotland. This he considered was a monstrous injustice. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham was for retaining the present Members in Ireland, because it was a plot of ground on which the wicked Tories had so long

worked their wicked will; and he was, therefore, in favour of governing Ireland on new lines. The Government of which he was then a Member had passed two of the strongest Coercion Bills ever known. Were these his new lines? He argued that the Representatives for Ireland had a diminishing influence; but no Representatives had ever shown that they possessed more. They had forced the Government to deal with the land in Ireland in a way in which land had never before been dealt with in any country, and they had forced the Government over and over again to pass remedial legislation. The real reason for retaining Irish seats, he believed, was apparent to everybody. It was another element in the history of bribery and corruption which had for years past been practised by the present Government with a view to obtaining what they never would obtain—the support of the Home Rule Party. He was in favour of an extension of the franchise; but he should support the Amendment of his noble Friend, because he thought the House ought not to be asked to pass a Franchise Bill without having also at the same time the redistribution scheme before them. It would, in his view, be a gross anomaly to pass a Bill which would involve an appeal, in the event of a Dissolution, to constituencies which were neither the old nor the new ones. If the Government, instead of promising a Bill for Municipal Reform in London—for which there was no cry—had been content to deal with both branches of Parliamentary Reform, there would, he thought, have been a general desire in the House to arrive at a settlement of the question. The fact was that the Government did not dare to introduce the Redistribution Bill, because, by so doing, they would have alienated the votes of several Members whose seats would be taken from them by the Bill.

VISCOUNT EBRINGTON remarked that Liberals were sometimes taunted with difference of opinion; but nothing could be more divergent than the speech they had just heard, and that in which another Member of the Conservative Party (Mr. Raikes) had opened the debate. He (Viscount Ebrington) wished to give his hearty support to the Bill as a Representative of one of those semi-rural constituencies which the hon. Member for Aylesbury (Mr. George Russell)

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had so eloquently described at an earlier part of the debate. At the same time, he wished to reserve complete freedom to himself as regarded the supplementary measure of redistribution. He regretted that the House had not had better assurances from the Government that they would seek to avoid a happy-go-lucky General Election with the new electors and the old constituencies. He was glad to hear from the Prime Minister that the old lines would be observed in whatever re-arrangement might be made; and still more glad to hear from the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) that the views put forward by the Prime Minister did not represent the settled determination of the Cabinet; and that if it appeared the proposal to increase the general number of Members, and make the distance from London a factor in determining the number of Representatives, did not receive general approval, they would be reconsidered. The universal cry in the country was for more work and less talk in Parliament; and he could not think an enlargement of the number of Members would be likely to diminish the amount of talk or increase the amount of work done. An increase of Members in England and Scotland would be dearly bought if obtained at the expense of giving to Ireland more Representatives than on any computation, excluding the question of distance, that Island was entitled to. He spoke as the Representative of a borough which, under any possible scheme of representation, must lose at least one of its Members. There were a good many such in the South and West of England; he believed he might say that the people there knew very well that they had more separate representation than they had any fair claim to, and he believed they would acquiesce cheerfully in a scheme of redistribution which would give fairer representation generally to the United Kingdom. But they knew well that there were plenty of small boroughs in Ireland which did not even, for their smallness, contribute in due proportion to the Exchequer; and he did not think the English boroughs would be at all satisfied if they were treated on a different footing from the Irish ones. He himself had no wish to lose his seat in order that the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) might retain his; and he did not think the country would consider it

had made a good exchange if it lost the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) and retained the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien). Unless the redistribution was framed on some such scheme as that he did not see how the Government could fail to have sufficient spare seats from Ireland to be able to provide sufficiently for the claims of the North of England and Scotland, after giving Ireland all she was in fairness entitled to. If, as the right hon. Gentlemen the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had suggested, Ireland could be moved across the Atlantic, the number of Members she would have in Congress was the exact number to which her population entitled her—namely, 33 or 34. He trusted that the Secretary of State for War would not throw his great influence against those who desired in the Redistribution Bill some scheme for giving the loyal minority in that Island, or any other substantial minority in any part of the Kingdom, that share of representation to which its numbers fairly entitled it.

MR. J. W. LOWTHER observed that the House had been treated to a somewhat remarkable scene that evening, and perhaps it would not have been out of place if some hon. Members who had taken part in the debate had changed their sides of the House. Some hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House had spoken in favour of the Bill, while they had heard from hon. Members opposite many arguments in favour of the Amendment of the noble Lord (Lord John Manners). He had listened with pleasure to the admirable speech of the hon. Member for Aylesbury (Mr. George Russell); but that hon. Gentleman had really put aside altogether the question which the House was now called upon to discuss, and had indulged in a headlong speech in favour of the Bill. The hon. Member had told them that the House had been elected for the express purpose of dealing with this great question of Reform. If that assertion were true, he should like to know why Reform had been kept in the background for the last four years? Why was it that a moribund Parliament was so suddenly called upon to deal with this great question? The question had been much discussed whether there was any considerable feeling in the country in favour of Reform; and hon. Members opposite had pointed with triumph



to the fact that great Conferences had been held in favour of the Bill at Leeds, Newcastle, Manchester, Bradford, and Bristol. He acknowledged that all those great towns were places to the expression of whose opinion the House would give every consideration; but it was somewhat startling that on questions admittedly affecting agricultural more than urban interests, they should be referred to the great boroughs and cities of England. The hon. Member for Aylesbury, in attempting to explain away the inconvenient results of the late elections, said that Liberal electors had not come to the poll because they were not satisfied with the Government on account of their not having introduced a Reform Bill earlier. He should have thought if that were the case that the electors instead of remaining away from the poll would have rushed to it, and have returned men who would have insisted upon a Reform Bill being brought in. While he agreed with the noble Viscount who had just sat down in a portion of his remarks, he agreed in other respects with the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie); for, in his opinion, the measure—if a measure for the extension of the franchise was to pass at all—was an extremely moderate one. He was glad to see that the faggot voter was to be abolished; and he was glad to find that the 40s. freeholder was still to be retained on the electoral roll; above all, he was extremely glad that Ireland should be included in this measure, and should receive the same extension as England and Scotland. But when he had said so much he had gone as far as he could on the road with hon. Members opposite. They had it in the Prime Minister's own words that it was desirable that the two great measures of Reform and Redistribution should be dealt with by the same Parliament. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had told them that this House was not a debating society; that they were there to pass practical measures; and that in discussing them they must, to some extent, endeavour to foresee what the result of those measures would be. If this Bill passed it was impossible to shut their eyes to the fact that a Dissolution might occur before the end of the year. If so, Gentlemen would be going to the

country and asking the support of constituencies which were shortly to be abolished. It might be thought that Members on the Opposition side took too sanguine a view of the time of this Dissolution. But it must be remembered that in 1874 a Dissolution was announced almost without the knowledge of some of those who sat on the Treasury Bench. They could not hide from themselves that Dissolution or no Dissolution was a question that rested in the mind and will of the Prime Minister—a mind and will in which that House was not apt at times to place implicit confidence. They must consider what would be the result of an appeal to the constituencies if this measure were passed before a Redistribution Bill became law. He had been at the trouble to look into the figures contained in a Return moved for last year by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. A. Arnold), and on comparing several constituencies he had come to the conclusion that the probable electorate of the future would be one-seventh of the population. Taking that as the unit, he found that the West Riding of Yorkshire Southern Division had a population of 497,000; and assuming that one man in seven had a vote, the probable electorate under this Bill would be 71,047. That Division returned two Members; but the four boroughs which existed in it—Dewsbury, Huddersfield, Sheffield, and Wakefield—had an electorate of 71,596, and they together returned five Members, while the Division of the county, with almost exactly the same number of voters, returned only two. In the Eastern Division of Cornwall the population was 135,170, the probable number of electors would be 19,310, and they would return two Members; whereas the borough of Liskeard within it, which returned one Member, had only 770 electors. Again, in the Western Division of Cumberland there was a population of 135,663, the probable number of electors would be 16,519, and they would return two Members; while Cockermouth returned one Member with only 1,071 electors. A great many similar results might be shown, and he would trouble the House with one additional example on account of its magnitude and the lesson it conveyed. The South-Eastern Division of Lancashire had been mentioned. The population amounted to 534,435; the

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probable number of electors would be 76,348, and they would return two Members. He found that certain boroughs, with 76,865 electors, returned no less than 88 Members. Surely this would be a most extraordinary anomaly. Reform was a means to an end, and not an end in itself; and, he asked, what was the end at which the Government aimed by this measure? He ventured to say that not one word fell from the Prime Minister in his eloquent speech which could give the House an inkling of the object he had in view. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) said it was desirable to return a better House of Commons. [Mr. H. H. FOWLER: Hear, hear!] He supposed, however, that the hon. Gentleman was one of those who, in 1880, were loud in their protestations of the extraordinary ability and intellect displayed by the House of Commons which was returned in that year. They had not yet been told what great measure was to follow the sweeping away of the Corporation of London. There was only one which, to his mind, loomed darkly in their path, and that was the severance of Ireland from Great Britain. This was the question that would have to be faced at no very distant date; and were hon. Gentlemen opposite prepared to say it was necessary, in order to deal with that question, that the agricultural labourers should be introduced into the polling-booths of this country and of Ireland? The position of Ireland in regard to redistribution of seats was different now from what it was when the Prime Minister gave the assurance that Ireland was to retain her present number of Representatives, for they had since had a statement from the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington), whose mission seemed to be, to some extent, to explain away the declarations of his great Leader. The noble Marquess informed them that the proposition was only part of the whole of the scheme, and that it depended on the acceptance of the other two proposals—namely, the centrifugal theory propounded by the Prime Minister, and the increase of the number of Members of that House. If in this debate one thing had been more generally approved than another it was the condemnation of those two proposals. The Irish Members only desired to be treated with jus-

tice; and if justice showed that they were only entitled to 93 Members, he believed they would be the first to say—"Let justice be done." If the suffrage were extended downwards, to use an expression of the Prime Minister, he thought it would have a deplorable effect on the character of the Members returned by Irish constituencies. In conclusion, he would quote from a speech by the Prime Minister, who, on the 11th of May, 1864, said—

"What are the qualities which fit a man for the exercise of a privilege such as the franchise? Self-command, self-control, respect for order, patience under suffering, confidence in the law, regard for superiors."

He regretted to think that none of these virtues, or, at all events, very few of them, could be attributed to the class of voters which this Bill proposed to enfranchise in Ireland.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I cannot help thinking, Sir, that the prevailing impression left upon the minds of all those who have listened to the debate this evening will be a certain sense of its unreality—at all events, on the side of the Conservative Opposition. That feeling of indifference to the discussion may, of course, be due to one of two causes. It may be that they have reason to know that, whatever may be the fate of the Bill in this House, it is going, when it leaves this House, to a strange and inhospitable country, from which it may never, perhaps, safely return; or, on the other hand, they may feel that it is a Bill which is so urgently demanded by the country, and so generally popular, that it is perfectly useless for them to kick against the pricks. But, whatever may be the cause, the unreality of the Opposition has to-night been conspicuously manifested. Take the speech to which we have just listened, with so much interest, from an hon. Member (Mr. J. W. Lowther) who we hope may become as popular a Member of this House as his distinguished Relative. But what has he told us? In the first place, he has told us that it is a very improper thing to introduce a Reform Bill in a moribund Parliament. I should like to know how it is possible to introduce a Reform Bill in a Parliament which would not immediately become moribund on its passing. A Reform Bill has this peculiarity—that it is fatal to the Parliament in which it is car-

ried. The hon. Member went on to say that this is an extremely moderate Bill, and I naturally thought that he would follow that declaration of opinion by a statement of his intention to vote for it. Then he went on to say, very differently from everybody else in his Party, that what he particularly approved was the inclusion of Ireland in the provisions of the Bill. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) also made an admirable speech, so far as four-fifths of his statements were concerned. Four-fifths of his speech were dedicated to expressing his concurrence with the main principles of his Bill. But the remaining fifth of the speech, if he will pardon me for saying so, was a very halting defence of the course which he intends to take in voting against a Bill of the principles of which he approves. It is quite true that he gave a reason for voting against the Bill—namely, that his Party were unable to offer bribes to the constituencies. He does that Party great injustice. So far as I can judge, they are at least as able to make promises which they find it difficult or impossible to fulfil as any other Party in this House. But, no doubt, the tone and temper of the speech of the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets were dictated by the fact that he represents a populous constituency; and the speech itself differed very much from the tone adopted by the right hon. Gentleman who sits for a learned University (Mr. Raikes), who was more acrimonious in his comments on his political opponents than any other speaker has been during this debate. But even the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge had hardly any thing to say against the merits of the Bill which is before the House. I venture to say that he spoke quite as strongly against the Reform Bill of 1867 as against the Bill of 1884. Sir, I think the House will agree with me that the reticences of this debate have been quite as remarkable as the utterances which have distinguished it. We are now engaged on what is practically the fifth night of the debate on this great proposal. Four nights were spent in the introduction of the Bill. [Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor): Only two.] Two nights? I beg pardon. I am glad to be corrected by the better memory of the Lord Mayor. We are now engaged on the fourth night of the discussion of

a Bill which is of the greatest importance—a Bill for the extension of the representation of the people. And during the course of the debate we have had ample criticisms, and many and interesting opinions expressed upon the details of an imaginary measure which is not before the House; but we have had no definite or authoritative statement of the opinion of the Conservative Party as to the merits of the Bill actually before us. The noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) concluded a very eloquent speech by a poetical quotation, in which he put the demand of the Conservative Party for more light as to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government. I admit that that is a very reasonable demand, and the Government will do all in their power to elucidate this great question. But surely there ought to be some reciprocity. Surely we have some right to appeal to the Opposition to give us some clear idea of their opinion upon this great measure of national interest which we have submitted to them. We propose to call up to the exercise of the highest functions of citizenship 2,000,000 of men, and we ask you to say whether you think this a great, just, expedient, and beneficent object? We ask you if you are prepared to put trust in the people, or if you still fear them, as you have feared them on so many previous occasions? And, if you do not fear them, are you prepared for an immediate extension of the franchise? We ask you whether the Bill goes too far, or not far enough; who is it that you are willing to enfranchise, and who is it that you doom for an indefinite time to political nullity? These are fair questions to put, and I think the country would like to have an answer. In default of any answer—and we have had none yet—we are forced to resort to inference and supposition. I admit that we have good grounds for inference upon the subject. We have the Amendment before the House. It asks the House to decline to enter upon the consideration of the Bill until it has before it the full scheme of the Government with regard to redistribution. The inference which I draw from that is this—and I think it is a fair one—that the Conservative Party do not admit that the extension of the franchise is either a good or a bad thing. It may be good,

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or it may be bad, according to what accompanies it, or to what is immediately to follow. In fact, the position of the Conservative Party is like that of guests at a Lord Mayor's Banquet—the Conservative Party are, of course, frequently guests, and enjoy the hospitality of the Lord Mayor—who should refuse to say what they thought of the turtle soup—the Lord Mayor will pardon the suggestion—and who decline to pronounce whether it was turtle or conger until they have tasted the venison: We take issue with them on that subject. We say the extension of the franchise is a good thing in itself; that it is desirable to include the largest number of capable citizens within the limits of the Constitution, whether or not you follow that up by a scheme of redistribution. We say that no scheme of redistribution can possibly make the extension of the suffrage bad, although it is quite possible you may have a scheme of redistribution which may most materially detract from its value. I should like to test that contention, not by reference to a hypothetical position of things, but by reference to what has taken place in the past. Consider what has been the result of the last Reform Bill, for which the Conservative Party are continually taking credit. How did that affect the constituencies? I will take, in the first place, the borough of Sheffield. In 1866 the number of electors in Sheffield was about 8,000. In 1867, by your Reform Bill, you increased the number to 30,000—nearly four-fold. But you made no change whatever in the political power which you gave to the borough of Sheffield. It had two Members before the Reform Bill of 1867. It was entitled at that time, by virtue of its population and wealth, to four Members; but you still only gave it two Members. In the case of the borough of Sheffield, therefore, there was an extension which was not followed by redistribution. In Wolverhampton, in 1866, the number of electors was 3,000. In 1868 it was 15,000, so that the increase was five-fold. And yet there was no change made in the number of Members. What you did in the case of Wolverhampton was to redress one great injustice. You redressed it within the limits of the constituency; but you left untouched the other injustice which concerned the relations of Wolverhampton to other constituencies. As far as

you went you did well. You would have done better if you had gone further; but you satisfied an acknowledged grievance. Lastly, I will take my own borough, because it illustrates rather a different case. Birmingham, in 1866, had 14,000 voters. In 1868 it had 42,000. There are now over 60,000. But while you increased by the Reform Bill of 1867 the electorate of Birmingham 300 per cent, you increased the representation by only 50 per cent, and you accompanied that miserable and inadequate increase by the absurd, ridiculous, and irritating minority vote, which, although it has never succeeded in stifling the true voice of the constituency, has, nevertheless, been a constant source of objection and vexation. Birmingham, at the time of the Reform Bill of 1867, was entitled to six Members, and you only gave it one Member more, and accompanied the gift by a scheme which deprived the majority of the electors of one-third of their power. But with all its defects, the Reform Bill of 1867 was accepted by Birmingham as a satisfactory measure, and as settling one great branch of the Reform Question. Well, since 1867 the people of Birmingham, like those of all other boroughs, have been more loyal, more orderly, and have taken a keener interest in political affairs than they ever did before. If you declare now that a Bill for the extension of the suffrage without redistribution is an evil thing, which ought not to be tolerated, you are condemning your own Reform Bill of 1867; because in 1867, in the great majority of boroughs, you gave extension of the franchise without redistribution, and in others the redistribution was so insignificant as to fail to meet the case at all. There are two great grievances in this Reform Question which remain to be redressed. There is, in the first place, the grievance of those who have no voice at all under our present system—the grievance of the many householders and fathers of families who pay rent and taxes, who are bound to perform every political obligation, and who are, nevertheless, denied the first political right of citizenship. That is the greatest of these grievances; that is the grievance which, by the Bill, we seek to minimize and to reduce to the greatest possible extent. There remains, no doubt, another grievance—the griev-



ance of those who have the vote, or will have it under the Bill, who may complain hereafter that their vote has not the full power and value which is given to the vote in other parts of the country.

[“Hear, hear!” from the Opposition.]

Yes; I am delighted to hear that cheer from the other side of the House. That is a still more important branch of the subject. We are asked how we are going to deal with it; and we have replied, by the voice of the Prime Minister, that without attempting logical completeness, without any unnecessary disturbance of old traditions, without obliterating the distinction between town and country, we will, at the first opportunity, bring in a Bill which shall be a great and generous measure of Reform, and which, if it does not entirely remove the existing anomalies, shall do so to such an extent as shall settle the question, at all events for our time and generation, and shall leave no room now for further agitation. In all that I have said hitherto I have been arguing on the assumption that, on the part of the Opposition, there is no settled determination to oppose the passing of this Bill, but merely an honest desire to be assured that by it and the succeeding measure we are not going to create any new anomalies, and that we are going to make a settlement which will be satisfactory to the great bulk of the population.

[“Oh!”] I admit that that is a very large assumption to make. Yes; that the Opposition is animated by an honest desire to see a satisfactory settlement of the question. No doubt it is a large assumption; but there is another assumption which I think the House is bound to take into view. If I were to suppose that the Opposition were really hostile to this extension of the franchise, were distrustful of their fellow-countrymen, and were not willing to extend the limits of political freedom, while, at the same time, they were unwilling to commit themselves to any irreconcilable antagonism to the people to whom, at no distant day, they may have to appeal for support; if I were to imagine that on this question they were “willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,” what would be the policy I should attribute to such an Opposition? What is the natural course they would take? I suppose it would be their business—it would be their interest—to minimize the im-

portance of the Reform proposed for the acceptance of the House; to deny altogether the interest the country would take in it; and, at the same time, to magnify and exaggerate the gravity of all the complications which might arise while it was under discussion. I assume that they would take every opportunity to delay the discussion of the Bill by interposing debates upon every conceivable subject and at all possible times; and, above all, I conceive they would strive to stifle the consideration and deliberation of a Bill which is a very simple measure, raising but few questions of principle, which could be easily decided, by endeavouring to import into it the consideration of an elaborate scheme, full of details, which might easily arouse and perhaps offend local susceptibilities and local interests. That seems to me to be the course an Opposition would take in the circumstances I have described; and that is the course the Opposition has taken in reference to the present Bill. I am sure the country will not be slow to draw the natural conclusion. [Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor): Try the country.] We are not left entirely to inference in drawing our conclusions as to the attitude which is taken by the Opposition in reference to this Bill. The objections which have been made are not confined absolutely and strictly to its incompleteness. We have heard again to-night from several Members the old allegation that the country is apathetic, and that there is no pressure on the subject. The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) says, very wisely as it seems to me, that even if there was no pressure that would be no reason for not dealing with the matter. This is one of those subjects which have to be decided, to a large extent, by questions of expediency and justice; and in doing what is expedient and what is right we ought not to wait for pressure. On this point I should like to quote the opinion of a statesman who lived 50 years ago, and who took a great interest in the subject of Reform. I refer to the first Lord Durham, who, in 1836, said—

“It is the duty of a wise statesman to examine the objects the people have in view and have determined to obtain, and when he is satisfied of their justice he should not wait to be forced to the adoption of such measures; he should

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not do it upon expediency or upon compulsion; but he should grant them freely and cordially, for a boon granted on compulsion loses half its grace and often half its value."

I have quoted the opinion of one of the elder generation of statesmen, because I want to contrast it with the opinion of one of our modern statesmen. I want to contrast it with the latest product and most satisfactory development of that Tory Democracy of which we shall hear a good deal in the future, which is represented in this House by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). It is an utterance of the noble Lord to which I propose to direct attention. I pay the greatest attention to everything he says, for two reasons—in the first place, because I believe the noble Lord always says what he means, and sometimes means what he says; and, in the second place, because I find that what he says to-day his Leaders say to-morrow. They follow him with halting steps, somewhat unwillingly, but they always follow him; they may not like the prescription he makes up for them, but they always swallow it. Speaking at Edinburgh, on December 19, 1883, this is what the noble Lord said on the subject we are now considering—

"If I saw the agricultural labourers of Great Britain in a great state of excitement over this question; if I saw them holding vast meetings, collecting together from all parts, neglecting their work, contributing from their scanty funds, marching on London, tearing down the railings of Hyde Park, engaging the police, and even the military, I should say to myself—'These men have great and bitter grievances, which have not been represented in Parliament, or which have been neglected by Parliament, and they know that if they had the franchise these grievances would be no longer neglected, but they would be represented and remedied. They have made up their minds to have the vote. The fact that they have made up their minds to have the vote shows pretty well that they will know how to use the vote; and if we wish for peace, order, and stability in the realm of Britain we had better give them the vote. And on these grounds, and on these grounds only, would I consent to equalize the position of the agricultural labourer and the town artisan.'"

I must say that I think this is a very remarkable utterance; and it appears to me to be a direct incitement to violence and outrage. If it had been made in Ireland by an Irish Member, I feel certain that it would have been denounced from those Benches as a direct provocation to crime and disorder.

*Mr. Chamberlain*

MR. HEALY: And he would have been put in quod by the Government.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I am not quite certain whether the Government would not have found it necessary to take notice of it. But for myself, all I can say is that I protest absolutely and entirely against language of that kind; and I think it is a fatal lesson to teach the people of this country, or any class in this country, that the only way by which they can obtain redress of their grievances is by violence, pulling down railings, and by engaging the police. Although there have been no riots up to the present time—nothing to satisfy the noble Lord—yet I think there have been ample signs of the opinion of the country and of the interest taken in this question. The last Recess was distinguished above most Recesses by the activity of the debate which went on during its course; and, on the whole, I am afraid I must say that our opponents were more active than we were. They had more time at their disposal, and they were the attacking party. On the whole, they held, I believe, more meetings than we did. I am not going to lay stress upon our meetings. You say they arose from a mere mechanical agitation. Meetings of thousands of representatives from all parts of the country, and meetings equally numerous in localities, are regarded as the creatures of the Caucus; while the meetings of the Constitutional Committees, held in the public-houses, are recognized as the free and full expression of public opinion. They are the free and full expression of the public-house opinion, I have no doubt. But what I want to point out is, that at these meetings, whether held in the open or in public-houses, in not a single instance throughout the whole of the Recess, as far as my memory goes or my knowledge extends, has there been a single case of a solitary resolution having been passed condemning the extension of the franchise. Our meetings, one and all, passed resolutions unanimously, or by vast majorities, in favour of the extension of the franchise. Why have you not accepted the challenge? You say you are certain that the country is with you. Why, then, did you not pass resolutions to that effect at your meetings, and call upon Parliament to discharge this question from its thoughts and give its attention to other



business. As far as I know, in not one single case has any resolution hostile to this Bill been passed even at a Conservative meeting. If hon. Gentlemen opposite are really in doubt as to the opinion of the country, it is a doubt which I am inclined to think will be removed before the discussion is finally closed. I do not think we shall be able to gratify the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). I do not think we can get up outrages to order, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) amiably imputes to us. That is not our line. That is not to our interest, and it has never been our policy. In the time of the late Government, when public feeling was greatly excited, I am not aware that any prominent Member of the Conservative Party was molested or even insulted by his political opponents. It was not the Prime Minister of that day whose windows were broken by the mob. It was the windows of the right hon. Gentleman now the Prime Minister of this country, and I do not suppose they were broken by any Liberal organization. I have no doubt, although we cannot get up outrages, we shall be able to show the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge that the opinion of the country is, at all events, made up in reference to this matter. We were told the other night by the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) that this Bill had not the slightest ghost of a chance of passing in the present Parliament. I do not know how the House understood that statement. To my mind it was something like a veiled menace, and the House of Commons is deliberating under a threat, veiled, no doubt, in this House, but one which outside takes a more open character. At the Lord Mayor's Banquet, at which reporters were not admitted, it has been mentioned that Lord Salisbury said he would advise that this Bill should be thrown out, if it ever reached the House of Peers. I do not know whether right hon. Gentlemen opposite admit the accuracy of the statement which has been made; but, at all events, it was strongly confirmed at another banquet on Tuesday, where reporters were present, at the Constitutional Club, presided over

by Lord Cranbrook. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Conservative Club.] Oh; I thought Conservatives were "Constitutional." Well, at a Conservative Club, not Constitutional—presided over by Lord Cranbrook, who said that the House of Lords would appeal to the country when the Bill came to them from a decaying and discredited House of Commons. I look forward with cheerful eagerness to the time when an appeal will be made, when I have no doubt ample satisfaction will be given to right hon. Gentlemen opposite as to the opinion of the constituencies. It is not merely said that the country is apathetic. We are told the time is inopportune. I should like to know when the time would be opportune in the minds of the Tory Party for a measure of Reform. I would undertake to have drafted a Resolution any time in the last 10 years, which would command the united support of the Tory Party, declaring a measure of Reform inopportune at that particular time. This matter was brought before the House on the 13th of May, 1874, by my right hon. Friend the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan). It was opposed, on the ground that it was inopportune, by Mr. Disraeli, who was then the Leader of the House, who stated that its inopportune-ness arose from the fact that an attempt had just been made to start a national union of agricultural labourers, and the labourers were in a state of excitement, which was not favourable to the impartial consideration of such a measure. In July, 1875, the matter was again brought before the House of Commons. This time the Trades Union movement of agricultural labourers had settled into a normal condition, and there was no particular excitement. But the measure was still inopportune. It was inopportune, because the House of Commons were told it would delay the great social measures of the Conservative Party. On the 30th of May, 1876, the expression was again used. At that time the country had seen something of the great social measures which the Tory Party had it in their hearts to pass, and that excuse would not pass muster a second time. The Conservative Party was rather hard up for an excuse. They did not declare it inopportune; but they said it was really indecent to bring forward a Motion for a third time which

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in the same Parliament had been twice condemned by large majorities. I confess it seems to me the time is never inopportune to do a just thing. The difficulty I have is in justifying the delay which has already taken place. Since 1867 there has been an immense advance in the condition of the people generally. They have had full experience since then of the advantage and absolute safety of trusting the people at large. Education, one of the most important factors in this matter, has made gigantic strides. The number of children in attendance at school has tripled since 1867. The old order has given place to the new. A generation has arisen which, I believe, compares favourably in every respect in education, in patriotism, and in political intelligence, with those who were enfranchised by the great Act of 1867. Then I ask the House how long they think, even if the Opposition is now successful, they can continue to close the portals of the Constitution against those who are claiming an entrance — how long can we refuse men who are compelled to perform all the obligations of citizens, without having the right of citizens to which they are entitled? We were told only at the beginning of this year by Lord Salisbury that we were on the threshold of a time when a great addition must be made to the country constituencies. Why should we not pass the threshold? Why wait on the threshold? What is there in the question that should keep us knocking at the door? These, of course, are only preliminary objections to the extension of the franchise. The objections in principle have still to be considered. We are told that this Bill, if passed, will annihilate the agricultural interests. Well, that is a most extraordinary statement. When you proposed to enfranchise all the artisans in the towns, I am not aware that the manufacturers said that their interests would be annihilated by the political rights you gave to their workmen. They thought—and thought rightly—that the interests of themselves and their workpeople were identical, and they rejoiced that their workpeople were to be permitted to exercise Constitutional rights. Why, then, is the agricultural interest in a different position? Is it pretended that the interests of the landlords and the interests of the tenant

farmers are interests which are hostile to those of the agricultural labourers? That is a very dangerous admission to make. For my part, I say that the greatest of agricultural interests is the interests of the men who till the soil. Those are the interests which we ought to care for, and they are interests which will be advanced by this Bill. They are interests which have been too long neglected and ignored, very much to the injury of the class concerned. What has happened in consequence of the agricultural labourers not having a voice in this House? They have been robbed of their land. [*Cries of "No, no!" and "Withdraw!"*] I repeat that they have been robbed of their land. [*"Prove it!"*] They have been robbed of their rights in the commons. [*"No, no!"*] They have been robbed of their open spaces—[*"No, no!"*—I do not say intentionally, with any desire on the part of this House or of those who were answerable for those proceedings to injure them, but in ignorance of their interests and rights, for which, unfortunately, they had no spokesman in this House. And, Sir, it may be said that these proceedings, which I have characterized in language not a whit too strong, have now come to an end. Not a bit of it; they are going on still. The agricultural labourers are still being robbed. [*"No, no!"*] You can hardly go into a single country lane in which you will not find that the landowners on each side of the road have already enclosed lands which for centuries have belonged to the people, or that they are on the point of enclosing it. [*"No, no!"*] There is no protection against the steady absorption that is continually going on of open spaces which belong to the people, but which are gradually being included in the estates of the landowners. That is not all. It is not merely with reference to the land that this injurious operation is going on; it is going on also with respect to the endowments of the poor. There are in all parts of the country endowments which have been left, and which for centuries have been employed, for the benefit of the poor. They have, no doubt, in many cases been abused; and it would be right that the employment of those funds should be altered and amended. But it is not right that that should be going on which has been

going on with the sanction of the majority of this House, with the authority of Parliament and under the direction of the Charity Commissioners—namely, the transfer of property, which in many cases transfers from the poor to the rich the funds that were intended for the poor. [“No, no!”] Right hon. Gentlemen opposite are very eager and not very courteous in interrupting me. In what I am saying now I am not bringing any charge against either Party in this House in regard either to the robbery of the land or the robbery of endowments. I take shame to the Liberal Party quite as much as to the Conservative Party. We are both to blame; but what I argue is, that these wrongs would never have been committed had the agricultural labourers had a voice in this House and been able to speak. Another objection that has been taken has been embodied in an illustration of the noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners), which I think not altogether felicitous. He said that this Bill was a cheque for two millions, drawn payable to the order of the President of the Board of Trade and the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). In the first place, I would ask the noble Lord, if this is true, why on earth is it he does not come forward like a man and vote against the second reading of the Bill? If it is going to have an effect which he considers to be disastrous in the highest degree, why does he propose a mere shirking Amendment, which expresses no opinion whatever upon the merits of the measure? What possible scheme of redistribution can ever be devised on the other side of the House which will reconcile the noble Lord to such a result as he describes as necessarily following an extension of the suffrage, unless, indeed, he thinks he has got some patent process by which he can take away with one hand what he gives with the other, and by some ingenious arrangement, or mis-arrangement, of boundaries destroy the whole effect of the measure, and destroy the political influence he gives? I said the illustration was infelicitous. The noble Lord spoke of a cheque drawn for two millions. I do not think the cheque is drawn to my order; but, Sir, the cheque is for the enfranchisement of 2,000,000 of capable men. The notion of the noble

Lord is that they will proceed, on the receipt of that cheque, to endorse it to my order and the order of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). As far as I am concerned, I am flattered by the good opinion the noble Lord expresses of my influence in the country; but his argument comes to this—he refuses to give the franchise to anyone who he is not certain beforehand will support the Tory Party, and, above all, will renounce the President of the Board of Trade and all his works. I think he cannot be serious in what he says in my case. The noble Lord referred to the influence the hon. Member for the City of Cork would obtain. His terror of me is simulated; but I have no doubt he is sincerely afraid of the hon. Member for the City of Cork. He described that hon. Member as likely to become, by this Bill, the Grand Elector over four-fifths of Ireland. I think that happily describes the present position of the hon. Member. Nobody denies the great influence the hon. Member at present exercises over the constituencies of Ireland; but I am certain that this Bill will make no material change in that great influence. But, in any case, whether it does or not, unless the House is prepared to abandon all idea of a Constitutional treatment of the Irish Question, and all idea of a representative system in Ireland, let us take care that the representative system there shall be a reality and not a sham—not a mere fraud and imposition upon the public. We may like or dislike the opinions held by the majority of the Irish people; but we cannot suppress those opinions; and, under these circumstances, it is to our interest, it is wise statesmanship and sound policy, that those opinions, however unpopular, should, at least, be represented in this House, and we should tempt the people of Ireland to bring their grievances to a Constitutional test, and not force them, by driving them into secret conspiracy, into a desperate course. Agitation is always legitimate so long as there are grievances to be redressed; and the grievance of Ireland, in this matter of the franchise, is a great and an urgent grievance. It is not merely a grievance in the same sense in which it is a grievance in England and Scotland. It is not only a grievance in the Irish people being badly represented; but it

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is a greater grievance in the odious distinction it makes between the Irish people and the people of Great Britain. Let us see what the fact is. In Great Britain, excluding Ireland, one in 10 of the population have votes; in Ireland only one in every 25; there are, therefore, two and a-half times as many electors in proportion in Great Britain as there are in Ireland. The result is that the position of Ireland at the present moment, with regard to the franchise, is worse now than was the position of England and Scotland before the Act of 1867. Ever since the Reform Bill of 1867 we have gone on complaining that it was insufficient for our purpose, and yet during the whole of those 17 years the Irish people have had to put up with a representation worse than that which existed before that measure became law. It is the merest folly, and a matter of serious danger, to perpetuate inequalities of this kind; and those who attempt to maintain them are really the best friends the Irish agitators have, for it is they who will sharpen their weapons of attack upon the British connection. As regards the Government, our intention in this matter is clear and manifest. We have declared our intention in our speeches and in the Bill. Anyone who will look at the Bill, and see the way in which it is drafted, will see that it would be a very difficult, if not an impossible thing, to take Ireland out of the Bill without reconstructing the measure altogether. That is an indication of our intention to stand by the Bill. The noble Lord (Lord John Manners) referred to the cry heard so frequently at the time of the Reform Bill in 1832. We adopt that cry; we ask for "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill;" and we will not accept a position which would either increase the anomalies and inequalities which now exist between the Three Kingdoms, or which would maintain and perpetuate them. Then there is an argument which I almost regret to find used at all in the debate in reference to the Irish vote—it is what I may call the mud-cabin argument. We are told—and I am afraid truly—that half the country population in Ireland live in mud-cabins. That, no doubt, is very deplorable. But I want to ask hon. Gentleman whether that deplorable state of things is likely to be remedied by refusing to give to

the inhabitants of the mud-cabins in Ireland an articulate voice to express the misery and wretchedness of their condition? We have heard a good deal lately about the dwellings of the poor in the large towns of England, and I am afraid we have not much to boast of in that respect in comparison with Ireland. I am afraid it has been sufficiently proved that the condition of a great portion of our population, numbering even millions, is such that they live in a state which is repugnant to humanity, and under sanitary conditions which make morality almost impossible; and they are, in this respect, at all events, in a worse position than the inhabitants of the mud cabins in Ireland, in that our fellow-countrymen, instead of being surrounded by open spaces and living in the free air, live in poisonous courts and stifling dens, from which they cannot escape even into the fresh air. It is to people living in these conditions that the Conservative Party have given votes, and have not scrupled to enfranchise as householders or lodgers. Every one of these people living in the dwellings I now speak of—every one of them—is entitled to claim the vote either as householder or lodger; and, that being so—[*Interruption.*] I do not know whether the hon. Member who interrupts me does so because he thinks I am going to complain of the Conservative Party in this respect. On the contrary, I accept what they did, and approve of it. You did well when you enfranchised those people; and if there is now any hope for them to escape from the condition of misery in which they live it is because they are beginning to find their feet and to make their political influence felt, and because there is political danger in the neglect of their wrongs. Why should you not do the same for the mud-cabins? Why should you not find some remedy for the miserable condition under which they live; and if you do so it will be of advantage, not only to themselves, but to the whole community. Before sitting down there is only one further observation that I wish to make. It has been said, with reference to a statement made by the Prime Minister, that he declared he was in favour of maintaining the existing numerical proportion of the representation of Ireland. This statement has been received with very



strong dissent by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite. [Mr. BERESFORD HOPE: On both sides.] Well, but not to the same extent on this side. I have to deal with the arguments of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite; and I was going to say that I have followed those arguments with the greatest interest, with the keenest sympathy, and with general approval. Hon. Gentlemen opposite are really to be congratulated on their newly-fledged enthusiasm for logical completeness in any scheme of political redistribution. It appears, according to them, that each district of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland should be strictly represented according to the number of their population. [*Cries of "Hear, hear!" from the Opposition.*] I am delighted to hear that that is the opinion of the Conservative Party. It is of no use for the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) to shake his head; for I did not say that the right hon. Gentleman said so. Other hon. Gentlemen on his side of the House have said so. I am delighted to find such an advance towards Radical opinions on the part of the Conservative Party. How far will they carry this opinion of theirs in favour of electoral districts? It is good for Scotland; it is good for England; for Wales; for Ireland—is it good for London? Is it good for Birmingham? [Mr. T. COLLINS: No.] The hon. Member for Knarborough—I hope he carries his Party with him—draws the line at Birmingham. I will give up Birmingham. Is it good for Liverpool, Manchester, or Glasgow, and many other great Provincial cities? Will he carry it out in them, and will he then tell us what is the difference between the view which he and other Members of his Party are prepared to support, and the view which appears to them so monstrous, when coming from the President of the Board of Trade, that we ought to give an equal value to every vote? When it is said I am in favour of equal electoral districts, I do not care a straw for equal electoral districts; I care for the principle, and not for the method. I can easily devise a much better method than equal electoral districts for securing what I require. [*"Hear, hear!"*] I am glad to see that hon. Gentlemen opposite have confidence in my ability;

and I only hope they will put it to the test. What I care about is that one equal value shall be given to every vote in every case. It has a great bearing upon the question raised by the Prime Minister. There is a large Irish vote in many of our large towns—in London, Liverpool, and other places—as hon. Members on both sides know, sometimes to their advantage and sometimes to their cost. I say on both sides of the House, because, however hon. Gentlemen opposite may denounce the conduct of the Liberal Party in this respect, I have never found a Conservative candidate at all slow to ask, invite, or even truckle to the Irish vote. Now, I want to ask hon. Members to bear in mind that if they are going to demand that in Ireland Irish opinion shall be limited strictly to the exact proportion to which its number entitles it, then, at least, they ought not to refuse to Irish opinion in our large towns the full value of the vote to which, by number, it is entitled; but they ought to give to Manchester, to Liverpool, and, above all, to London, the full proportion to which their numbers entitle them. I may conclude the remarks which I have ventured to address to the House by pointing out that the issue before the House is really an extremely simple one. We propose to widen the foundations of our political institutions. We propose to associate the largest possible number of capable citizens in the work of government. We are at least as anxious as hon. Gentlemen opposite to proceed, at the earliest possible moment, with the consideration of the next and still more important step of redistributing political power. But we will not consent to jeopardize the success of these great and beneficent reforms by coupling them together, in the vain hope that thereby we may conciliate opponents who are hostile to both. I hope the House of Commons will be true to its pledges and its traditions, and that this Bill will pass with a great majority. Then, perhaps, the House of Lords will be true to its traditions also. In that case let the nation decide between us; and I, for one, have no fear of the result.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: In the last sentence of the speech of the President of the Board of Trade, the right hon. Gentleman spoke of conciliation towards his opponents; but there was

not much conciliation in the speech we have just listened to. Considering the great national importance of the question before us, I think I never listened to a more ill-conditioned speech. The right hon. Gentleman has brought charge after charge against us; he has accused us of truckling to our opponents, of offering bribes which we were afterwards unable to fulfil; and, by way of climax to his accusations, he has charged us with the wholesale robbery of the agricultural labourers, without a particle of evidence to support his accusation. Then, to extricate himself from the difficulty in which he was placed, he went on to say that he spoke not merely of the way in which we have robbed the labourers of their land, but also the poor of their endowments? But who was it who robbed the poor of their endowments? What is the Act under which that robbery is being carried out? It was one of the very first Acts passed by the Reformed Parliament of 1868, and one which had been opposed by the Conservative Party. The object of that Act was to take away their endowments from the poor, in order to devote them to secondary education. We have done our best to ameliorate the provisions of that Act; and now, after 16 years, down comes the right hon. Gentleman, and, with his characteristic inaccuracy, he associates us with wholesale robbery. The right hon. Gentleman has said there is an unreality about this debate, and he also implied that there was an earnest and burning anxiety out-of-doors for this Bill. Now, I can speak with greater authority on that point than the right hon. Gentleman, having, with my Colleague, addressed many gatherings of our constituents, and both of us having, on every occasion, informed them of the course we intended to take on this question. Nevertheless, neither my Colleague nor myself have received a single remonstrance from our constituents on the subject. The right hon. Gentleman has declared that it was the duty of the Opposition to express an opinion on the merits of this Bill, because, no matter what the scheme of redistribution might be, it was essential for us to express our opinion on the enfranchisement of the labourers in counties. During the Recess the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War and the right hon.

Gentleman played the game of contradicting each other at every public meeting that either of them attended; and again, on the first occasion on which the right hon. Gentleman has spoken on the subject in this House, he flatly contradicts his noble Colleague. On Monday night the noble Marquess, speaking in this House, said that if this Bill would lead to electoral districts he would not vote for it. So closely is the question of enfranchisement associated with the redistribution of seats, that if the Bill leads to a certain form of redistribution it ought, even in the opinion of the noble Marquess, to be rejected. So much for the unanimity of sentiment in the Cabinet. The right hon. Gentleman said he would give the House information as to how this redistribution is to be carried out, and this was the information he gave us. He told us the Government would take the first opportunity of introducing a generous measure of Reform, which would settle the question of redistribution for a generation. The right hon. Gentleman has told us that he does not care what machinery is employed, provided that it only secures what he requires. What is it that he requires? Well, we know what the right hon. Gentleman wants—namely, manhood suffrage and the payment of Members.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I wish to correct the noble Lord in reference to what I said. I said that what I required was that an equal value should be given to the vote in every case.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The right hon. Gentleman used the words—"I do not care for the manner, provided I secure what I require;" and we know very well that he wants manhood suffrage and the payment of Members; and he wishes, if he can, through the machinery he has established in England, to obtain as complete a monopoly of political power everywhere as he and his friends have secured in municipal matters in Birmingham. The Opposition are not prepared to aid and abet the right hon. Gentleman in securing what he wants; and, therefore, we have determined to support the Amendment of my noble Friend the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners), and will oppose this Bill until we have from the Government some indication of what the lines are on which their scheme

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of redistribution is to be drawn. In the various speeches that have been made from the other side of the House it has been always assumed—and the right hon. Gentleman from first to last assumed—that the Opposition are prompted by unfair and underhand motives in the course they are taking. Now, supposing I can show that the course we recommend is in accordance with precedent and usage, and that any departure from what we suggest must be accompanied by the gravest possible inconvenience, and even attended by subsequent national danger, shall we not, then, be able to give a reality and a substance to our objections which will entitle them to fair consideration on both sides of the House? What is our great objection to the particular method of procedure adopted by the Government? In the first place, it is entirely contrary to precedent, because I do not believe that there has ever been any serious attempt to introduce a Reform Bill at the close of the life of a Parliament. Such measures have invariably been introduced at the commencement of the life of a Parliament; because the nearer it was to a General Election when a Reform Bill was brought in by a Government the more danger there was that the object of its promoters might be to strengthen the influence of their own Party than to effect a real and permanent improvement in the national representation. And when the Government who adopt this course, in the teeth of all precedent, are a discredited Government, whose policy has everywhere failed, and whose only hope of rehabilitating themselves lay in suggesting some sweeping and organic change, the inference that they are attempting to affect the impending Election ripens into a certainty. If this Bill passes in its present shape, it seems to me that it would do three things. It would, first, indefinitely impede and postpone the redistribution of seats; in the next place, it would lead, by its novel enactments in the one direction and by its obvious omissions in the other, to a most audacious manipulation of the electoral system for the benefit of the Party in power; and, lastly, by unfair arrangements in respect to Ireland, it would render it more difficult for the Loyalists in that country, and the English and Scotch Members, to maintain hereafter the integrity of

the United Kingdom. If these objections be real, all the gibes and sneers of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade will be of no avail. They are substantial objections; and I will venture shortly to recapitulate them. If this Bill passes in the present Session, it is a matter of absolute certainty, about which there can be no question, that a General Election must take place without a redistribution of seats. ["No!"] The hon. Member who contradicts could never have thought out the matter. It does not admit of argument. There is no time this year for a Redistribution Bill. Next year you would have to introduce a Registration Bill; you would also have the *remanets* from the present Session, and—what is far more important—you would have to renew the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act. Will the hon. Member on the other side who interrupted me say how, if the Government have to introduce a measure so repugnant to hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway, they will also be able to pass a Redistribution Bill next year, which may possibly curtail the representation of Ireland? It is, therefore, a matter of certainty that a Redistribution Bill cannot pass next Session. Then, can it pass in the seventh Session—the sole remaining Session? Upon that point we have an opinion of no ordinary weight—that of the Prime Minister himself. Speaking in Mid Lothian, he predicted, with almost prophetic accuracy, the position of this Parliament. The right hon. Gentleman said—

"We have arrived at the time wherein, according to the fixed and invariable practice, I think, of the entire century—nay, even of more than the entire century—there ought to be a Dissolution. The rule—and the wise rule—of our governors in other times has been that although the law allows a duration of seven years to Parliament, it should not sit to transact more than the usual Business of six Sessions. And you will see, gentlemen, the good sense, I think, of such a rule. It appears to be founded upon this—that the operations of the seventh Session would be likely to descend as to their moral level below the standard of the earlier portions of a Parliament, that the interests of the country would be more liable to be compromised by personal inducements, and personal inducements not in relation to the country at large, but in relation to particular groups and cliques of persons—in relation to what are sometimes called harassed interests. And matters of that kind would be likely to bring about a bartering and trafficking in public interests



for personal ends if it were made absolutely certain that in so many weeks, or in two or three months, the Parliament must be dissolved. Now, out of this has grown a rule; I am far from saying that rule is a rule mathematical or inflexible; for some great public or national reason it is perfectly justifiable to depart from it—but what is the public or national reason for departing from it now? None at all. I defy the most ingenious man to suggest to me any reason whatever for departing from this rule, which has been in use through the whole of our lifetime—I believe even through the lifetime of your fathers and grandfathers. I do not believe the wit of man can give a reason for departing from it except this—that it is thought to be, upon the whole, for the interests of Her Majesty's Government. That, I say at once, is not a legitimate reason for departing from the Constitutional rule."

The Prime Minister, therefore, makes it a matter of absolute certainty that no Redistribution Bill can be carried by the present Parliament. Now, what is the objection to dissociating the redistribution scheme from the extension of the franchise? The President of the Board of Trade seemed to think that the only object of the Conservative Party, in objecting to dissociating the one portion of the scheme from the other, was to stop the measure of Reform altogether. But why did our ancestors always object to dissociating redistribution from Reform? Why was it that the Parliament of 1865 associated them? The object, I think, is perfectly clear. The extension of the franchise will always be popular with the people, because it proposes to give something, while a redistribution scheme is unpopular, because it takes away something; and, therefore, it is only by associating the two together that you can get rid of the objections of those whom you propose to disfranchise. Every argument that has been used as to the length of time a Redistribution Bill will take if associated with a Franchise Bill is a conclusive argument, because if it takes so much time to pass a Redistribution Bill, when associated with reduction of the franchise, it will never pass if it has no propelling power behind it. The proposal of Her Majesty's Government, if the House will excuse the expression, appears to be an idiotic proposal; because it is equivalent to this—Supposing a railway manager had to run a very heavy train, and for the sake of convenience split the train into portions, putting the locomotive power in the first portion and all the guards and the brakes in the second. The result would be that

while facility would be given for the movement of the first portion of the train the second would remain stationary. So, also, in this case. The first part of the scheme once carried, the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his Friends would be a sufficient impediment to the carrying of any Redistribution Bill hereafter. If an Election is soon to take place on the increased electorate which this Bill would give, I wish to point out to the House the absurd position in which the House of Commons would be placed. I am sorry to weary the House with figures; but as the question is so important it is essential that I should place some before them. At the present moment there are 151 urban districts unrepresented, with a population of over 10,000 inhabitants each. Exactly one-half of these districts are in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Middlesex. There are 44 in Lancashire, 16 in Yorkshire, and 14 in Middlesex. What is the proposal under this Bill? These enormous masses of people, numbering in the aggregate 1,500,000 persons, are to be pitchforked into half-a-dozen constituencies, every single one of which is already under-represented. These constituencies would be absolutely unworkable. I will take, as an illustration, the case of my own constituency. The present number of electors on the register is about 42,000, and under the Bill now before the House that number would be increased to about 80,000 or 100,000. In the neighbouring county of Buckinghamshire there are three boroughs—Buckingham, High Wycombe, and Aylesbury, of which we had a humorous description to-day by the Secretary to the Local Government Board. These three boroughs, in the aggregate, would have a population equal to half the number of electors in Middlesex, and they would return double the number of Members. The two Members returned by Middlesex are Conservatives, while the four Members for these small boroughs are Liberals. I have already pointed out the effect of splitting the measure in half, and how seriously it must affect the General Election. At the present time there are 142 borough Members who represent constituencies of under 5,000 voters. Every one of those constituencies, if numbers are to be taken into consideration, ought to have their representation

curtailed. But they are not to be touched; and why not? They return 89 Liberal Members and 53 Conservatives, giving a majority of 36 in favour of the Government. By the counties in England 175 Members are returned; 122 of those Members are Conservatives, while only 53 are Liberals. They are much under-represented, for under this Bill, with the exception of Rutland, every county constituency is over 5,000 voters; but no proposal of any kind is made to increase their representation. The result, therefore, is that in this Bill the Government gain two points by declining to disfranchise where they ought, and thus preventing their following from being reduced; while by declining to enfranchise where they ought, and where the population requires it, they diminish the following of their political opponents. If the representation went by population the county of Middlesex is entitled to 36 additional Members, Lancashire to 32, and Surrey to 15. The Prime Minister has been kind enough to tell the House one of the principles which ought, in his opinion, to regulate the Redistribution Bill. It is the principle of centrifugal representation, which has been already referred to. What is the political effect of that principle? England is the most Conservative portion of the country; Wales, Ireland, and Scotland are the most anti-Conservative; but Wales, Ireland, and Scotland are further off. Owing to the distance of these countries from the Metropolis, their representation is to be favourably considered. England, because it is Conservative, is to be under-represented; Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, because they are anti-Conservative, are to be over-represented. I could scarcely control my countenance when on Monday last I heard the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) giving as a reason why London should not be entitled to additional representation the fact that London has a powerful Press. The right hon. Gentleman seldom makes a speech on any public platform in which he does not take the greatest praise to himself for having assisted in removing the taxes on knowledge; and it is, therefore, strange for him to argue that because London has a powerful Press it is not to be fully represented according to its population. The unfortunate pecu-

liarity of all these flimsy arguments and suggestions is this—that in every single case they tend to favour the prospects of our political opponents, while in every case they damage those of the Conservatives; and, under such circumstances, I think we should, indeed, deserve to be called the stupid Party if we allowed a Bill of this character to pass, which, under the plausible pretext of enlarging the electorate, manipulates in the most audacious manner the present electoral arrangements to the advantage of the Party in power. Supposing, what is almost a certainty if the Bill passes, that the next Parliament is to be elected under it, before any scheme of redistribution has been carried out, the next House of Commons would find itself such a monstrosity as regards the difference between Members representing boroughs and those representing counties, that no authority could be claimed for its decisions. I have made a calculation, and I find that, adding to the existing county constituencies the proposed addition under this Bill, each county Member in the next Parliament would, on an average, represent over 12,000 voters, while each borough Member would, on an average, represent less than 6,000. So that you will have reduced your representation to this mathematical absurdity—that if 50 county Members went into the Lobby against 99 borough Members, the 50 county Members would represent a larger population than the 99 borough Members; but, unfortunately, borough Members are mostly Liberal, while the county Members are chiefly Conservative; and therefore this Bill was intended, neither more nor less, to pack the next House of Commons, in order to deprive the Conservative Party of that representation which its wealth and its numbers entitle it to. The noble Marquess informs us that it is impossible to bring in a Bill dealing with redistribution until the Government are in possession of further material facts and figures. What do they want more figures for? They have the population Returns, and if we assimilate the franchise throughout the counties these population Returns would afford amply sufficient data for a Redistribution Bill. When the noble Marquess says the Government are not in favour of electoral districts, what more accurate Returns do they want than those already



in their possession? The House must bear in mind that no promise or pledge of a Minister—I speak with no personal disrespect—is of any value whatever unless it is embodied in an Act of Parliament; and although the noble Marquess may solemnly assure us he would oppose the Bill if it tended to electoral districts in the next Parliament, we may have the President of the Board of Trade coming down with a Bill carving the whole of the United Kingdom into electoral districts. Constitutionally, agreements made in one Parliament are not binding in a subsequent Parliament. We, therefore, have no guarantee as to the principle of redistribution unless it is associated with the Franchise Bill, or that we may not be ultimately compelled to accept the proposal of equal electoral districts which Her Majesty's Government now repudiate. To meet this difficulty my right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gibson), on the first evening this Bill was introduced, suggested to the Prime Minister that there should be a clause inserted in it to the effect that it should not come into operation until the redistribution scheme has passed. Anybody who watched the Prime Minister's face when that proposal was made must have a pretty good idea of the purpose for which the Bill has been brought in. The Prime Minister at once repudiated the suggestion with warmth, as much as to say he had not been 50 years in Parliament, managing delicate political matters, to be caught with such a device as that. There was one part of this Bill which no one connected with Ireland can ignore. What will its moral and political effect be on that country? The Bill, if passed in its present form, will practically establish hovel franchise in Ireland. The Prime Minister advocates the Bill on the ground that the men to be enfranchised are "capable." But I am curious to know what the poor cottiers of Ireland, who inhabit these "hovels," are capable of? The great majority of them cannot read and write, and a large proportion have never travelled 10 miles from their homes. The only thing I am afraid they are capable of is hatred of England and animosity towards all things English. Her Majesty's Government is composed of men of ability; but what are their facts and proposals? One-third of the

population of Ireland is loyal, as the Government know, and yet they are deliberately making proposals by which nine-tenths of the representation of that Island is to be given over to the disloyal. You are doing everything in your power to strain the Act of Union in favour of disloyalty in Ireland. The first speech I ever heard of the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) make was some 16 years ago, in this House, and it was one in which he spoke with supreme contempt of the Act of Union, describing it as a musty piece of parchment. On that occasion the Union stood in the way of the disestablishment of the Irish Church; and now, 16 years afterwards, the right hon. Gentleman has made the discovery that the Act of Union is so inviolable a document that the very letter as well as the spirit of it must be retained, because a literal adherence to it will give the Irish people a larger representation than they are entitled to. But what would be the moral effect of this Bill on the loyal population of Ireland? The Government know perfectly well that they could not have brought in the Bill a year ago and applied it to Ireland. Why is Ireland quieter now than it was 18 months ago? It is because crime has been put down by the co-operation of the loyal population with the Government, and in return for that the Government are now about to give the franchise to those whom, on former occasions, they have excluded from the jury box. The return you make to the loyal population is to swamp their political influence by the wholesale enfranchisement of the very man who has threatened their lives hitherto. I am afraid the Loyalists in Ireland are not disposed to put more confidence in those who negotiated the Kilmainham Treaty, because they will see that exactly the same reason which induced the Government to betray them on that occasion, when they only desired to get the support of some 30 Members of Parliament, would induce them to go further when they have to deal with the 90 followers of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). We are told that if we exclude Ireland we shall create a grievance there. You are creating a tenfold greater grievance by what you are now doing. What is the franchise? What is it but a means to



an end, and what is the end but separation from England? Will it be in your power to refuse that separation, which nine-tenths of the people you propose to enfranchise as capable citizens will demand? I do not always approve of the utterances of the President of the Board of Trade; but there is a very remarkable passage in a speech which the right hon. Gentleman made some years ago. Speaking at Liverpool, on the 25th of October, 1881, he said—

“Unless the Government of the country are prepared to accept the idea of the secession of Ireland from the Union, and the severance of the two countries, I think the time had come when the Government was bound to assert its authority. Now, is this question of separation one upon which there is any difference among us? I assume we are prepared now, as we have been all along, to consider impartially every just claim, to remedy every proved grievance, to endeavour to govern Ireland, not according to English prejudice, but according to all those most patriotic and intelligent among the Irish people. Are we ready to consider the Union itself as a standing grievance, and are we prepared to admit that the question of reparation is an open one between us? I say, for myself, that I am not prepared to admit that it is possible, either in the interests of this country or in the interests of Ireland, that there should be created a hostile Power within striking distance of these shores. I suppose the first result would be that independence would be the signal for civil war, in which we should be forced to take a side. But, if this were avoided, Ireland independent must always be jealous and afraid of England. The greater power, the commercial supremacy of the latter country, would always be a subject of anxiety and alarm to the smaller. Ireland would be crushed under the weight of military and naval expenditure, which it would have to maintain in order to secure its separate existence. We should find our burdens enlarged in proportion. The two countries would be a standing menace one to the other. Sooner or later the condition would be intolerable, and we should have to commence the struggle anew. Ireland would have again to be reconquered, and England would be ruined. I am not prepared to face these contingencies; and therefore I say, Liberal and Radical as I profess to be, I say to Ireland what the Liberals or the Republicans of the North said to the Southern States of America, the Union must be preserved. You cannot, and you shall not destroy it.”

These are very grave words. But are not the Government putting it outside their power to make them good? If you say to the Irish people you are capable citizens and deserving of this extension of the franchise, and nine-tenths of the persons returned to Parliament ask you for this separation, how can you refuse it? What was the policy announced by

the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright)? He commenced by saying—“Force is no remedy. I object to the old policy. I wish to proceed on new lines, and to deal more generously with Ireland;” and when at last he was forced to face the contingency that 90 of the hon. Gentlemen who would be sent from Ireland would make government impossible through this House, he replied—“Oh, if the worst comes to the worst, the 550 Englishmen and Scotchmen will find a way to stop the 90.” Well, Sir, what is that but force? You will ultimately have to undo that which you are now inclined to do; but in how different a position will you be placed? It would be fairer and more straightforward to say plainly to the Irish people—“We do not consider you entitled to this growing franchise; and until you can give some guarantee that you will not use it to our detriment and harm we will not give it to you.” The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War said, a year ago, that it would be madness to give increased self-government to Ireland, until we received from the Representatives of the Irish people some assurance that this boon would not be misused for the purpose of agitation, and for the purpose of weakening the authority and power of Parliament. But, so far from receiving any such guarantee, these Gentlemen openly say that they are in a state of war with the British Government; that they have not the material force on their side now for giving effect to their views. In this House the greater the control which is exercised over the acts of the Government the better for the State; but nothing in the world would be easier. These 90 Gentlemen holding these views will be able to render government impossible, and they know it. They will have their thumb, so to speak, on the whole administration of the Empire, and you will be forced either to accede to their wishes, which means civil war, or else once more reconquer Ireland. Now, this seems to me to be the very melancholy position in which you will be placed with your large majority in this House. The right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham used almost un-Parliamentary language with regard to some Irish Members—he described them as rebels; then the noble Marquess said it was an act of madness

[*Second Night.*]

to extend self-government in Ireland. Then, what are we to think of the policy of the Government which makes these rebels supreme in this House? Sir, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, speaking in the country, made use of an illustration, in one sense happy and in another sense unhappy. He said that the changes which would shortly have to be considered in that House were greater than any which had come forward since the Revolution of 1688, which had conferred inestimable benefits on England. What was the result of that Revolution? It established civil and religious liberty in England and Scotland, but it created civil war in Ireland; Ireland had to be subjugated, and civil and religious liberty there was crushed under a Penal Code. It seems to me that the changes alluded to by the Chancellor of the Exchequer must unquestionably produce a condition of affairs in Ireland from which nothing but force can ultimately deliver us. Sir, I think I have shown that our objections to this proposal are reasonable, and that they rest upon facts and arguments which give them reality. The President of the Board of Trade threatens us with agitation for our opposition to this Bill; he applies such language to it that I suppose he hopes that agitation will follow. Well, Sir, I am not afraid of agitation. In the past the Liberal Party were foolish enough to associate the franchise with a pecuniary benefit to those who were enfranchised; and the result was that after the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, the country was shaken to the centre by the Chartist Riots which were directly the result of that Bill. The present Government associated their advent to Office with the revival of trade, and that revival of trade has not occurred; and the people whom you now propose to enfranchise are sensible enough to know that it is outside your power either to improve the trades or industries in which they are engaged, or, as in the past, to make good the bribes you have offered them. It has been said by hon. Gentlemen opposite that the Liberal majority was so great at the last Election that even the manipulation with which, as I have shown, this Bill might be connected cannot affect the impending Election. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) estimated the Liberal majority

at the last Election at 500,000. It was nothing of the kind. All the statistics on the subject which I have seen put forward are absolutely illusory, because they count not the voters but their votes. That was the case at the last Metropolitan Elections. I am satisfied that the transfer of 5 per cent of those who voted as Liberals last time is sufficient to give us a majority from one end of the country to the other. Well, Sir, we are threatened with this agitation by the Government. The only way to make that agitation effective is by a Dissolution, and here I will refer to that point in a speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, delivered in Mid Lothian—for his speeches there refer to every conceivable subject, and are worthy of the attention of the Liberal Party. The right hon. Gentleman said, referring to the late Government—

“Why, gentlemen, are they not anxious to obtain the judgment of the country? It is surely plain that they are not anxious. If they were anxious they would follow the rule and dissolve Parliament. It is plain, therefore, they are not anxious. Why are they not anxious? Have they not told us all along that they possess the confidence of the people? Have they not boasted, right and left, that vast majorities of the nation are in the same sense with themselves? Oh! gentlemen, these are idle pretexts! It is an instinct lying far deeper than these professions that teaches them that the country is against them, and it is because they know that the country is against them that they are unwilling to appeal to the country. Why, gentlemen, an absolute appeal to the public judgment, when there is a knowledge beforehand on the part of those who make the appeal that the answer will be favourable, gives additional strength to those who make that appeal. If it be true, as they will say, that the country is in their favour, I say that with the favourable reply that they would receive to their appeal, they will come back to Parliament far stronger for the purpose of giving effect to the principles that they know to be true than they are at this moment. They know that as well as you do. They know perfectly well that a favourable reply would strengthen their hands; they know perfectly well that an unfavourable answer would be the end of their Ministerial existence; and it therefore requires no great wit on our part to judge why, when they have reached the usual and what I may call the Constitutional period, they do not choose to make an appeal at all.”

Sir, I will recapitulate in two sentences my objections to this Bill. I object to it because it cannot settle, and will retard, the settlement of the question which it pretends to promote; I object to it because it invokes the Imperial machinery of Parliament for the worst partizan uses,

*Lord George Hamilton*



and because it makes the advocates of separation and rapine the sole representative authority for Ireland. These are the objections which I have to this Bill. We regard them as weighty enough to entitle them to the consideration of all right-thinking men; and, therefore, we are determined to do the very best in our power to oppose a measure which, under a specious disguise, contains so many germs of political dishonesty and national danger.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."  
—(*Mr. W. E. Forster.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, of course I do not intend to make any objection to this Motion; but I think it is desirable that we should consider whether it is possible shortly to come to some arrangement as to the probable conclusion of the debate. I believe it would be extremely desirable, and I think it would be reasonable also, that it should be terminated in the course of next week—that it would be a very great convenience to a large number of Members of this House, not only that it should be so terminated, but that within a reasonable time there should be an understanding on the subject, so that they could make their arrangements accordingly, and avoid the risk of being absent from the Division. If there could be an arrangement that Monday and Thursday would be sufficient for concluding the debate, that would, of course, be most satisfactory. If, on the other hand, a longer time than that is required, I trust the House will be disposed to consider whether some additional time than that at the disposal of the Government may not, in the course of next week, be devoted to it. I see on the Paper Notices of several Motions on subjects which have been discussed frequently during the present Parliament—namely, the position of Bills coming from the House of Lords, and the question of carrying over Bills from one Session to another. I venture to hope that the House may appeal to hon. Members not to proceed with the Motions I have referred to. I do not ask the House to come to a decision at this moment. We shall put the Bill down for to-morrow, not in the hope of being able to proceed with it, although, of course, we should ask the House to continue the debate to-

morrow evening, if there were any chance of bringing it on at a reasonable hour. At all events, the placing of the Bill on the Paper to-morrow would enable us to make some proposal or announcement that might be for the convenience of the House generally.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I am sure the feeling of the House is to forward in any reasonable manner the convenience, not only of the Government, but of Members generally, with regard to this debate; but I am equally sure that the suggestion contained in the closing words of the noble Marquess as to the Bill being able to come on to-morrow is one which is rather likely to retard than promote his wish. The noble Marquess must remember that private Members have already during this Session been obliged to give up their time for Government purposes in a manner neither satisfactory to them nor to the House. The noble Marquess must feel that after what has occurred there is a certain amount of sensitiveness on the part of private Members; and that if an appeal is to be made to them with any hope of success it ought to be accompanied with some compensation. The Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) relates to a subject of very great importance, and one which is of corresponding interest to a large number of Members. I think it is both unreasonable and undesirable that there should be an opportunity for the discussion of that Motion. No one, I believe—not even the noble Marquess—thinks that this debate can be renewed before Monday, which day, probably, offers the most reasonable opportunity for considering within what time it can be closed. There are a great number of hon. Members who have yet to speak, and it is only reasonable and fair that they should have an opportunity for so doing. On the other hand, I fully recognize the fairness of the desire that the debate should be concluded before the Easter holidays; and we on these Benches shall be most ready to promote any arrangement to that end which will not interfere with the rights of private Members.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, the right hon. Baronet appears to be under the misapprehension of supposing that the Government intend to bring forward the discussion on this Bill to-mor-



row. My noble Friend has stated that the Bill will be put down to-morrow, in the hope that this may afford an opportunity of coming to some understanding as to the time when the debate will be brought to a close. There is no doubt that if the debate can be concluded next week, it would be greatly for the convenience of hon. Members on both sides of the House; and the House is also aware that it is very desirable, if not absolutely necessary, that the Financial Statement should be disposed of before the Easter holidays. We do not wish in any way to force it against the wishes of the House; but we think that for the convenience of Members on both sides who desire to make their arrangements for the Easter Recess there should be an understanding on this subject at the earliest possible moment. If we cannot arrive at that understanding, then we must do the best we can without it; but I think it far better that hon. Members, who will have time to consider the matter, should take the opportunity of the Bill being mentioned to-morrow to indicate the arrangement they would be disposed to assent to.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: Then I understand that the Bill will be put down to-morrow, not for the purpose of the debate being resumed, but simply for the purpose of its being mentioned?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is so.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked whether effective Supply would be taken to-morrow?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Debate further adjourned till To-morrow.*

#### ARMY ANNUAL BILL.—[BILL 144.]

(*The Marquess of Hartington, The Judge Advocate, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

#### SECOND READING.

*Order for Second Reading read.*

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (MR. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he saw that this Bill was blocked, and he should like to have the Speaker's ruling as to whether it was competent to him to bring on this Motion now? He submitted that it did not come under the half-past 12 Rule, upon the ground that

having been brought in under the provisions of, and to continue the Army Act, 1881, it was a "proceeding made in accordance with the provisions of an Act of Parliament," and, as such, within the exceptions contained in the 45th Standing Order.

MR. SPEAKER: I am of opinion that this is a Bill which does not come within the half-past 12 Rule; but is a Bill specially exempted from that Rule.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (MR. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, the Bill was blocked by the hon. Members for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) and Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and he therefore wished to obtain the Speaker's opinion. As, however, those hon. Gentlemen were not present, he thought that to move the second reading now would be to take the House by surprise; and he should, therefore, not move the second reading till to-morrow.

*Second Reading deferred till To-morrow.*

#### SUMMARY JURISDICTION OVER CHILDREN (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 75.]

(*Mr. Gibson, Sir Richard Wallace, Mr. Blake, Mr. Corry.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 6th March.*]

*Bill considered in Committee.*

(*In the Committee.*)

Clause 4 (Summary trial of children for indictable offences unless objected to by parent or guardian).

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause stand part of the Bill."

MR. GIBSON said, he had made inquiries, and he found that the practice at present was that no child under 13 years of age, or a man or woman over 60 years of age, was allowed to sleep on a plank bed.

MR. O'BRIEN said, he wished to move the omission of sub-section (d) of this clause, which gave power to policemen to administer the punishment of whipping to children. People had already had too much experience of the power of the police in Ireland; and he objected very strongly to any power being given to them to administer corporal punishment to children. He could very well imagine such a power being made use of by policemen whose resent-

*Sir William Harcourt*

ment children had incurred by some trifling offence. They all remembered that during the recent agitations the Irish police were not very good humoured or kind towards children; and he should not care to find that the child of an Irish tenant could be whipped by a policeman for whistling *Harvey Duff*, or for some such trifling delinquency. The presence of an officer was not sufficient guarantee that this power would not be abused; and he could see no reason why a punishment of this sort, which was considered degrading to a soldier or any grown-up man, should be inflicted upon children of tender age; particularly as it might be inflicted in a case which involved some political bias. He therefore begged to move the omission of the sub-section.

Amendment proposed, that sub-section (d) be omitted from the Clause.—(*Mr. O'Brien.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. GIBSON said, he hoped the hon. Member would not press his Motion. The Bill was intended to mitigate the present law; and he was sure that all Members desired that the change should be brought about without opposition and by general consent. If the Bill became law any child brought up under summary conviction would not get more than one month's imprisonment. This particular passage was, word for word, the present law in England; and it was most desirable that there should not be a difference between the law in the two countries. An appeal could be made where that should be thought desirable.

Mr. O'BRIEN was sorry to say that he should be obliged to press his Amendment, for the law in England and the law in Ireland were worked very differently. There had been cases in Ireland, and there might be cases again, in which power given to policemen to punish children by whipping was very degrading; and he could see no reason for retaining this provision.

Mr. MOLLOY suggested that his hon. Friend should bring the matter up on the Report, when there would be more time to discuss it.

Mr. SEXTON said, no one had anticipated that this Bill would come up for discussion that night, and he thought a

Bill of that importance should not be taken at so late an hour. He was inclined to agree with the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien); but he would suggest that flogging should only be inflicted with the consent of a parent or parents.

Mr. MAYNE said, the only argument put forward by the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) for retaining this provision was that this was the law in England; but in England the police could be trusted with those extraordinary powers, while in Ireland they could not, owing to the well-known want of sympathy between them and the people of that country.

Mr. KENNY said, he should support the Amendment, regarding this power to flog children as perfectly revolting. Nothing made a more lasting impression on children than having personal chastisement inflicted on them; and he was convinced that nothing tended more to addict children to vicious criminal habits than resorting to this species of punishment in the case of children of tender age. Even on the grounds of mere humanity English Members should join with them in rejecting this portion of the Bill. Children could be punished severely enough for whatever offences they committed without resort being had to the birch rod—the birch rod of the Royal Irish Constabulary and of the Dublin Metropolitan Police. He trusted that English Members, who professed to have such lively humanitarian instincts, and to be always so affected when they heard of cases of cruelty even to dumb animals, would join with the Irish Members in opposing this clause.

Mr. GIBSON said, that if there was one man who had a greater dislike to whipping in any shape or form than another, that man was the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood). He was particularly strong on the question; but he had been a Member of the Committee which sat and thrashed out the question, and he had thoroughly acquiesced in the clause, believing it a humane provision. Any father in the world would—he himself would, unquestionably—prefer, on the grounds of humanity, seeing his child whipped, let them call it by what name they liked, than seeing the child sent to prison for a month. If they took it out of the power of a magistrate to

inflict corporal punishment on a child they would only compel him to send it to prison, which was a thing he (Mr. Gibson) was striving to prevent.

MR. SEXTON said, that if the right hon. and learned Gentleman would make whipping an alternative punishment the Irish Members might be disposed to consider the question; but to leave the use of the lash to the magistrate's discretion—which, to their knowledge, in Ireland often meant extreme indiscretion—was a thing they were not disposed to concede. This discretion would leave it to the magistrate first to flog a child, and then to send him to gaol for a month. Could the right hon. and learned Gentleman produce evidence to show that such a discretionary power as that was necessary in Ireland? If he could not, he (Mr. Sexton) should be disinclined to agree with him, the opinion of the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) and the Committee notwithstanding. He was not inclined to take the Report of a Committee on such a matter as this as conclusive; indeed, so strongly did he feel on this matter that he would now move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—*(Mr. Sexton.)*

MR. GIBSON said, he was sorry the hon. Member had taken that course. He believed every single Member from Ireland was in favour of the Bill—"No, no!"—yes; although some of them challenged this particular clause; and now moving to report Progress was going, as far as it was in an hon. Member's power to go, in the direction of killing the Bill. The clause was clearly for the benefit of children in Ireland, and decidedly in the interest of the peace of mind of many parents in Ireland, who were sorry to see their children sent to gaol and subjected to contaminating influences. The Bill was one of social merit and social importance; and he therefore trusted that the Motion would not be persisted in. If hon. Members wished to mark their opinion of the punishment of whipping generally, they could do that by taking a Division. He understood that that was the desire of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), who was as good a fight-

*Mr. Gibson*

ing man as there was in the House. That hon. Member was in favour of taking an opinion only on one clause.

MR. SEXTON said, that if the right hon. and learned Gentleman was sincere in his statement that this clause was for the benefit of the children and for the peace of mind of the parents, the Irish Members would offer, as a compromise, that the Court might inflict a flogging on a child with the consent of one or other of the parents.

MR. GIBSON said, the hon. Member was a very acute and intelligent man; but he had not, perhaps, gone into this matter as fully as he (Mr. Gibson) had. On reflection, the hon. Member would see that many unfortunate children whom it might be desirable to bring under this provision might have no parents, or none that were available—they might be unfortunate waifs and strays—and it surely would not be suggested that these should be subjected to conditions which would render it necessary for them to be sent to gaol—conditions which hon. Members were satisfied were not for the benefit of the children or their parents, when they had any. He had no right to make any appeal to the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton); but if the hon. Member would take his assurance that on the Committee hon. Gentlemen who differed from him (Mr. Gibson) as widely as the poles on political questions were satisfied that the words of this clause were for the benefit of the children, the hon. Member would probably not press his Motion.

MR. O'BRIEN said, that what would most likely afford an easy solution of the difficulty had just occurred to him. According to the clause, this punishment of whipping was to be inflicted on a child by a policeman in the presence of the child's parent; but he (Mr. O'Brien) would propose the alternative that the whipping should be administered by the parent in the presence of the policeman. He objected very strongly to the employment of policemen in the infliction of this punishment—nothing could be more objectionable to Irish feeling than that.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the Committee that if the discussion on the words of the Amendment is to be continued, the Motion to report Progress must be withdrawn. At the present



moment only the Question of reporting Progress can be discussed.

MR. O'BRIEN said, he had been offering, as he thought, some reasons to the right hon. and learned Gentleman why he should defer to the opinion of so many Members from Ireland. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman would show no signs of yielding in that respect, unquestionably Irish Members would be obliged to oppose the Bill. Every advance in the direction of a compromise had been made by the Irish Members on the particular provision before the Committee, which happened to be the only provision in the whole Bill which was objectionable.

MR. MOLLOY said, they were all agreed as to the merits of the Bill, and there was no animosity in any quarter against anyone in regard to it. He trusted the right hon. and learned Gentleman would consider the suggestion which he (Mr. Molloy) had made some time ago, and would consent to take this point on the Report stage of the Bill. That would give hon. Members ample time to consider the matter. He had no desire to oppose the right hon. and learned Gentleman in the ordinary sense of the word.

MR. GIBSON said, he had been turning over in his mind what had fallen from the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) and the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) upon this question; and, probably, it would meet the views of these hon. Gentlemen if he struck out from the clause the words "either in addition to or." That would leave the punishment of whipping as an alternative punishment to imprisonment. It would be making a great change in the Bill.

MR. SEXTON said, that, as a matter of principle, the Irish Members had made their protest against the infliction of this punishment; and he thought it now would be well to assent to the proposal of the right hon. and learned Gentleman. He would withdraw his Motion for reporting Progress.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. O'BRIEN said, that as the Bill was one for the mitigation of the punishment of children in Ireland he would withdraw his opposition.

MR. GIBSON: I now propose my Amendment.

Amendment proposed, in page 1, lines 25 and 26, to leave out the words "either in addition to or."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Amendment *agreed to*.

MR. SEXTON said, he saw the right hon. and learned Gentleman had several Amendments down to Clause 8, to insert after "child" the words "or young person." He presumed this "young person" meant a male person?

MR. GIBSON: That is so.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Remaining Clauses *agreed to*.

Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday, 28th March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—  
Isle of Man Harbours\* (47).  
Committee—Intestates Estates\* (6-46).  
Committee—Report—Local Government Provisional Orders\* (33).  
*Royal Assent*—Consolidated Fund (No. 1) [47 *Vict. c. 4*]; Valuation (Metropolis) Amendment [47 *Vict. c. 5*].

## DEATH OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF ALBANY.

### NOTICE OF MOTION.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, it is with deep concern that I have to announce to your Lordships that Her Majesty the Queen has lost her youngest Son, the Duke of Albany, by death, at Cannes. I do not propose to move the adjournment of the House, for in these matters it is better not to yield to natural impulse, but to follow the precedents which have been set in both Houses of Parliament. I, therefore, wish to give Notice that on Monday I shall move an Address of Condolence to the Queen and the Duchess of Albany.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: My Lords, in the absence of my noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury), I merely rise to say that which he would have said much better—namely, that it is with

deep grief and consternation that we have heard this announcement. After what the noble Earl has said it would not be proper for me to add another word.

#### DOMINION OF CANADA—STATE-AIDED EMIGRATION.

##### MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON, in rising to move—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for copies or [extracts of correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the President of the Canada Pacific Railway in regard to State-aided emigration to Canada; also for copies or extracts of correspondence on the same subject between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Mr. F. Boyd,"

said, that the Motion of which he had given Notice needed some brief explanation. First of all, he desired to call attention to the congested state of the labour market. The state of things there, as their Lordships knew, was grievous. It was even more than that—it was dangerous. Of course, there were many modes in which this great difficulty might be met. A great deal might be done by improved accommodation with respect to their houses; but, although that touched one very important side of the question, it could not cover the whole ground. In order to produce any real and permanent improvement, nothing short of emigration, and emigration on a large scale, would meet the case. Immigration from the country to London had been one great cause of the distress, and now emigration from London must take place. Here, in London, they had an excessive population, stagnation of the labour market, low wages, or rather in many parts no wages, and high rents, combining to make a state of things only to be described as utter misery, and that condition was increasing. In their Colonies, on the other hand, within only a few days' sail from this country, there were large tracts of magnificent land, high wages, ample work, and a desire—in fact a demand—for labour. But then it had been asked why it was that no advantage had been taken of this. This was partly due to the ignorance of the classes themselves whom it affected, and partly to the absence of proper machinery for the purpose. Voluntary organization had done, and was doing,

a great deal to remedy the evil. The Local Governments themselves subscribed largely to the expenses of emigration, Canada paying a quarter, and Australia nearly one-half of the cost; but something over and above all that was needed, and the question he desired to bring before their Lordships by his Motion was, how far the Government might assist that emigration? It was true there were many objections that might be urged against this. It was constantly said, sometimes in speeches and sometimes in print, that the aid of the State involved the principle of Communism; but it was very easy to blacken the merits of any scheme by giving it a name of that sort; and it was always to be remembered that, if there was any Communism involved in such aid, we already had that principle in our Poor Laws. A more practical objection was that there would be great difficulty in selecting the emigrants; but he felt confident, for his own part, that machinery qualified for dealing with the subject could be devised. It never could be contemplated as desirable to emigrate the worthless portion of the class they were endeavouring to relieve; they must be such as would be approved of by the Colonial authorities of the places to which they were going. He would admit that there were a great many who were disqualified by the life they had led for the agricultural life of the Colonies; but there were undoubtedly many, also, that were by character, habits, and occupation, perfectly well fitted for it. Another objection which was raised was that by State emigration they were taxing the Mother Country to send out labour for the benefit of the Colonies. The answer to this, however, was simple. No doubt, by that system, great benefit accrued to the Colonies; but the benefit to this country was quite as great in sending the unemployed elsewhere. Then, the schemes referred to in the Correspondence in question did not go to provide cheap labour for the Colonists; the idea was that they were to be settled upon land of their own, and should become farmers and small proprietors, not that they should work for any other person. The next objection made against the aid of the State in emigration was, to his mind, perhaps the most important of all. It was said that when the State interfered, there

was great danger that they would injure voluntary effort. If he had thought that voluntary effort would be seriously injured by such a change in policy, he certainly would not have advocated any such scheme; but, in this case, voluntary effort had proved unequal to the great strain put upon it. A very large number, it was true, had been sent out; but they formed, in reality, merely a small portion of those who should be assisted, and there was necessity for larger means and stronger organization. A further objection made was that there was no surplus labour to send out of the country. He replied—"See with your own eyes." He thought that no one could hold such an argument who had ever witnessed the piteous scenes that took place at the dock gates in London. Even in agricultural districts, machinery had thrown a quantity of labour out of employment. It was sometimes said that in sending out emigrants in this manner they would not send out the best class. He quite admitted that those sent out would not be the best class; but, for his part, he would be sorry to see the best class sent out of the country. There was an intermediate class between the best and the worst, who, under more favourable circumstances than those under which they now had to exist, were easily convertible into excellent workmen, and would become admirable Colonists. There was only one other objection which he could remember having heard against such a plan, and that was that in any of these schemes there might be considerable difficulty in getting the money refunded by the Colonist to the Government. A certain portion of the money might, perhaps, be lost; but the security taken was sufficiently good security to guarantee a very large proportion of the money being recovered; and even if a small portion of the money should be lost, he maintained that the experiment was worth trying. It might be urged that what he was advocating was a new doctrine; but he did not think that it was so new as many supposed. His noble Friend opposite would be aware that Boards of Guardians were entitled to raise money in aid of emigration, and during the last 60 or 70 years there had been a steady growth in this direction. A Statute of the Reign of William IV. gave power to owners and occupiers to raise money for

this purpose, and by a Statute of the present Reign the power had been largely increased. The whole tenour and tendency of recent practice and legislation on that subject had been to remove restrictions and give fresh facilities. But, further, there was a department at the Colonial Office which existed for rather more than 30 years—between 1840 and 1871—which was so constituted as to superintend the passage of emigrants, and during that time it superintended the departure from this country of between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 of emigrants. He had not been able to satisfy himself how far that emigration had been assisted by Votes of Parliament or by grants in aid, but on certain occasions public money had been voted for it in exceptional instances. The Irish Famine, he thought, was one of them; and the expense of that office itself and the establishment connected with it was defrayed from public sources. Therefore, it could hardly be contended that that doctrine was altogether a new one. Their Lordships would remember that three years ago, when the Irish Land Act passed in that House, there was a clause which enabled the Government to raise money without limitation as to amount for purposes of emigration. In the other House of Parliament, at the instance of certain Irish Members, that clause was very much cut down and limited. When the Bill was before their Lordships he endeavoured to give the provision some additional scope and enlargement; but the Amendment was not accepted. The clause was much reduced and stunted in its operation; but even so the Irish Government were empowered to raise £200,000 for emigration; and therefore, so far as the principle went, it had been admitted in recent times. In advocating such a system of emigration he held that certain limits and conditions must be laid down. The principal conditions should, it seemed to him, be, first, that the emigrant should be a fit and competent man—that was by agricultural knowledge, and capacity, and also by physical strength; secondly, there should be a satisfactory and competent machinery for selection—a machinery which would adequately represent the local authorities, and pass, as it were, through the sieve the various applicants for emigration; thirdly, it was important that the emigration should be so sufficiently gradual



as to be absorbed without inconvenience by the new country to which the emigrants were sent; and, lastly, some security should be taken for repayment by the emigrant, either in whole or in part of the money advanced. There had been in that Correspondence various proposals that would, more or less, carry out those objects. He now asked for the Correspondence that had passed between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Mr. Stephens, the President of the Canada Pacific Railway, and also for the Correspondence between the Secretary of State and Mr. Boyd, who was greatly interested in emigration from the East End of London. He believed that there was no secret about the proposals which Mr. Stephens made rather more than a year ago to Her Majesty's Government. The Canada Pacific Railroad was one of those gigantic enterprises connecting ocean with ocean which were pushed forward in these days with an energy and a vigour which were truly marvellous. The Railway Company had received from the Dominion Government large concessions of land alongside of the line, and that land was the subject-matter of the present proposal. In addition to that, the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company were owners of vast tracts of land, and their object was to secure emigrants for that territory. Mr. Stephens's proposal, he believed, was that Her Majesty's Government should advance without interest a loan of £1,000,000 sterling for 10 years; that the Company should allot to each settler a block of 160 acres, reserving the adjoining block of the same extent for the Company. The emigrant would be transplanted, provided with a house, agricultural implements, seeds—in fact, everything required to settle him on that block of land, at the same time taking such precautions that he would be able to live for the first year. The next step was to take a mortgage on the land at 6 per cent. The English Treasury were to advance the money, so that they would have ample means of seeing that it was properly expended; and the land, with the adjoining block reserved, would constitute the security for repayment. That was the scheme which was proposed in reference to Irish emigration alone. The plan proposed by Mr. Boyd was, he thought, in its general principles, so nearly like that of Mr.

Stephens that he need not particularly describe it. The Irish scheme had fallen through. Objections had been taken and difficulties made by Her Majesty's Government. He did not know in what condition the East London scheme stood; but he feared that little or nothing had been done. He was not there to advocate either Mr. Stephens's or Mr. Boyd's scheme. He did not desire to advocate any particular proposal, still less to advocate any broadcast and indiscriminate expenditure on the part of the Imperial Treasury. But he thought that the time had come when that question should be considered from different points of view as it had never yet been considered, and that the State might properly intervene, at all events, to help those who were doing their best to help themselves. That being so, he thought it was the duty of the Government not to leave that matter to voluntary effort entirely, but to see whether they could not devise some sound and practical method of assisting the work. The Irish scheme, as he had said, had failed. He did not know what the reason of that failure might be; but he believed his noble Friend was not wholly averse from the principle which he had mentioned. Last year he gave a very encouraging reply to a Question on this subject. He said that there was a great congestion of the labour market in the East of London, and that the difficulty was growing; and he went on to say, speaking for the Colonial Office, that he did not know that any great difficulty need be apprehended as regarded this proposal, because it was no doubt possible to make arrangements with the Colonial Governments. Therefore, he did not think, so far as they might judge from the utterances of his noble Friend, that there would be any invincible objection on his part. What, then, was the objection, if there be one, on which this scheme was opposed? Was it an objection of principle, or was it merely an objection of Treasury detail? If it be an objection of principle, then he thought it was important their Lordships should know what it was; and if it be an objection on the part of the Treasury, he should like to know the nature of it? He had heard it said that the Canadian Government were perfectly willing to give every facility, to give actual security, for the payment of

this loan, to make themselves responsible for it, and to step, as it were, into the shoes of the landlord as regarded the emigrant tenant. He could perfectly well understand such an objection on their part; but he did not think that the same objection could apply at all to the Government. The risks and evil of allowing the present condition of things in our large towns to go on growing in the same ratio were tremendous, and it could hardly be doubted that it was a wise and sound policy to run some risk in its alleviation. He had little further to add in moving for this Correspondence, except to press to the utmost of his power on Her Majesty's Government and the House the great evil and danger of the present state of things, such as existed in many of our large towns in the Kingdom. However continuous the emigration might be, more persons came into this town than were taken away. Emigration from Scotland, Ireland, and foreign countries poured into this large town, and the evil was still more enhanced by the fact that the German workman undersold the labour market of England. Lastly, there was emigration from our own country districts. Poor country people come to London, and by their presence contributed still more to swell the already enormous population. London at present was, in point of population, nearly as large as Scotland, and it was still increasing in size. No one could think of the condition of the Metropolis and the bonds which loosely held its immense population together without being made aware of the numberless difficulties and dangers which presented themselves at every turn. He thought we were approaching a time in the existence of these great cities, such as, indeed, the world had never seen before, and to which the attention of the Government ought to be most seriously directed. It was the duty of the Government to bring their minds, free of prejudice, to a consideration of the question and to accept the facts, such as they were. It was their duty to find a timely and well-considered measure to avert that which was an evil of overwhelming and increasing proportion.

*Moved*, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for copies or extracts of correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the President of the

Canada Pacific Railway in regard to state-aided emigration to Canada; also, for copies or extracts of correspondence on the same subject between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Mr. F. Boyd."—(*The Earl of Carnarvon*.)

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, I waited a moment to see whether any other noble Lord wished to follow the noble Earl in the interesting speech he has delivered. To those observations I am sure you will have listened with interest, whether you entirely agree or not with the conclusions to which he came. There is no doubt that the question to which he has called our attention is one, not merely of great interest at the present moment, but one of great importance in the future. It cannot be discussed in an off-hand manner and done with; the question of what we are to do with the outflow of our population is one not for this year or the next, but one which will concern the next generation as much as, if not more than, the present. Now, my Lords, I am not at all inclined to argue in a *doctrinaire* manner upon the question of how far State assistance should be given to promote emigration. The question, I think, has never been fully discussed or argued out in either House of Parliament, and it is one in which we must be guided much more by that experience which we gather as we go along than by any preconceived notions. There is no doubt, as my noble Friend has stated, that of late years we have been in the habit of sanctioning the employment of public funds for many purposes which it was formerly thought were better left to individual enterprise. I do not say whether that tendency is good or bad. I accept it as one of the most remarkable characteristics of the time in which we live; and I willingly concede to my noble Friend that there are many worse uses to which public funds can be applied than that to which he proposes to apply them. I see no sense in talking about a scheme of State-assisted emigration, as if it were of a Communistic character, because if that is Communistic there are many things done by the State which equally deserve that character. My noble Friend was quite right in citing the case of the Poor Law and State assistance in education. If it be proper to feed a man when he cannot support himself, and to give his children the greater part of their primary educa-



tion gratis, then it is impossible to argue on the ground of principle against transferring labour at the public expense from one place where it is not wanted to another where it is wanted. I think, also, my Lords, there is no ground of complaint against the expenditure of public money from Imperial funds merely because it has conferred incidentally a benefit upon the Colonies which are concerned. If we find that we are better off by getting rid of a certain amount of labour which is not wanted in this country, if we can promote our own advantage and save our own pockets by transferring that labour elsewhere, it certainly is no reason against taking that step that the Colonies also will be the gainers by its being taken. But, my Lords, I do not think that my noble Friend has quite made out his case. He has to show that the work of emigration upon a great scale requires to be taken in hand, and that it cannot be done by private enterprize. Now, I am not speaking at all of what may be the case hereafter, and I am not laying down a general principle for all time; I am simply speaking with reference to the circumstances as they at present exist. I would just remind your Lordships of several facts with which I daresay you are familiar. The last Emigration Return shows that at this moment we have a larger outflow of population from the British Islands than has ever been known at any previous period. I may, perhaps, modify that statement so far as to except one or two years which immediately followed the Irish Famine; but the emigration of those years was due to purely exceptional and temporary causes. I think if my noble Friend will look at the Emigration Returns which are on the Table of the House he will see that the emigration in 1883 was 320,000 persons of British and Irish origin, and this rate is greater than it has been at any previous period. Ireland alone contributed of that number 105,000 persons; and your Lordships will further find, by looking at this Return, that the natural growth of Ireland is less than the outflow, and that the population is, in consequence, steadily decreasing. The same cannot be said of England and Scotland; but, taking the whole of the British Isles, your Lordships will see that the present rate of emigration is

equal to 1 per cent of the whole population. Speaking generally, and taking the country as a whole, I do not think there is a demand for any acceleration of this outflow. I quite agree with my hon. Friend that in considering this subject we must bear in mind the absorbing power of the Colonies themselves, and I do not believe that the present rate of outflow could be very largely increased without pressing unduly on the labour market of the Colonies. The next question is—Will the present rate of emigration continue? I think it will, and that it may very probably increase. I think we may fairly expect that the demand for labour in the Colonies, which to a great extent regulates the amount of emigration, will be greater in the future than in the past. The attractive power of a Colony is in proportion to the bulk of the attracting mass. It is greater in the United States than in Canada and Australia, because there is there more capital and more employment, and the field is being continually extended as the advantages of other countries are being made known. There is another cause which my noble Friend partly admitted. He stated that among the reasons why emigration was not as popular among the working classes as might be expected were ignorance and poverty. Whatever may happen as to the poverty of the working classes, there is no doubt that ignorance is diminishing from year to year, and especially ignorance on this subject. The rising generation are learning to read and write, and the next generation will be a much more reading people than the last. This change will especially take place and be most marked in the agricultural districts, which have hitherto been most backward. Moreover, there has been an enormous amount of emigration; and probably there is not a village or parish in the country from which one or two persons have not emigrated. In this way information as to Colonial life is communicated to those who stay at home. Those who thus take an interest in Colonial matters, and compare their chances of a career at home and in the Colonies, are in consequence year by year increasing. Then there is another consideration—that as communication becomes more rapid and more complete the risks and inconveniences of an emigrant's life tend to diminish. The attrac-



tion of cheap land remains; but the difficulty of getting to and fro and the hardships of an emigrant's life perpetually diminish. As to Ireland, there is, I think, additional and special cause why this emigration of the last few years should not diminish. We have heard quite enough in this House of the Irish land legislation of the last two years, and I do not wish to refer to it in any controversial spirit; but I think that, whatever other result may follow from the change in the Irish Land Laws, the tendency will be rather to promote than check the consolidation of farms, and, as a consequence, to increase the emigration of the surplus population. The Irish tenants have no longer any fear of eviction; but they have power to sell their holdings; the smaller and poorer farmers will be under a constant pressure to sell, especially in times of distress; and it is my opinion that the outward movement will be not retarded, but accelerated. Of course, the adoption of a higher standard of living and comfort, which I believe there is no doubt is taking place, tends in the same direction. For these reasons, it is my belief that, as far as the next few years are concerned, all the probabilities point, not to a diminution, but to an increase in the rate of the outward movement. If this is the case, it diminishes the urgency of the suggestion which my noble Friend now makes in favour of an official stimulus being given to emigration. He reminded us that Boards of Guardians have certain powers in this matter; and if these powers have not been used, I apprehend the reason to be that in the general judgment of those who have to deal with this matter emigration is already going on so rapidly as to require no stimulus. The noble Lord referred to the congestion of the labour market. I do not know if he meant all over the country, or in certain parts.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: In certain parts.

THE EARL OF DERBY: Well, local distress and local difficulties require local rather than general treatment. The noble Earl specially referred to the East End of London, and I agree with what he said on that subject. But I am afraid that, do what you will—and a great deal has been done lately—you will find that the poorer parts of London

are the natural refuge of those who have failed elsewhere. I do not know why it is, but it has always been so. It is also a question how many of the East Enders, if they were offered the opportunity of emigrating, would be willing to go, or would be of the right sort to emigrate. It is not enough that a man should be able-bodied—that is, that he should have the right number of legs and arms—to make a successful emigrant. You require other qualities which are not always found in the poorest classes. We had some experience 14 or 15 years ago of a plan, not of emigration, but of migration. In 1869 and 1870 there was an exceptional amount of distress in the East End, and many men were sent from the East End to the Northern towns, where there was a brisk demand for labour; but the plan did not succeed. A few remained and prospered, but the majority went back. They did not like the new conditions of life which were offered, and preferred the distress with which they were familiar. Now, I have laid great stress upon that point, because it really is not enough that men should be in distress and want work to justify us in sending them to the Colonies. When the Colonists import labour for themselves it is their object to get men who will be able to do the work they require to be done. But when we export labourers, not because they are wanted in the Colonies, but because there is not work for them in this country, there is naturally a strong inducement to select not those who are the best fitted to go, but those who can best be spared. Another consideration is that no large scheme of emigration taken up by the State can possibly be expected to work without the co-operation of the Colonies to which the emigrants are sent. It is said that the Colonies ought to wish for a large supply of labour. If the emigrants are well chosen, it may, no doubt, be for the permanent benefit of the Colony that they should settle there; but it is not for the benefit of all persons concerned—for instance, it is not for the benefit of the ruling class, which in Colonial communities is the working class. The labourers in the Colonies enjoy exceptionally high wages. They have got a good thing, and are, of course, desirous of keeping it; and for that reason no great scheme of emigration is likely to

be popular in the Colony to which the emigrants go. That consideration applies still more strongly if the Colonists believe, or seem to believe, that those we send out are those whom we wish to get rid of. But there is a third objection to large schemes of emigration, and that is that in adopting them we should run the risk of superseding, instead of supplementing, private efforts in that direction. In certain districts there are persons who want to emigrate. Suppose that in a given district 100 men wish to go out; most of them will probably succeed with the help of their families, and of their richer neighbours in the absence of State help. If, however, Government passages were offered to 20 of them, the other 80 would be sure to wait until they also got help; and every man who was not assisted would feel aggrieved. I do not consider that an insuperable obstacle; but it is, nevertheless, one that would have to be encountered, and one that must be considered. With regard to the general plan which has been hinted at—namely, the plan of planting down a large community in a district reserved—I am not prepared absolutely to condemn it. There are, no doubt, some advantages in it, and possibly in some instances it might be successful; but it would more probably fail, for this reason—that such plans are arranged, not by those whom they chiefly concern, but by persons at a distance, who do not understand, and therefore fail to comply with, the necessary local conditions. I do not think my noble Friend will ask me to discuss in detail the Canadian scheme of last year. That scheme fell through because the Canadian Government absolutely declined to guarantee repayment of the sum proposed to be spent, and other securities were not deemed sufficient. It is obvious that if loans of that kind are to be made, repayment must be required. But if the Government is left to collect its debts from individual emigrants, which is the only other way of obtaining the money, I think there would be a very small prospect of the sum being obtained. In conclusion, I doubt whether there is, at the present time, any requirement or demand for such State emigration as my noble Friend proposes, and I doubt whether the scheme he proposes would be very well received in the Colonies. Moreover, I am quite

sure that if it is not cordially received by them it will not work; and I think, therefore, that the question would be better dealt with locally. For instance, it would be a very fair matter for a Municipal Authority for London, if we ever get one, to consider the question as it affects London. So with the other large towns, it is preferable that they should proceed step by step, and feel their way, rather than that they should commit themselves at once to any heavy expenditure. The Papers I am able to produce will be rather scanty, and it would be inconvenient to give the inter-Departmental Correspondence; but such Correspondence as can be given shall be produced. Before sitting down, I should like to make a personal explanation. My noble Friend opposite, referring to a reply I made some time since to a Question on this subject, quoted me as having said that, in regard to a scheme of this sort, no difficulty would be found in the Colonial Office, and he inferred that there was disagreement between the Departments concerned. What I did say was that the objection, if any, would not lie with the Colonial Office, but that we do not find the funds. The question of funds is a question for the Treasury; and I wish it to be understood that I did not in any way pledge my Colleagues, but that my observations applied solely to the action of my own Department.

LORD NORTON wished to take the opportunity of saying a few words on what was, perhaps, a small branch of emigration, but which, at the same time, might be made a very successful and important one; and it had the merit that instead of costing anything it would effect an enormous saving. Every child which was brought up and boarded out in the cottages of foster parents, as was now very frequently the practice in this country, and still more so in Scotland, cost the Treasury something like £25 a-head per annum during the whole period of their education. If foster parents were found to take homeless children in Canada the saving would be as great to this country as the advantage to the Colony and to the children; for one single payment of £25 on sending the children to Canada would provide for them infinitely better than the £25 a-year during the whole of their education, which was paid for them in this country. They would there be

useful to their foster parents, and would become acclimatized to a country in which they would be able to find, and fit to exercise, certain employment hereafter.

LORD DENMAN said, it was courteous in the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) to give time for any noble Lord to speak; but it would have been vain for anyone to speak until he had heard the answer to the remarks of the noble Earl the late Secretary of State for the Colonies. He (Lord Denman) had had the honour of presenting a copy of Maguire's *The Irish in America* to 'the Library of their Lordships' House; he found in it that the Irish always adapted themselves to the best modes of agriculture. He was glad to hear from the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) that emigration was on the increase, for it was far better for the poor to live abroad than to starve at home; but he did not think, because men were starving at the East End of London, that, if better fed, they would be unable (if also sober) to do any kind of work. He believed that it was a mistake for them to settle in towns; but he thought that fellow-labourers, instead of repelling them as the noble Earl imagined, would welcome them. He did not follow the utilitarian ideas of the noble Earl; and he hoped that, notwithstanding the want of a guarantee, emigration on a large scale would answer. At the same time, he wished that great care should be taken to prevent the people from believing that we wished to get rid of them.

Motion agreed to.

#### THE MAURITIUS — ECCLESIASTICAL AND EDUCATIONAL MATTERS.

##### MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for copies or extracts of any recent correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor of the Mauritius on ecclesiastical and educational questions."—(*The Earl of Carnarvon.*)

THE EARL OF DERBY said, he had no objection to lay the Papers on the Table; but they would require preparing, and, pending their preparation, perhaps the noble Earl would withdraw his Motion.

Motion (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

#### THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES — THE DEPORTATION OF FRENCH CONVICTS.

##### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF ROSEBURY, in asking the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the French Government has yet communicated the estimate, promised in the Note Verbale enclosed by Lord Lyons in his Despatch of 3rd December 1883, of the number of persons to whom the Bill for the deportation of recidivists is applicable? said, that, as his Question was directed to a practical object, he only wished to state the case very briefly. The Question referred to matters of very great importance—namely, the deportation of French convicts to Islands near our Colonies in the South Seas. In the Blue Book on the proposed annexation of New Guinea and the Conference on the subject held in Australia, there was a Note by Lord Lyons on this subject in reference to communications he had with the French Government in regard to the grievances of our Colonists as to the importation of French convicts. No one could be more aware than he was of the extreme delicacy of saying one word with respect to a foreign and friendly Power on the subject of the deportation of convicts. But that Note had caused dismay and horror in the Southern part of Her Majesty's Australian Dominions. In the Blue Book it was suggested that the excitement about this matter in Australia was possibly exaggerated. He wished to say emphatically that it was not. During the last 40 years, since the last shipload of English convicts was sent to Australia, there had been no feeling in that country comparable to the excitement existing there now. The noble Viscount near him (Viscount Sherbrooke) would remember the agitation that prevailed then—in fact, *pars magna fuit*. Since that time the population had doubled, and the present excitement was more than double in intensity. He hoped the noble Earl would be able to give them some assurance on this subject; and if the French Government had not redeemed their promise to send some figures on this subject, he would suggest that some courteous intimation might be made to them to the effect that the subject was one which largely interested the inhabitants of a portion of



the British Kingdom, and that further information was desirable.

EARL GRANVILLE, in reply, said, he was not surprised that the noble Earl, who had had so recent an opportunity of making himself acquainted with our Australian Colonies, should have thought it right to call attention to this subject, and to the strong feeling which existed in the Colony. He believed the noble Earl had not, in the slightest degree, exaggerated the sentiment and the feeling of sympathy in the Colonies with regard to the Mother Country, or their intense alarm as to the possible emigration of foreign convicts from any neighbouring settlements. The noble Earl might be perfectly sure that Lord Lyons, acting under our instructions, was neglecting no opportunity of bringing before the notice of the French Government the feeling which existed in the Australian Colonies on this subject. The noble Earl was quite right in saying that this question was mixed up with questions of International Law in a way which created a certain amount of difficulty and embarrassment; but it might certainly be expected from a friendly country like France that it would not, without very cogent reasons, take steps which might cause the exasperation which, undoubtedly, now existed in the Colony. The Government had not received the estimate of numbers referred to by the noble Earl from the French Government; but in a recent conversation the French Foreign Minister verbally assured Lord Lyons that the intention of the Government was to send the great bulk of convicts to French Guiana, and only a small number to New Caledonia, and these were to be selected from among men who had been trained to manual labour, and who might, therefore, be serviceable in the Colony.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, he was aware that the question was one of delicacy; but his private information was such as to satisfy him that the noble Earl who had asked the Question had not overstated or exaggerated the strength of the feeling about it in Australia. He had reason to think that the number of criminal refugees who had found their way into Australia was rather large. It was important that the French Government should be made acquainted with the tension of feeling that

this question caused, and with the fact that there was always a risk of some strong measures being taken by the Colonists which would place both countries in considerable difficulty. He trusted that the Government, in their communications with the French Government with reference to this question, would use what diplomatic pressure they could, and would not treat the subject as if it were of small importance.

THE EARL OF ROSEBERY said, he would call attention to the subject on an early day after Easter.

House adjourned at Six o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 28th March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading—*Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment \* [159].  
*First Reading—*Habitual Criminals Act Amendment \* [160].  
*Second Reading—*Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Orders \* [142]; Army Annual [144].  
*Select Committee—*Copyhold Enfranchisement [7], *nominated.*  
*Considered as amended—*Summary Jurisdiction over Children (Ireland) \* [75].

## NOTICE OF MOTION.

### DEATH OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF ALBANY.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I deeply regret to announce that intelligence has been officially received of the death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Albany at Cannes. I have, with my Colleagues, inquired, as fully as was possible in the short period at our disposal, as to the precedents which bear upon this melancholy event; and it appears that it has not been usual under such circumstances as these to move the adjournment of the House. I desire, however, to give Notice that on Monday next the Prime Minister, if he is well enough to be in his place, or I, in his absence, will move an Address of Condolence with Her Majesty and Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany,

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE:

Sir, if it is not irregular, perhaps I may be permitted to say that we on this side of the House share with the noble Lord the feeling of grief and distress at the terrible news which has so suddenly come upon us. It is for the Government to decide in accordance with the usual precedents in these matters; and I can only say, if their decision in the circumstances is to bring forward on Monday an Address of Condolence, we shall be in our places to take our part in that Address.

### QUESTIONS.

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND)  
ACT, 1882—ADJOURNMENT OF A  
CASE AT PETTY SESSIONS UNDER  
SECTION 7.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that Mr. Bodkin, R.M., adjourned a case at Tramore, county Waterford, under the 7th section of the Crimes Act, at 11.30 A.M. on 17th March, when defendant was summoned to appear at 12 noon, although the statute prescribes that no single resident magistrate can act in a case under section 7; was this postponement legal; did Sub-Inspector Milling serve notice on the defendant not to appear in answer to the summons on that day; do the Government intend to take notice of this; and, are police in Ireland empowered to act in this manner?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER), in reply, said, that the Irish Government was advised that an adjournment could be made by one Resident Magistrate; but the question in this case did not arise, as a fresh summons was issued for the second day. Sub-Inspector Milling did serve notice on defendant that he might not appear on a particular day, and the defendant accordingly did not appear. The arrangement was for the convenience of the defendant, and no notice would be taken by the Government of the matter.

MR. HEALY: Has the police power to act in derogation of the action of the magistrates—when a magistrate issues a summons to appear on a certain day, can the police tell him not to appear?

[No reply.]

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND)  
ACT, 1882—APPLICATION BY PRO-  
CLAMATION OF SECTION 8 TO THE  
COUNTY OF LOUTH.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why Section 8 of the Crimes Prevention Act (making assaults on bailiffs and police in the execution of their duty, taking forcible possession of evicted farms, &c. offences under the Act), has been applied by proclamation to the county of Louth; whether the County Court Judge of Louth, in opening the Hilary Quarter Sessions on the 31st of January last, said—

“There are only seven bills to go before you, and they are only of the ordinary class of crime;”

whether his attention has been drawn to the statement of Mr. Baron Dowse, in opening the assizes of the county of the town of Drogheda on the 3rd instant, addressing the Grand Jury—

“I am very happy to inform you that there is no business to go before you at the present Assizes; as it is only matter of form you have a right to be proud of the favourable state of morality and order in your district;”

whether his attention has also been drawn to the statement of Mr. Justice Harrison, in opening the Spring Assizes for the county of Louth on the 4th instant, at Dundalk, to the Grand Jury—

“I am happy to see that the business of a criminal nature for the present Assize is extremely light. . . . The report of the county inspector is also very gratifying, he having only returned nine cases that required special notice, and that is a very small number in such a county as Louth. The reports from the other parts of the county are also good;”

what facts can be assigned to explain the issue of the proclamation; and, whether it will be revoked?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have every reason to believe that the extracts quoted by the hon. Member are correct. The county of Louth was proclaimed under the 8th section of the Crimes Act, in order that in the event of cases of riot taking place they might be dealt with under its provisions.

MR. SEXTON begged to direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the extract in the 4th paragraph from Mr. Justice Harrison's address, and to ask on what evidence the Lord Lieutenant apprehended any riots might occur?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Lord Lieutenant, judging from the immediate past, thought it extremely probable that rioting would occur on St. Patrick's Day; and until the state of things which existed in the North of Ireland had come to a close, the Irish Government would regret very much that any decision should be given in any case of conflict between Orangemen and Catholics which would be suspected to have been given from Party motives.

MR. SEXTON: Now that St. Patrick's Day is over, and that there is no conflict between Orangemen and Catholics, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he would suggest to the Lord Lieutenant the propriety of removing this proclamation from County Louth?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am quite willing to submit the revocation of the proclamation of County Louth to the opinion of the Irish Government; but it does not follow that all the counties in the North of Ireland are in the same position.

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—  
SERGEANT KNOX.

MR. DEASY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Sergeant Knox, of the Blackrock Police Station, in the city of Cork, in June last, tore his tunic to pieces and threw it into the River Lee; whether, some time ago, he attempted to shoot one of the policemen under his control; whether, in the year 1881, he was confined in the Cork Lunatic Asylum; and, whether, if these allegations are true, he will be continued in the charge of a police barrack?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the County Inspector reports that, so far as he has been able to ascertain, there is not a shadow of foundation for the suggestion in the second part of the hon. Member's Question. He states that if such a circumstance occurred it certainly would have been reported to him. It is true that three years ago the sergeant was committed for a short time to the Cork Asylum; but his illness was only temporary, and was not insanity. The Resident Magistrate Superintendent certified that it was a sudden paroxysm caused by anxiety owing to the illness of his wife; but there was no trace of insanity. His superior officer certified that he was an excellent and trustworthy officer.

Twenty-five magistrates of the locality have spontaneously signed a declaration stating that his being sent to the lunatic asylum was a most unfortunate mistake.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND  
—CORRECTION OF RETURN.

MR. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, with regard to the Return of last Session relative to the Royal University of Ireland, which, after setting forth,

"the number of undergraduate students in Arts, of the first and second years respectively,"

attending the Queen's College, Cork, in the Session 1882-3, purports to state, as a distinct Return,

"the number of Arts students in attendance who have passed the matriculation examination of the Royal University in 1881 and 1882;"

whether the number of Arts students thus returned as having "passed the Royal University examination of 1881" is 62; whether he will communicate with the official by whom this Return was made, so as to obtain the names of these 62 students, and thus enable honourable Members to test the accuracy of the Return by comparing it with the list of matriculated students in the Royal University Calendar; and, whether, in the event of the Return being thus discovered to be substantially incorrect, steps will be taken, by the issue of a Royal Commission or otherwise, to obtain more trustworthy information as to the actual condition of the Cork College?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, this is a Question which is rather hard to answer in words; but I will endeavour to make my meaning clear. I find that, owing to a slight typographical error, which, it is to be regretted, was not discovered when the proof of the Return was being read of last Session, the figure 62, which the hon. Member quotes, is undoubtedly misleading. The corresponding figure for Belfast College is 77; and a note appended thereto explains that this number includes students on the books of the College before the dissolution of the Queen's University, and who became, by the terms of the Act 42 & 43 *Vict.*, matriculated students of the Royal University, by a self-acting process. This note was intended to apply also to the



figure 62 for Cork College; but the typographical mark to indicate the reference was accidentally omitted. The College officials who supplied the figures were in no way responsible for this.

MR. GRAY: Is the right hon. Gentleman in possession of the proper number of students who passed in 1881?

MR. TREVELYAN: No; but I will ascertain.

#### CHINA—OPIUM SMUGGLING AT HONG KONG.

MR. CROPPER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Report of the Commission has been received which (as he stated in the House on the 27th February 1883) the Administrator at Hong Kong appointed to inquire into all the circumstances of the smuggling of opium and other goods from Hong Kong to the mainland of China; and, whether he has any objection to present it to the House?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the Report of the Commission has been received, and there is no objection to lay it upon the Table.

#### POST OFFICE—ACCELERATION OF THE IRISH MAILS.

MR. GRAY asked the Postmaster General, Whether his attention has been directed to a report in the Dublin papers of the 22nd instant of a deputation from the Cork Chamber of Commerce to the Board of the Great Southern and Western Railway Company in reference to the acceleration of the mails, at which the chairman of the Company was reported to have stated that they had received no communication directly or indirectly on the subject from the Postmaster General or the Postal Department; and, whether he will say what practical steps have been taken for the promised acceleration of the mails from London to Dublin, and from Dublin to the Provincial towns; when the scheme of acceleration will be completed; and, whether, before it is decided upon, he will afford to representative bodies in Ireland and to the House an opportunity of pronouncing their opinion upon so important a matter?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, my attention has been directed to the Report to which the hon. Member refers. The reason why no communication has yet been made to the Great Southern and Western

Railway Company and other Irish Railways, with the view of accelerating the mails in Ireland, is that we are not in a position to make any arrangement until the new time table between London and Holyhead has been finally settled. As I have already explained, this is a matter involving many intricate details, as many cross-country trains have to be fitted in with the Irish mail train. Communications are on the point of being made to the various Railway Companies, and I can only say that no effort will be spared to bring the matter to a conclusion as speedily as possible. I shall, when the matter is further advanced, be happy to furnish the information to the House of Commons which is asked for, and any Memorials on the subject that may be sent to me from Ireland shall be carefully considered.

MR. GRAY: The right hon. Gentleman's answer does not apply to the latter part of my Question.

MR. FAWCETT: I am afraid it would not be convenient formally to lay the scheme of acceleration on the Table; but I shall be very glad to communicate with the hon. Gentleman, or any other Irish Members who may be interested in the question.

#### PAUPERISM—RETURN OF CAUSES FOR INDIVIDUALS.

MR. RANKIN asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he would grant, unopposed, a Return, taken from a number of workhouses in various districts sufficient to give an average result for the whole Country, of the causes which have led to the pauperism of the various inmates; especially noting the condition of the paupers while between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, and also a Return of the occupations of the paupers before they entered the workhouse?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, in reply, said, the Return would be so voluminous and costly that he could not agree to its publication. Moreover, he did not think that such a Return could be given in a satisfactory manner, or so as to afford trustworthy results.

#### HACKNEY CARRIAGE ACT (METROPOLIS)—CAB LAWS—DEFRAUDING CABDRIVERS.

LORD ALGERNON PERCY asked the Secretary of State for the Home

Department, Whether his attention has been called to the case of Mrs. White, sommoned at the Mansion House, on the 16th of February, for defrauding a cabdriver of his fare; whether his attention was called by the Cabdrivers' Benevolent Association in June 1882, to the hardships frequently suffered by cabdrivers, in similar cases, from the action of fraudulent persons; and, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take any steps to amend the existing Cab Laws, so as to place cabmen in a more advantageous position with regard to the recovery of fares?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, I presume the noble Lord refers to the hardship of the cabmen not being able to proceed summarily by arrest, but by summons. I sympathize very much with the cabmen, and should be very glad to help them; but this state of things has arisen out of a very good Act of Parliament passed by my Predecessor—the Summary Jurisdiction Act. It is impossible to deal with one particular trade or industry on a different footing from that on which the rest of the community is placed; and therefore I cannot see my way to make the cabdrivers a special exception under the Act.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE  
REV. MR. FIRTH.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that, in the case of "*Firth v. Trimble*," an action for damages for libel, brought by the Rev. John Firth, Justice of the Peace for the county of Fermanagh, against the proprietor and manager of the *Fermanagh Impartial Reporter*, for an article in that newspaper charging the plaintiff with having adjudicated in a manner contrary to his duty as a magistrate, the jury found for the defendant; whether the report of the case is accurate, that Captain MacTernan, the resident magistrate of the district, swore that he considered that Mr. Firth led the other members of the Bench to give an improper decision; that Mr. Firth had acted, in his opinion, corruptly; that he believed there had been partiality in the decisions, and a pollution of the justice seat, and that he believed the Government ought to remove a partial magistrate from the Bench; and, whether he will make in-

*Lord Algernon Percy*

quiry into all the circumstances of the case?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I have seen the newspaper report of the case. I am informed that it is the intention of the plaintiff to proceed to a new trial, and that the presiding Judge stayed the execution to enable such an application to be made. Under these circumstances, the case is still *sub judice*, and no action can be taken.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON: As the right hon. Gentleman has informed the House that the case is still *sub judice*, I will refrain from putting to him a Question on the subject of which I have given him private Notice.

Mr. SEXTON: For the public information I wish to ask the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland whether the plaintiff in this case chose the venue; whether he asked for a special jury, and got it; and whether the jury which found the verdict against him was not exclusively Protestant?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): It is the fact, Sir, that he chose the venue; and the other matters referred to in the Question of the hon. Member are, I believe, accurate.

POOR LAW (ENGLAND AND WALES)—  
THE POLAND STREET WORKHOUSE  
INQUIRY.

LORD ALGERNON PERCY asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the continued complaints regarding the treatment of the inmates of the Poland Street Workhouse of the Westminster Union by Mr. T. D. Bliss, the master, since the letter of the Local Government Board, of the 18th of July, 1883, censuring him for his previous conduct; whether he is aware that, shortly after the receipt of that letter, the guardians presented Mr. Bliss with a purse containing £25, as a mark of their appreciation of his conduct; whether Mr. Jordan, lately sent by the Board to make inquiries into these complaints, had been formerly intimately acquainted with Mr. Bliss, and whether he conducted his inquiries in private or in the presence of the master; and, whether it is the intention of the Local Government Board to take any further steps in the matter?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Sir, all cases of complaint as to the treatment of inmates of the Poland Street Workhouse of the Westminster Union which have been brought under the notice of the Board have received their attention. The Board are not aware whether or not Mr. Bliss was presented with a purse of money by the Guardians, and they have not deemed it necessary to make inquiry as to the action of individual Guardians in a matter of this kind. Major Jordan was not acquainted with Mr. Bliss prior to his inspecting the workhouse as an officer of the Board. In consequence of a statement which appeared in a Notice of a Question as to an inmate named Warren, Major Jordan visited the workhouse and saw the man. He saw the man alone, and not in the presence of Mr. Bliss. A person who was visiting the workhouse when it was alleged that Warren was threatened by the master was seen by Major Jordan in the presence of Mr. Bliss. The Board are in communication with the Guardians as to the case of Warren.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND  
—QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK—  
PUNISHMENTS.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the resolutions of the Council of Queen's College, Cork, of 18th March, sentencing students to rustication from College, deprivation of scholarships, and other punishments for holding a meeting outside the College, and without the permission of the Council, to call attention to the expenditure of the public endowments enjoyed by the Queen's College; whether Mr. J. J. Lynch was sentenced to a long term of rustication on suspicion of having been Chairman of such private meeting of Students, without being afforded any opportunity of hearing or rebutting the evidence against him; whether it has been brought to his attention that Mr. E. R. Hennessy, senior scholar in chemistry, and Messrs. Daniel O'Callaghan and John Kearney, junior scholars in medicine, were punished, the former by forfeiture of his scholarship, and the latter by fines of £2 each, on the ground that—

"On being questioned by the Council on the subject of the meeting, and after being warned by the Council that, as scholars, they were

bound by the statutes to assist the Council in maintaining discipline in the College, they refused to give the Council the benefit of the information they possessed;"

what portion of the College statutes prohibits students from participating in the discussion of the question of University Education in Ireland; does the detection of private meetings held with that object outside the precincts of the College form part of the obligation of scholars to assist the Council in maintaining the internal discipline of the College; if so, under what provision; are scholars bound under pain of forfeiting their scholarships to reveal what passed among their fellow-students at such private meeting; upon what grounds did the Council conclude that the gentlemen in question had information to give; and, whether a special Visitation will be ordered for the purpose of investigating the present relations between the College Council and the Students?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am aware that circumstances have occurred which have led to the punishment of certain students of the Queen's College, Cork. It is not the province of the Government to interfere in matters of College discipline. The College Statutes provide the manner in which such matters can be dealt with. The students who consider themselves aggrieved have applied, under the provisions of the Statutes, for an extraordinary visitation, and the matter will, therefore, be before the Court of Visitors. I may say that, at the time when I answered a previous Question on this subject, I was not aware that the students had appealed against the decision of the authorities.

MR. GRAY: When the right hon. Gentleman stated on a previous day that these students had been guilty of "insubordination," was he aware that after the visitation he would be called upon to pronounce an opinion on their conduct?

MR. TREVELYAN: As I have already stated, I was not then aware they had appealed. As to what exactly was floating in my mind as to my own position, with regard to the matter, I am not quite certain.

MR. O'BRIEN: Will the right hon. Gentleman have any objection to make the suggestion that these gentlemen be



permitted to attend their lectures pending the result of their appeal. Otherwise, even if successful in their appeal, they would lose a year on account of insufficient attendance?

MR. TREVELYAN: These matters are treated according to some regular College system. I will ascertain what is going on.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: In case the appeal is successful, will the gentlemen concerned be allowed credit for the lectures they are prevented from attending?

[No reply.]

#### THE DUBLIN MURDER TRIAL—COMPENSATION TO MR. FIELD.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Field, of Dublin, who was awarded compensation for personal injury, by order of the Lord Lieutenant, has received any portion of the sum thus awarded to him; why it is that nothing has been paid to Henry Byrne of Coolbanagher, and Constable Daniel Connell, both of the Queen's County, who were awarded compensation for personal injury on the 20th October 1882, and 29th September 1883 respectively; whether he will give a return of the parties, stating names, amounts of compensation, and dates of grants, of persons in Ireland to whom awards for compensation for personal injury has been made, and who have not yet received the sums due to them; and, whether he will take steps to ensure that no further delay shall take place in securing that persons to whom compensation is due for injuries inflicted upon themselves, or whose claims for compensation for the loss of relatives has been allowed by the Lord Lieutenant, shall receive the sums due to them, according to the spirit, as well as the letter of the Law?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, Mr. Field has been paid £600 out of the £3,000 awarded to him, and the further collection is in progress. His case was the only one in the Metropolis, and the machinery employed for collection is exceptional. In the other 123 cases throughout Ireland the collection is made by the Constabulary, and every effort is made to press it on. Many of the warrants are for very small sums, and the general intention has been to

press on the full execution of the warrant before paying over any sums that may be collected; but if any of the persons interested are unwilling to wait and will make application to Government there will be no objection to advance a portion of the collection to them. Returns pursuant to the Act are already from time to time presented to Parliament showing the awards and the sums collected and paid.

#### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE SPRING ASSIZES—RETURN OF MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT NOT SUMMONED TO SERVE ON GRAND JURIES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many Members serving in the present Parliament for counties and boroughs in Ireland were not summoned by the High Sheriffs to serve as grand jurors in their respective counties, or counties of cities, at the recent Spring Assizes; and, if he will assent to a Motion for a Return showing the names of the Sheriffs and Members of Parliament in question?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If, in the event of his granting the Return, asked for by the senior Member for Sligo, showing the names of Irish Members of Parliament who were not summoned to serve as Grand Jurors at the recent Spring Assizes, he will also give a Return of the rateable value of the property owned by such Members of Parliament, specifying the counties in which such properties are situated?

MR. TREVELYAN: I will answer the two Questions together. The information which the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) asks for could only be definitely ascertained by collecting it from the various sheriffs or secretaries of Grand Juries throughout Ireland. There is no obligation on the part of High Sheriffs to summon Members of Parliament. It is only custom. With regard to the proposed Return, it is not one that the Government would regard as of much importance; but if the hon. Member chooses to move for it I will not oppose it. With regard to the Return asked for by the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin (Colonel King-Harman), I think it would be quite un-

reasonable and altogether inquisitorial to ask for a Return in such general terms as would involve an inquiry from each of the persons concerned whether he had or had not rateable property in any part of Ireland, and, if so, to what extent. But if the hon. and gallant Gentleman chooses to limit the terms of his Notice so that it would apply only to the county or city which the Member represents in Parliament, then the same observation will apply as to the proposed Return of the hon. Member for Sligo. While not regarding it of importance, I shall not oppose it.

MR. SEXTON: Is there any Constitutional rule requiring that a Member of Parliament, or any other person summoned to serve as a Grand Juror, shall possess any rateable property in the country? Has it not been usual to summon the sons of Peers who possess such property? I shall move for the Return, and I shall ask the right hon. Gentleman to make it fuller by adding the names of all Members of Parliament in Ireland who have been returned to serve as Grand Jurors, and in how many cases they obtained grants of money from public funds for the improvement of their estates, and whether they have expended the money for that purpose?

MR. TREVELYAN: I must think over the amended Return of the hon. Member. With regard to his Question, there is no Constitutional rule of the nature he asks, and there is no Constitutional rule at all in reference to Members of Parliament serving on Grand Juries.

MR. HEALY: If the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin (Colonel King-Harman) moves for a Return of the amount of rateable property held by each Member of Parliament, I shall move for a further Return, showing the amounts of the mortgages on such property.

#### ARMY—PROMOTION.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER asked the Secretary of State for War, If he can state why paragraph 19 of the Revised Memorandum of 1881, whereby it was provided that promotion should go regimentally for seven years from that date has not been carried out; and, if he will consider the expediency of compensating officers who have thus

been deprived of the position they purchased in their regiments?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the reasons which influenced my Predecessor in departing to some extent from the Revised Memorandum of 1881 as to promotions in the regiments were, I understand, that by keeping up separate lines of promotion for seven years the amalgamation of the two battalions would be postponed for too long a period, and that it had been laid down as a principle by Lord Penzance's Commission, upon whose Report the present system of promotion is mainly based, that—

“No Purchase officers who have been or may be promoted at any time since the abolition of Purchase can claim exemption from any new Regulations affecting the rank to which they may have been so promoted.”

The right of officers to promotion in their own battalions is respected for seven years, provided they have had no promotion in the meantime, and that of the captain who was senior in his battalion at the date of the Warrant, notwithstanding that he had had one promotion. This is all that the justice of the case seems to demand.

#### ARMY—AUXILIARY FORCES—DEFICIENCY OF OFFICERS.

MR. GUY DAWNAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any effort will be made before the coming Militia training to remedy the very unsatisfactory condition of that service, as regards the serious deficiency of officers in many regiments; and, whether, if such efforts should fail, there is any intention of giving extra pay to Officers in these regiments, to compensate them for the extra expense that will devolve upon them from having to divide amongst a small number of Officers these necessarily heavy expenses incident to a Militia training, which are intended to be borne by the full complement of Officers?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I am now considering whether we are not in a position to grant the original number of commissions in the Army to Militia candidates—namely, 120 per annum. This will, I hope, have the effect of increasing the number of candidates for the Militia. Meanwhile the Militia Regulations empower commanding officers to fill vacancies during training by obtaining the services of officers of the Regular Army or of other

Militia regiments. I can hold out no hope of extra pay being given.

THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND  
—QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK—  
THE RETURN.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why the Return ordered from Cork Queen's College has not been presented; is he aware that it could be prepared in a few minutes from the College Rolls; and, what is the cause of the delay?

MR. TREVELYAN: This Return passed from my Department three or four days ago. I believe it was laid on the Table yesterday.

BURIAL FEES ACT, 1832—ECCLESIASTICAL BURIAL FEES.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether Her Majesty's Government contemplate asking Parliament to legislate, with respect to Ecclesiastical Burial Fees, in the direction recommended by the Select Committee which reported on the question in 1882?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: My hon. and gallant Friend asks me whether Her Majesty's Government contemplate legislation on the subject of ecclesiastical burial fees. With regard to contemplation, I think we may say that we do; but in regard to action in the present Session I am afraid he must accept the answer I gave the other day, that we are unable to do anything.

EGYPT—SLAVERY IN THE SOUDAN.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in view of the statements of *The Times* Correspondent at Suakin, that slaves, men who are starved by their then owners, and slave girls, who are forced to prostitute themselves for the benefit of their owners, and who escape from their owners, are restored to them by persons in the service of this Country, orders have been sent to the Commanders of Her Majesty's Forces at Suakin prohibiting such practices; whether he can give the House any assurance that, in future, escaped slaves in Suakin and its neighbourhood will not be restored to their owners by any action of the civil and military authorities of this Country, or by any persons under their control;

and, whether he can inform the House what has become of a caravan of slaves which it is stated, by the correspondents of several of the daily journals of the Metropolis, recently arrived in the vicinity of Suakin?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the only definite statement I have received on the subject was one relating to the alleged proceedings of Admiral Sir William Hewett in regard to Abyssinian scouts. That statement appears to me to have been completely disposed of by the telegrams of the Admiral, which I read to the House a few days ago. If the hon. Gentleman can bring to the notice of the Government any well-authenticated and definite statement of any further proceeding we shall make inquiries about it; but I do not think it would be desirable to ask for information, or that a vague statement respecting the conduct of officers should be made the subject of inquiry.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he would repeat the Question on Monday.

LICENSING LAWS (IRELAND)—CASE  
OF DANIEL O'NEILL.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a case heard on the 20th inst. at Rathdrum, county Wicklow, before Dr. Traill, Colonel Kemmis, and Mr. Fritzell, Justices, in which Mr. Daniel O'Neill was fined on a summons charging him with having opened his licensed premises for the sale of intoxicating liquors at 11.15 A.M. on Sunday 2nd March, and the Justices refused to increase the fine in order to enable the defendant to appeal against their judgment; whether the evidence of the prosecuting constable was, that on the day in question he saw Mr. Byrne, a respectable farmer in the district, who was accompanied by his wife, drive his trap through an archway into a yard at the rear of the defendant's premises, and a few moments after saw Mr. Byrne pass from the stable, where he had put up his horse, through the yard and into the street, without entering the house; whether Mr. Byrne deposed that, on the occasion in question, he was on his way to Divine Service, and that for twenty years it had been his practice on Sundays to leave his horse and car on the defendant's premises while he himself was at prayers;



whether the magistrates acted legally in fining the defendant, and in refusing him an appeal to the higher Court; and, what means of obtaining redress are open?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, several cases recently brought under my notice led me to believe that in the county of Wicklow, and possibly in some other parts of Ireland, some misapprehension existed as to the duty of the police with reference to cases where there was a *prima facie* breach of the Licensing Laws in respect of persons found on licensed premises during prohibited hours, and that the consequence was that some cases were needlessly brought into Court. I therefore caused the case to be laid before the Law Officers of the Crown, and their opinion shows that I was right in my conjecture. Fresh instructions have, therefore, been, within the last two or three days, issued to the police, especially in the county of Wicklow, which will, I hope, have the effect of preventing any recurrence of such proceedings. With regard to the particular case mentioned in this Question, which was also the subject of a Question which the hon. Member for Wicklow (Mr. Corbet) had on the Paper yesterday, but which he was good enough to postpone at my request. I believe the facts are as stated. I cannot help regretting that this case was brought into Court; and I shall ask the Lord Lieutenant to consider whether it is not one in which his Excellency might properly remit the penalties. I may observe, however, that the refusal of the magistrates to increase the penalty did not deprive the defendant of the right of appeal. In cases under the Licensing Acts, as I am advised, this does not depend on the amount of the fine; and the defendant might have appealed to the Quarter Sessions if he had taken steps to do so in proper time.

#### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)— GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any further intelligence had been received from General Gordon since the 14th?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that no intelligence had been received since the last reply of his noble

Friend the Secretary of State for War on the subject.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF inquired, whether information had been received respecting the further breakage of the telegraphic communication with Khartoum?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: If the hon. Member refers to the report in the evening papers, no such intelligence has been received by the Government.

#### PARLIAMENT—RULES OF DEBATE— PRODUCTION OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: I wish, Sir, to ask for your ruling as to the application to the Rules of Debate of the precedents laid down in 1865 by Mr. Speaker Denison, and in 1883 by Mr. Speaker Brand. I desire to know whether the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), having cited official documents—namely, certain Reports of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, and having stated the tenour of them, is not bound to lay them on the Table? I also wish to call your attention, Sir, to these facts—first of all, that the Report which I desire to have laid upon the Table was made in consequence of a Parliamentary pledge made to the House of Commons by the right hon. Gentleman last Session, and it would be to the public advantage that the honest opinion of the Inspectors on over-pressure should be known. I wish, also, to point out that it is unreasonable for official documents to be considered confidential after the Minister in charge of them has published their tenour. And, lastly, I wish, Sir, to call your attention to the broad principle laid down in the words of the leading case, from which I will read an extract, that—

“Such conduct, if permitted, has a direct tendency to injure the public interests, by making the Resolutions of this House proceed on inaccurate statements which it cannot correct by reference to the documents on which those statements are made.”

In 1865 and 1883 notice of a similar matter was taken two or three days after the occurrence of the irregularity.

MR. SPEAKER: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that it is an unquestioned Rule of this House that public despatches, documents, and Papers relating to public affairs should be laid

on the Table of the House if quoted by a Minister; but, in this case, the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council made, I understand, no citations from any document whatever. He merely said that he had consulted the Inspectors. The statement which he made, as to the result of his inquiry as to over-pressure in the elementary schools, was made on his own responsibility, and he is under no obligation to lay any documents or Papers on the Table of the House.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON : I beg leave to give Notice that on an early day I will move for the production of these Papers.

#### METROPOLIS—HYDE PARK CORNER— THE WELLINGTON STATUE.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether the paragraph which appeared in the morning papers concerning the disposition of the Wellington statue was correct?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The paragraph contains an accurate statement. I am informed that the Report has been agreed to by the Committee presided over by the Prince of Wales. It is also in accordance with the arrangement provisionally agreed to by the Government on the suggestion of His Royal Highness. I will answer the Question put on the Paper by the right hon. Gentleman on Thursday.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

#### SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

#### LOCAL TAXATION.—RESOLUTION.

MR. PELL, in rising to call the attention of the House to the subject of Local Taxation; and to move—

"That this House, while ready to entertain any necessary reforms in local administration, deprecates the postponement of further measures of relief acknowledged to be due to rate-payers in counties and boroughs in respect of local charges imposed on them for National services,"

said, he should have been perfectly ready to waive his right to bring forward this

Motion if Her Majesty's Government had proposed the adjournment in consequence of the melancholy intelligence they had received. But as they had not done so, and as there had been no precedent for such a proceeding, he would now proceed with the Motion of which he had given Notice; and he trusted he should be able to remove the common idea that the Imperial and local Revenue concerned different classes of people. The local and Imperial Revenues made up one enormous fund, out of which all local and Imperial obligations had to be discharged. Thus, if one was spared the other had to be more heavily burdened. The question then arose, which of the two applicants had the stronger claim upon that House? The total local and Imperial Revenue was £146,000,000—the Imperial Revenue amounting to £89,000,000 and the local to £57,000,000. Before he went further, he desired to say that since the question which he was bringing forward was first introduced there had been considerable progress in the opinion both of the House and of the country. It was, therefore, unnecessary for him to repeat the old arguments which he had urged upon the House 14 or 15 years ago. The inequality of which he complained of the incidence of the two forms of taxation was admitted by all in that House, from the Prime Minister to the humblest Member. Nor was an inquiry into the subject any longer necessary. The right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), whom he regretted not to see in his place, had many years ago furnished a most valuable Report, which was almost a text book on the subject. Since then the question had been illustrated by the inquiries of Committees, statistical Returns, and the independent examinations of private Members. In particular, great service has been rendered to the country by the exertions of a number of Members from both sides of the House, who had constituted themselves into a sort of Committee of vigilance, and who had had the good fortune to be served and advised by a gentleman, Major Craigie, whose name was well known in that House and throughout the country. A large body of statistical information had been collected, although it was not so complete as he could desire. As he saw the President of the Local Government Board in his place, he wished to call the

*Mr. Speaker*

right hon. Gentleman's attention to a want of diligence—he might almost say a want of respect—on the part of the Local Government Board with regard to one little matter. And it was not the first time that such a thing had happened. More than a year ago he moved for a short abstract setting forth the different items of local expenditure and the sources from which money was raised to meet that expenditure. That Return—now an annual one—was ordered on the 14th or 15th of February, 1883; but it had not yet been printed, and so would be out of date. The right hon. Gentleman had a staff of experts—paid and able officials—who could give, in a short and concise way, a summary of facts and figures which it would be a work of immense difficulty for an independent Member to obtain for himself, and almost impossible to obtain with complete accuracy. On the £89,000,000 of Imperial Revenue, the principal items of charge were £16,000,000 for the Army, £10,000,000 for the Navy, £10,000,000 for the Civil Service—in which, strangely enough, the Irish police was included—£29,000,000 for the National Debt, and £6,000,000 for the Post Office, which, of course, was a remunerative Department. £1,500,000 went under the head of Civil List, Pensions, and Courts of Justice, £7,000,000 went to exceptional charges, like Egypt and India, and £7,000,000 were appropriated to a kind of partnership concern, between local authorities and the central authority in London. Thus already Imperial and local expenditure were interlaced and irrevocably mixed up. There was, then, no pretence for saying that relief to local taxation could not be given until a grand scheme was carried into effect of Local Government Reform. Such a plea was a mere subterfuge. Of the £57,000,000 of local revenue, the rates contributed £28,000,000, or nearly half; and of the other half no less than £17,000,000 went to what were strictly national as opposed to local purposes—purposes which were inseparable from civilization and the attainment of social comfort—all the provisions, for instance, on which depended the security of life and property. These were strictly national, and should not be charged on local funds. First among these came the relief of destitution, which absorbed £8,000,000. Some had said that the English Poor Law

was a bulwark against revolution. He thought, rather, that it operated as a discouragement to industry and thrift. Then there was the education rate, amounting to £2,000,000, by means of which, according to the Vice President of the Council, the police were to be rendered superfluous and society was to be regenerated. But since a complete system of elementary education had been introduced, it had not been found that the number of the police force in the country had been reduced. He was, of course, speaking in round numbers; but if any hon. Member wished to enter into details, he should be happy to see him to-morrow and discuss them with him. The balance of the £28,000,000 was made up by the expenditure of the county, highway, and sanitary authorities. The £7,000,000 which was contributed by the Imperial Exchequer, and was spent by the local authorities, was a sort of hybrid expenditure, under dual government, which made itself felt from Whitehall to every village and town. It was made up by contributions from the State of £4,000,000 for education, £1,425,000 in respect of the police—this was in Great Britain alone—£367,000 in respect of reformatories, £600,000 for pauper lunatics, £250,000 contributions to the highway rates, which was won by the exertions of the hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Harcourt), £250,000 for Miscellaneous Grants in Aid, under the supervision of the Local Government Board, £17,000 which went to the Irish hospitals, and £7,000 which was paid in respect of certain Courts in the Metropolis. In most cases the ratepayers made a larger contribution than the State to the sum expended under dual control. Now, one thing which made it more easy to assail the ratepayer than the taxpayer was that the latter was represented on the Ministerial Benches by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose policy must be one of economy, and whose duty it was to see that public money was not wasted or misused. On the other hand, the bias of the Local Government Board was towards expenditure upon old objects or upon new ones. One reason for this was that in Whitehall there was a host of eager, hungry, and not always the most able professional men, representing doctors and engineers, who received public money, who could not receive it for



doing nothing, and whose existence depended on indicating how they could be employed. Some engineers had rendered great services; but he could not say quite as much for the doctors. There was nobody except the weak, trembling local authority to put a check upon the extravagant proposals of the Local Government Board in London; and, therefore, there was an opening for wasteful expenditure which was not permitted in the expenditure of the taxes. Every farthing of the taxes must be voted in Committee of the Whole House. When any humble private Member like himself got the opportunity of calling attention to the case of the ratepayers in the still hours of the night, he might say, without making this a Party question, that he had been met by a Conservative Government with sympathy, with desire to relieve the ratepayers, and by the actual granting of a subvention; but he had been invariably met by a Liberal Government with subterfuge; and any concessions which had been made were given grudgingly. When the hon. Member for Oxfordshire had forced the Government to grant £250,000, the Chancellor of the Exchequer offered to provide the relief in the most odious way by the increase of the tax on carriages, a proposal which ultimately had to be withdrawn. When a Commission was asked for in 1869, the Prime Minister said that he would be the Commission. The demand for inquiry of the hon. Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes) was met in 1871 by the Previous Question, and in 1872 by the proposal to divide rates between owners and occupiers, which was transparently a subterfuge. Last year, when he brought forward a Motion for immediate relief, he was met by an Amendment from the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey) declaring that it was expedient to postpone the giving of relief until the whole question of local taxation and local government was brought under the notice of the House. The Liberal Party crept out of the difficulty with a fair majority of 12; but the effect of that small majority was marvellous. It produced qualms, hesitation, and remorse, on the part of some Members who had voted against the Motion, and soon afterwards there was presented to the Prime Minister an extraordinary Memorial, to which

he would hereafter refer. Although it had been admitted in the debate that relief ought to be given, the Government attempted, in the Army Regulation Bill, to impose upon ratepayers in counties the whole charge for Militia storehouses and barracks. He should have thought that they would have postponed that until the Local Government Bill was brought forward. Later on, in 1882, a Bill was introduced with reference to the expenses of elections. That was a matter which might well have been considered in a re-arrangement of county business; but the Government, instead of waiting until their Local Government proposals were prepared, supported a proposition for the purpose of placing the whole cost of the official expenses of Parliamentary elections upon the ratepayers. How could the noble Lord (Viscount Lymington), who had an Amendment on the Paper, in the face of that proposal, say that he desired to see the ratepayers relieved of their burdens? As a substitute for effective relief, an extraordinary Memorial was, as he said, last year presented to the Government upon this subject by 31 hon. Gentlemen. He would illustrate the position of those Memorialists in this way—Suppose that a man in passing down a street was pinned to the ground by a falling bale of goods, and that other persons—the hon. Members for South Northumberland, or Great Grimsby, or South Norfolk, or Barnstaple, for instance—instead of hastening to render the miserable man assistance, proceeded to deliver a lecture on the Law of Gravitation—[*Laughter*]  
—and to point out the impossibility of giving any relief until some great scheme for packing bales on vans had been settled by the authorities of the town. [*Laughter.*] This was not a laughing matter. The question would not be laughed out of the House, and hon. Gentlemen would hear of it at the next Election. To carry his illustration further, he would suppose that the next morning the spectators of the cruelty, perhaps in consequence of the sounds of popular discontent, carried on the farce by signing a Memorial to the Mayor expressing their sympathy with the groaning wretch, but advising the Mayor to leave the man where he was until his worship had been instructed on the Laws of Gravitation, and until he had framed some distinct municipal regulation upon

the matter. They would all certainly describe such conduct as "humbug," and the sufferer might consider it unfeeling. He thought that that was a fair illustration of the conduct of the Gentlemen who presented the Memorial to the Prime Minister. The result of the Division on his Motion evidently had an effect on those Gentlemen, and no doubt they began to think that they were not quite on the right side. The 31 Liberal Members who signed the Memorial did so for the purpose of explaining their vote to the Prime Minister. That was very curious conduct on the part of Members of Parliament. What he had to say he said in that House, and did not explain his vote by signing a piece of paper upon which something had been written in a back room. The Memorial was forwarded to the Prime Minister by the not over-buoyant Member for Herefordshire (Mr. Duckham) with solemnity and due decorum. The Memorialists stated that they voted for the Amendment, which declared that a measure dealing with the whole question of local taxation and local government was most urgently needed, in the full confidence that the often-promised legislation for this object should be proceeded with with the least possible delay. The hon. Member received—perhaps he should say was flattered by—a letter acknowledging the Memorial, and saying that the present state of Business in the House of Commons rendered it impossible to deal with the subject. Would anyone think it possible that 31 Liberal Members should occupy the valuable time of the Prime Minister merely to elicit from him a civil letter stating that there was no time to attend to the Business, though two days before they rested their arguments for the vote against him (Mr. Pell) on the ground that there was time? Perhaps they had forgotten what the Prime Minister himself had said. On February 21, 1882—only a year before that little scene—the Prime Minister, on the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Oxfordshire, said that the Government had, in the most solemn and formal manner, pledged themselves to open the whole question of local taxation and administrative reform with a view to remove those grievances. That was on the 21st of February, 1882, and this was the 28th

of March, 1884; and had any single step been taken in that direction? If the words of the Prime Minister had not been made good in the two years which had passed, was it reasonable to expect that they would be made good in the two years to come? The Prime Minister was the creature of circumstances; he meant, perhaps, to do good, but he could not do it after this fashion. He could not bring forward a measure of local government reform this year, nor possibly next year; but he could give relief. As late as April 8, 1883, the Prime Minister, in answer to a Question put by him, said—"Have we lost any opportunity for introducing or pushing forward such a Bill?" Well, this year they had lost an opportunity, for they had put other measures before it. Then the right hon. Gentleman said—

"What was the year, what was the Session, what was the period, when there had been time to procure the proper discussion of such a Bill in this House?"

When indeed! Experience showed that the right hon. Gentleman was not likely to bring it forward. How was it that ratepayers never received in that House the attention that taxpayers received? The ratepayer was very often a poor man. He worked and voted, sometimes he prayed; but his chief business in life was to pay. When he prayed, it was to be hoped it would not be for the Party that did him no good. His name never got into the newspapers except when he married or died. He might grumble sometimes with his wife over his grievances, but he did not talk politics in the tavern, nor often sign Petitions; he hardly ever interviewed the Premier, and so it came to pass that he was forgotten. He provided Boards, and Inspectors, and institutions, and education, and other things, which ought to be found by the interested parties. No Minister of Local Taxation kept watch on his exchequer. His pocket was left unbuttoned, to be picked by every philanthropist and humanitarian, whose benevolence consisted in emptying the ratepayers' purse to protect the good-for-nothing at the cost of the industrious. The ratepayer had toiled hard, he had made his small investment, and just at the time he expected to reap the fruits of his self-denial, he found himself obliged to take care of some of his

neighbours to save the coffers of the Imperial Exchequer. That was a harsh and unjust burden to lay upon the ratepayer, the more unjust because no one took the trouble to think of him when a burden was laid exclusively upon his back which should be shared by others. It was this man's cause that he was pleading. The Liberal Government persisted in postponing his claims; and he now appealed to the Party to which he belonged, and to just men on the other side of the House, to forget their Party for once, and to support, by their vote to-night, his advocacy, however imperfect it might have been, of a righteous cause. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution which stood in his name.

SIR BALDWIN LEIGHTON: Sir, I beg to second the Resolution. I am not sure whether it is quite correct to take for granted that there is a general consensus in the House that this great relief should be given, and that there is only a question as to the mode and amount; because we are placed in this peculiar position—that, while the present Government apparently agrees as to the general proposition, they take every opportunity of raising objections and indefinitely postponing it. I will, therefore, with the permission of the House, state the facts and figures, and then answer the objections that are made. But first I must ask the House to consider the exact position of the question and the reasons that have compelled my hon. Friend and myself to bring this forward as an urgent question; and I would ask the House to accord me its special indulgence to-night, for I do not often trespass on the time of the House; and on this question it is well known, I think, that I have some special knowledge and experience. And if I am compelled, in order to make the matter quite clear to the House, to go into some little detail, I shall not do so more than is absolutely necessary to set forth the necessity of equitable relief coupled with administrative economy. Now, I will not take the House back over the last 40 years of promises half fulfilled, of Reports of Committees and Commissions, of statements and admissions of prominent Members on both sides—beginning with Sir Robert Peel and ending with the present Prime Minister—all admitting this injustice,

and expressing themselves anxious to give relief. I will only ask the House to go back two years, and especially two months. Two years ago the Royal Commission on Agriculture reported on this subject that all the cost of indoor poor, including lunatics, should be a charge on the general taxation of the country other than local rates. To show how moderate are our demands, I may say that my hon. Friend and I should be content with relief to half that amount. A Select Committee of the House of Lords had previously reported that the incidence of local taxation for the roads was an unjust charge on one description of property. In 1882 a deputation went to the Prime Minister on the subject and received a favourable answer, and the relief of local taxation was put in the Speech from the Throne. I think it was omitted the next year; but on the debate and Division the Government adopted an Amendment saying that "a measure dealing with the whole question was urgently required." Three days after 31 Members who had voted with the Government, and saved them from defeat, sent a Memorial to the Prime Minister, saying they had only voted with them on the understanding that the question was really going to be dealt with at once. Of course, the Government Whips laughed at the protest of hon. Members. They had got their majority, though a narrow one, and protests did not count in practical politics; but I shall be surprised if all of those 31 Members can vote again for indefinite delay; and I know that the constituents of the hon. Member for Herefordshire (Mr. Duckham), who took the lead in that deputation, are regarding with the greatest interest the course he will take to-night, after what has happened. Then we come to this year. A shadowy hope was expressed in the Speech from the Throne that after certain large and drastic measures had been disposed of something might be done, if there were time, for local government in the counties and local burdens; and, in answer to a letter from the hon. Member for Herefordshire, the Prime Minister rather emphasized the proposal—the shadow I think more than the hope—by saying that when the Government had time they would endeavour to bring in a Bill for the reform of Local Government, "with



which local taxation was connected." But we are not left without still more positive evidence of the shadowiness of this hope. The right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board had the matter brought home to him by a deputation of his constituents at his private residence the other day; and he told them that whenever the Government had time they would set about the reform of local government, and give them—what? Why, nothing in relief. They would withdraw the subventions and give them some local licences instead. Therefore, after waiting one, two, or three years, we are to get absolutely nothing; at least, if it is any trifle, it would apparently go to the towns, and not to the county rate-payers. That is the present position of the question, and that is why the rate-payers feel that they are being juggled with, and will be juggled with no longer. ["Hear, hear!"] Now to come to facts and figures. I do not wish to pile up statistics, or to overwhelm the case with figures. Rather, I would desire to limit the question as far as possible, and to place figures and facts before the House which shall carry conviction and conclusion to the minds even of those hon. Members who may not have had time to devote to a full consideration of the subject; and I can assure the House that I desire rather to under-state than to over-state the case. I would not, for any consideration, exaggerate or mislead the House in a matter of this kind. The gross expenditure on local taxation is over £50,000,000; but it is only to about a quarter of that we desire to call attention to-night—namely, to some £12,000,000 or £14,000,000 in England and Wales, expended under these items—Poor, Roads, Police, and Lunatics. These heads have been acknowledged by inspection and grant, as well as by Reports of Committees and Commissioners, to be of national rather than local importance; and, in addition to that, the charge under the Statutes has always been on the general income of the place, and not on one description of property only. In fact, the present incidence of this taxation is an obsolete accident and a fiscal mistake, arising out of the fact that real property was more easily taxable than personalty. Now, I wish most distinctly to premise that, in advocating this relief, we are asking,

not only for equitable taxation, but also for administrative economy. We are not asking that the whole of this £12,000,000 or £13,000,000—and these figures are only for England and Wales; but, of course, we include Ireland and Scotland in relief—should be charged to the general income, as the Statute directs in 43 *Elizabeth*; but that relief should be given by way of administrative economy of a quarter, or, at the most, a third of this amount, and I hope the House will realize the moderation of our demands. And the House will observe that these figures do not include education and public health, about which a good deal more may be said. The figures of these charges are, in round numbers, these—Maintenance of poor, £8,000,000, including lunatics; main roads, about £1,000,000; police, about £2,000,000; Scotland and Ireland, about £3,000,000 more. The general income of the country is estimated at about £1,200,000,000. The assessment to Income Tax is about £500,000,000 for England only, and £600,000,000 including Ireland and Scotland; but the property on which this expenditure is charged is only about £200,000,000, or about one-third of what is assessable to Income Tax, and less than one-sixth of the general income. Now, let us see the practical effect of this incidence—first in towns, and then in rural places. The rates in towns are about 5s. in the pound; and it was well observed by the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler), last year, that the amount of taxation and increase in urban rates is considerably more than rural rates, though the exact incidence may be different. The reason why the question has not been so strongly taken up in urban places as yet is that there is this element of confusion and complication in towns—namely, that a large portion of the rate is paid for purely local purposes, or, in fact, for services rendered—such as paving, lighting, sewerage, &c.; and there is this further complication—that, in some boroughs, water and gas, as belonging to the Municipality, are charged as rates; in others, they are the charges of various Companies. Now, I have been to some trouble to endeavour broadly to divide the purely local rates from national rates in towns, and I believe national purposes are three-fourths or four-fifths—that is

to say, where—as on the average I reckon them—they are 5*s.* in the pound, about 4*s.* in the pound are for national purposes. Now, taking an average tradesman assessed for house and shop at £200 a-year, he will be paying, at 5*s.* in the pound, £50 a-year, or £40 a-year for these national services. Then, putting his income at £400 a-year, which, I believe, is a fair estimate, he is paying 1*s.* Income Tax for these national services, which, compared with his wealthier neighbours, is quite out of proportion according to his ability. Then, take the unskilled workman, who, for one or two rooms, is often paying some 4*s.* to 5*s.* a-week. The rates are paid by the landlord, but charged in the rent, and cannot be put at less than 1*s.* per week. Assuming the average wage of this class is £1 a-week, and taking the same ratio of four-fifths of the rates for national services, this labourer is paying an Income Tax of 10*d.* in the pound for these objects, which, compared with his richer neighbours, is altogether out of proportion for his income. This question of the rent of working-class dwellings in large towns is becoming a serious one, and I am thankful to say the country is awakening to it; and the Government has appointed a Royal Commission to inquire into it. But it will be found that one of the chief difficulties of the question—I might almost say the *crux* of the question—is that extra 1*s.* a-week. Philanthropic Building Societies find that they cannot supply these houses for less than that amount, after payment of rates and all outgoings, on any sound economic system; and the consequence of this is that respectable working men are compelled to herd with all their family in one room, instead of, as they ought, obtaining a minimum of two rooms for this amount of rent. Have hon. Members ever seen and visited these places?—rooms not much larger than twice the size of the Table in front of you, Sir, in which, in the wealthiest City in the world, respectable working men are compelled to live with all their family. What wonder if they are driven out to the public-house by this condition of things? The question of the skilled labourer's dwelling, which he can afford to pay 6*s.* or 7*s.* a-week for, is comparatively easy of solution; but the question of the poorer dwellings is greatly hindered by this system of taxation.

*Sir Baldwin Leighton*

The most philanthropic and best-managed Companies cannot afford to let decent accommodation to the working classes as long as they are compelled to pay these rates, which entirely fall on the working classes. Now, to come to the rural ratepayer, who is chiefly the tenant farmer. I estimate the amount of this rate at 3*s.* in the pound, five-sixths of which is for national service, according to the classification with which I started. The way I obtain this 3*s.* in the pound is this—in his valuable work on Local Taxation, published some 15 years ago, by the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), the average rural rate comes to 2*s.* 5*d.* in the pound. Since then, disturnpiked roads and education and sanitary rates have added about 6*d.* in the pound. In many places a voluntary school is supported by subscriptions, which must be reckoned. There have been subventions and remissions amounting to some 10 per cent, or, say, 3*d.* in the pound; but there has been, to balance that, a fall in the value of the land to, at least, the same amount—namely, 10 per cent, so that the average rate or charges may be set, I think, at 3*s.* in the pound. The right hon. Gentleman said, some short time ago, that if relief was due then, it must, unquestionably, be far more required now; and at that time he proposed to give up the House Tax, which now amounts to £1,800,000, so that I hope we may have his support to-night. Now, taking these rates at 3*s.* in the pound, the tenant farmer is paying a 6*s.* Income Tax, because he is assessed at twice his income. If you say the rate falls entirely on the landlord, he is paying a 3*s.* Income Tax; if you divide it between the two, and say the landowner is paying two-thirds, then they each pay a 2*s.* Income Tax. This is manifestly out of all proportion to their ability as compared with other interests, especially considering the great depression of all agricultural property. But let me go a step further, and show the exceeding anomalies which arise from this system of unjust taxation. Here are four parishes in one Union, A, B, C, D. A is an agricultural parish, assessed to the Income Tax at £30,000 a-year. B, C, D are mineral, manufacturing, populous places, assessed to the Income Tax at exactly the same amount—namely, £30,000 a-year each. But how are they assessed for purposes of local

taxation? Why, parish A is assessed on the full £30,000; while B, C, and D are assessed at about one-third, and nearly all the pauperism, crime, and lunacy for which the rates are levied are produced by B, C, and D parishes. Surely it has been well said that the agricultural interest is like the pastoral tribe Issachar, the strong ass crouching between two burdens—the burden of local and Imperial taxation. Then here is another anomaly. A large farmer is rated, we will say, at £600 a-year. His income is £300. His neighbour, living in a villa with ten times his income, perhaps, is assessed on his villa at £50 a-year. Now, for every penny in the pound of rates the farmer will pay 1s., while the villa resident, with ten times his income, will pay 1d., or one-twelfth. Surely, Sir, these are anomalies that ought to be corrected, and corrected at once. But, now, there is another class besides purely urban or rural ratepayers that is most unfairly taxed under this system. I allude to the country clergy. They are not directly represented in this House; but I hope it is not going to be felt generally what has been lately said in private, that Her Majesty's Government will concede anything and everything to threats and big battalions, but will grant nothing to truth and justice unless backed by such big battalions. Here is a statement of a clergyman in one of the Home Counties, which will require no comment from me—

“My tithe average is £325, nearly the whole of my income. I am assessed at £303 a-year. The rates were, and I beg you to note the amount, for poor, highway, and School Board, £80 16s., or over 5s. in the pound. The reverse picture is this—1. A parishioner driving two carriages, four horses, and two carts, and enjoying an income of £4,000 a-year, pays £25 yearly. 2. A Government clerk with £600 a-year pays £11 3s. 3. A tradesman turning over £7,000 a-year and driving pony carriage, two carts, and two horses, pays £6 10s., and so on. As for the farmers, the land cannot bear the burdens. One man failed, another threw up his farm, and another cut his throat.”

Now, Sir, if some of the anomalies I have instanced require immediate correction, surely this out-Herods all. A struggling clergyman on £300 a-year is compelled to pay £80 a-year for taxation for national services. You would not find such a system in any civilized country; to find a parallel you must go to Turkey, or Egypt, or Asia Minor, where taxation has paralyzed and destroyed all

industry. Surely this is not only a perversion, but an inversion of the 43 *Elizabeth*, where men are taxed not according to ability, but according to inability. There is another element in this incidence—that is, the great tendency to increase, which I have already referred to generally; but here are some Returns taken at haphazard from four large agricultural parishes in my own county, and one farm in another county. They are ordinary agricultural parishes, and could not in any way be described as ever having been close parishes. The Return is from 1866 to 1880:—

|                | 1866.    | 1880. |
|----------------|----------|-------|
|                | £.       | £.    |
| Parish A. .... | 335 .... | 651   |
| Parish B. .... | 265 .... | 558   |
| Parish C. .... | 710 .... | 941   |
| Parish D. .... | 950 .... | 1,022 |
| Farm E. ....   | 20 ....  | 65    |

Many farmers in these depressed times have paid the whole of their profits in local rates. But, now, there is a collateral consideration that ought to weigh with hon. Members opposite. They profess, and I am sure sincerely, to wish to see the purchase and ownership of land and houses made more easy and general. Then I trust they will help us to-night in trying to get each purchaser less unfairly taxed. A labouring man or artisan saves £200, which he invests at 3 per cent. He wants to buy a house and garden, which, we will assume, is worth the same amount per annum—namely, £6 a-year; but the State, in the form of the rate collector, at once comes down on him and says—“You must pay me £1 out of that £6.” Or, take a retired tradesman who buys a villa and a plot of land worth £60 a-year. Why is he at once to be taxed to the amount of £10 as soon as his money is invested in this commodity which he did not pay before? That is the way in which purchase and ownership are encouraged in this country by this system. Or, again, a man wants to improve his land—say to drain a morass—and spends £10 an acre on land worth little or nothing before. The spectre of the rate collector at once appears and says—“True, you have improved that land and made it worth 8s. or 10s. an acre; but you must give me one-sixth of that improvement for national purposes.” The other day, whilst this subject was being discussed at the Central Chamber of Agriculture, an American farmer who



was present asked to be allowed to address the meeting, and expressed his immense astonishment at the taxation which the British farmer was subject to. An acre of wheat-producing land in England paying some 7s. an acre in tithes, taxes, and rates, which the same acre in America was only paying about as many pence, because the taxation there was levied fairly on all property, and not on one description; but he added significantly—"You have the remedy in your own power;" and I believe, Sir, we have. Then, with regard to Scotland and Ireland, I am sure the House will not think I am unduly passing over any important item if I only glance at them. Three years ago a deputation of Scotch Members went up to the Lord Advocate, who advised them not to stir in the matter, as they were not heavily taxed. The deputation was important enough for the Lord Advocate to have his answer printed, and he kindly sent me a copy. I think, perhaps, it was not perceived by the Scotch Members that a low rate in the pound on a high assessment does not necessarily mean low taxation. But what the Scotch say is that they would be satisfied if the large mercantile and commercial incomes that at present pay nothing were to contribute fairly. That is exactly what we say in England—it is because of the impracticability of applying such a principle locally that we urge the Government to make the assessment, and to contribute to the localities which they inspect and order. Then, as regards Ireland, there are one or two points of special importance there as to the incidence of present rates. The police are paid by the State; but the county cess—about 1s. 6d. in the pound—falls entirely on the tenant, and the poor rate is divided. It is about the same as the county cess, or rather higher—some 1s. 6d. or 2s. in the pound. But in some of the Western Unions, and the poorest, the rates have lately been quite abnormally high—in some parts the amount is so ruinous that the Government has had to interfere and provide an Imperial rate in aid of 3s. or 4s. in the pound, and this has been going on for some two or three years in the very poorest districts. No wonder the tenants are in distress when they are asked to pay a quarter of their income for these charges, and no wonder they re-

fuse to become purchasers of their holdings under such circumstances, when the whole rate would fall on them. It amounted to positive confiscation, and the fear or possibility of such confiscating taxation falling on them is quite sufficient to prevent any effect taking place by way of purchase and sale. If a man is liable to have to pay 10s. in the pound—and that is the actual rate in some places—how can anything induce him to become a purchaser? And yet hon. Members opposite, who profess to be so anxious to promote purchase and ownership, are going to vote against this moderate proposal to assist it to-night. I do not know whether the House is aware that in the Eastern Counties there are at present thousands of acres lying uncultivated, which anyone may have rent free if they will only pay the tithes, rates, and taxes on them. Such a state of things has, I believe, never been seen before in this country. Now, let us consider what are the objections to giving relief; they come, I think, under three heads—1, Hereditary burdens; 2, That any change in the incidence will be a transfer of taxation from property to labour; 3, Postponement to Local Government Reform and objection to subventions. I do not know to-night whether we are going to hear anything about hereditary burdens or not. Well, the first time I had the opportunity of speaking on this subject in this House, I said, as I say again to-night, that all these so-called hereditary burdens that we ask to be removed have been laid on real property in my lifetime, and most of them within my recollection, and I am not an old Member of this House. This can be demonstrated. Police and lunatics were made a charge between 1840 and 1845, during the time of the Corn Law. Public health, education, and turnpike roads were imposed during the last 10 or 15 years; the maintenance of the poor was a charge on the general income of the parish up to 1840, and so were the roads. Personalty was then exempted by annual suspension, but never by repeal; and meanwhile personalty and unrated property, together with population, have doubled, trebled, and quadrupled. But, in addition to that, by the Union Assessment Act of 1865, these charges which were on the general income of each parish "according to ability" for

the poor of that parish, is now a charge for the poor of a whole Union, including unrated industries, charged solely on one description of property. But, it may be said, real property may be too heavily burdened; but it has escaped from some taxation which it was formerly subject to. Now, I do not know if any Member of this House is prepared to risk his financial reputation by adopting the views of *The Liverpool Financial Almanack*, and I am not sure if I could trespass on the time of the House by anticipating or combating arguments that may never be advanced and are untenable. But I say that not only has real property not escaped from any due taxation, but it is personalty that has slipped out of this taxation, and I will just put these points shortly. First, the so-called Land Tax—4 *William and Mary*, c. 1, 1692—was a general Income Tax charged not only on income, but on chattels—that is, capital not producing income. Mr. Brodrick, in his able work, published by the Cobden Club, says, at p. 468—"The Act of 1692 was, in fact, an Income Tax, with three modifications;" and he goes on to explain them. He further says—"Personalty was taxed equally with land." Well, why is not personalty taxed equally with the Land Tax now? Then it is said that the rate was 4s. in the pound. The assessment was taken absurdly low, so that the rate was made absurdly high; but since then later equivalents to about 3s. in the pound have been piled upon real property as I have described, so that it is at present paying something like 4s. in the pound with Income Tax and Land Tax for national service, contrary to the intention of these Statutes. Therefore, to carry out the Act of 1692, you should impose an Income Tax of 3s. 6d. on all personal income, and that is a suggestion I make a present of to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the forthcoming Budget. Then it is said that there were certain Military Services charged on land; a sort of Militia was provided, but they were paid for their service; and anything that could be a charge would be more than represented in the £2,000,000 of Land Tax still charged. But I again turn to the Cobden Club for information. It says—

"Clearly the nation cannot even pretend to claim anything, but a contribution bearing the same proportion to the present national income

as the revenue from the Court of Wards bore to the national income, say, in 1643."

And, again—

"The Land Tax was probably an effective substitute in the 17th century for the profits of the feudal tenures."

And then this writer of the Cobden Club adds—

"The statements of the almanack"—that is, *The Liverpool Financial Almanack*—"are utterly misleading."

But if we are to go into archaic taxation and finance, we must look further. We must ask about the origin of alienated tithes, and inquire why land that paid tithe partly for the poor is now asked to contribute doubly by way of poor rate? Also, we must inquire why the expense of public prosecutions is charged on private individuals, as landowners, who are sheriffs, seeing that the office was formerly one of profit? We must ask why Schedule A on land is charged on the gross—on profits, namely, that are never received—while all the other Schedules are charged upon the net, making the difference, as Sir Robert Peel stated, of nearly 50 per cent as against real property. So that, in addition to the injustice of rates which were distinctly charged on general income and on personalty, we have these four cases—Land Tax, tithes, public prosecutions, and Schedule A of Income Tax, in which personalty is unduly exempted at the expense of real property. Well, then, the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade has stated, I think in this House, but certainly to his constituents at Birmingham, that "any relief to local taxation would be a transference of taxation from property to labour." Sir, I entirely deny and traverse that statement. Why, surely, in the first place, it will depend on how the transfer is effected. Suppose a sum of £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 were so relieved, and it were raised by an Income Tax, would that be a transference to labour? Or, supposing you went a step further, and transferred it to a graduated Income Tax, as proposed by the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), would that be a tax upon labour? Or if it were transferred to a Stamp Duty on transfer of property, which has been always held by political economists to be essentially a tax on property, would that be a tax on labour? Sir, this pro-



position will not hold water for one moment. It is one of those bald, superficial statements utterly untenable. But I go a great deal further than that. I say the tax at present is on labour. Is the tradesman and farmer, working hard with head and hands 10 hours a-day, not being taxed on his labour? Is the hard-worked clergyman, paying a quarter of his wretched stipend in this taxation, not being taxed on his labour? Are the working classes in our towns, who have to pay 20 per cent more for their house rent by these rates, not being taxed on their labour? Is the Irish cottier of the West of Ireland, paying a quarter of his wretched income in this taxation, not being taxed on his labour? The right hon. Gentleman even went so far as to say that to give any relief to the overburdened ratepayer would be to quarter the landlord on the State. It is the commercial interest that has already quartered itself on the labour of the country, and now endeavours to conceal the fact by raising a false issue. It is personality and monied wealth that has been exempted, not land and houses. To make such a statement, the right hon. Gentleman must either have failed to comprehend the bearings of a very simple fiscal question, or else he has, for Party purposes, made a statement wholly unworthy of his reputation. But I do not ask the House to take my statement of these facts. Here is the case put in a nutshell, in better words than I can put them, by the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone), formerly Member for Liverpool, who has a right to be heard on this question. It is well known that the hon. Member has given special attention to this subject, and also has great practical experience of this question in Liverpool. The hon. Member also occupies a high place in the commercial world, and this is what he says—

“The principal wealth of our large towns consisted of commercial, manufacturing, and trading interests; but, except incidentally, none of these interests contributed to the poor rate, and the more their wealth had increased the more they had escaped from anything like a legitimate amount of contribution to the support of the poor. They did not pay on their capital, because that capital, consisting mostly of personality, was not subject to local taxation.”

Now, I pray the House specially to attend to this last part—

*Sir Balthuzyn Leighton*

“Merchants, who had made the calculation, informed him that the proportion of their income derived from trade on which they paid poor rate amounted to only from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 per cent, while the proportion of their income on which labourers in the employment of those merchants paid poor rate was  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. From this it appears that the proportion in which persons paid in large towns was in almost inverse ratio to their wealth. Upon the class of small tradesmen the poor rate operated most oppressively, and with especial severity upon those who were in the humblest circumstances. It might be said that it was foolish for the mercantile community to be active in promoting a change of system; but the mercantile community were not foolish or short-sighted enough to believe that a system could be good which transferred a considerable portion of the burden of taxation from their shoulders to those of the very poor.”

Those are not my words, but the words of a Gentleman with a high position in the commercial world. Let the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade upset those arguments and statements if he can. Since these arguments of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) have been put forward, I have been at some pains to inquire what was the exact incidence of this taxation on the different classes, and I must say that the results have been rather startling. The law of the 43 *Elizabeth*, under which we are levying this taxation, expressly states that it is to be paid according to ability. The conditions under which we are actually living appears to be an exact inversion of that principle; and we are paying according to our inability, thus:—The highest-rated class is the poverty-stricken cottier of the West of Ireland, who is paying, in many places, 25 per cent of his income. The next highest-rated in proportion is the unskilled workman in large towns, who has to pay 25 per cent more for house rent. After that the large middle classes who are excused Income Tax, or who pay under remission, and who are taxed at the rate of 1s. 6d. to 2s. in the pound on income—namely, the small tradesman and the struggling farmer. The capitalist in land pays 2s. in the pound on the statistical assumption that he pays two-thirds of agricultural rates; and the monied, or manufacturing capitalist, pays a fraction of a penny, or, in some cases, the fraction of a farthing. So now we come to the last argument—namely, postponement till after something has been done with Local Government.



We are to wait for one, two, or three years, when the subventions are to be taken away, and some local licence given in their place, which will probably be of no effect whatever in making a reduction. But there is to be reform of Local Government that is to do wonders. How? How, in the first place, is it in any way to affect the rates in towns which are the principal sum? How is it to affect the poor rate and road rate which are now administered by elected bodies? The amount of county rate is quite insignificant, even if you reduced it by half, and you will probably increase it by any change. Oh, but you will divide the rate between landlord and tenant. Well, that is no relief whatever; and how will that touch the clergyman who is his own landlord, or the compound householder in towns? How are you to do that with leaseholds in town, especially beneficiary leaseholds, where a capital sum is paid down? Then, if you divide the rate, you must divide the representation, and begin by pulling to pieces the constitution of all your local bodies. But we propose to extend the incidence of certain charges, such as indoor poor, to county areas. Then, how about boroughs? Half the Unions include a borough, which is not assessed to the county rate. You must have a new assessment area, and a new valuation. I do not greatly envy the post of a Minister who is going to re-adjust county and Union boundaries—he will find himself in a veritable Tower of Babel—but the Minister who is going to pull down and attempt to reconstitute all our local authorities, some 2,000 or 3,000 on these sort of lines, should be the Member for Bedlam. ["Hear, hear!"] These proposals are either made in theoretical ignorance, or they are mere pretexts for postponement. But it is said that subventions are extravagant and wasteful. According to the official figures, that is most positively not the case. The figures prove rather the contrary, and the facts still more so, as I will show; but, I say at once, I am in favour of strict administrative economy, and though equitable relief is required, I will support no proposal that, in my opinion, is not in the direction of economic administration. Will anyone say that the subventions for education are wasteful? No. Will anyone say that the people could have been educated without them? No. Then,

as to police and lunatics, the subventions given by the late Government, which have been so greatly cavilled at, I will not say what has been often urged, that it is only because they were given by the late Government, that that charge is made; but I say it is unfounded. As regards the police, the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board quoted figures last year in this House, which proved exactly the contrary to what he stated—namely, that since the subventions the proportion of increase had been greater than before. I have been told that since then he has acknowledged his mistake; but all through the debate he clung to this fallacy, so that we must take any of his statements with reserve and *cum grano*. Then, as regards the lunatics, a great mistake is made in supposing that the grant of 4s. per head per week can be a pecuniary inducement to Boards of Guardians to send paupers to an asylum. It costs them more, with the 4s. grant, to maintain them in the asylum than the workhouse—almost double. The reason of the increase is, I believe, the effects of intemperance, promoted by the high prices of 10 years ago, and, possibly, from the facilities introduced by the present Prime Minister in the grocers' licences. But let us see what the right hon. Baronet himself says, in answer to his own assertion of last year. Last year he says—

"The figures bearing on lunatics were also before him, and he should almost go so far as to state that many lunatics had been invented since the establishment of the subvention."

Now, let us appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober, and see what the right hon. Baronet says in his official Report, published a few months ago—

"It has been suggested that the increase of late years in the number of pauper lunatics in asylums and licensed houses is due, to a considerable extent, to the effect of the Government subvention of 4s. a-week for paupers in these establishments, and that the subvention has induced Boards of Guardians, in many cases, to send to asylums paupers who might be sufficiently cared for at a less expense in the workhouse. It will, however, be observed, from the above table, that the increase in question has been accompanied by a considerable increase in the number of pauper lunatics in workhouses. . . . In January, 1874, the number of insane paupers chargeable to the poor rate in asylums and licensed houses was 31,024, and the number in workhouses 15,018. In January, 1882, these numbers had respectively increased to 42,230 and 16,976. The increase in the number of in-

sane paupers was 13 per cent. . . . In 76 of the Unions in England and Wales the number of these lunatics was the same in the two years, while in 314 there was an increase, and in 259 only a decrease."

I have nothing to add to that, except that it is signed by the right hon. Baronet himself; and I think it will be more satisfactory that he should contradict himself in his own words than that I should do so. But, Sir, I go a great deal further than that. I say that the power to order the expenditure without the responsibility of having to pay for it is a cause of extravagance and waste, and gross injustice to the rate-payers, and I could give half-a-dozen instances that have happened in my own immediate neighbourhood. Some few years ago the Government Inspector came down and ordered the magistrates of my county to increase the number of police; it was in vain they asked on what principle, and pointed to the absence of crime, and especially of undetected crime. A contention took place, and the Government grant was refused. A compromise of some sort was at length come to, and some third or half of the number asked were added to the force. Again, in two or three parishes the Government Inspector came down a few years ago and ordered new schools to be built a mile or so off the old schools, which would have necessitated a great expense—a School Board probably, and the destruction or waste of the existing schools, which were thoroughly efficient and under Government inspection. In one case the provisional notice was actually put on the church door. After considerable correspondence the Inspector of the Education Board was induced to see the unreasonableness of his demand, and it was given up in each case. Again, the Lunacy Commissioners ordered the Asylum Authorities to purchase more land than they required, and refused to pass the plan for some additional buildings until they did so. They appealed to the present Home Secretary, who, I am glad to say, supported the county magistrates, and it was not insisted on. I could give the House some other cases; but I want to know, would the Government have attempted to force this unnecessary expenditure on the local bodies if they had had to pay for it? I am certain they would not. But now, if in one district

all these attempts at extravagance were going on, there must be hundreds and thousands of such cases over all England, and in too many they have succeeded. So much for subventions being extravagant. It is on the ground of economy that I ask for them. But the money should be given, I think, on a three years' average, so that every penny the local authority can save goes to them, and is not shared. I am opposed to any extravagance and waste whatever. There may be difference of opinion as to the best mode of providing and dispensing this relief, into which, therefore, I will not go now—sufficient for to-night is the burden of local taxation. If we are to discuss Ways and Means, we shall have to go into the questions of expenditure and policy, which will become controversial and lead us far away from our subject. We shall have to ask what has become of the money raised by the increased Probate Duties and the increased Beer Duty? We shall have to ask why the Terminable Annuities were applied to the reduction of Debt last year, and why the present Government are spending some £2,000,000 more in Ireland and Egypt than the late Government? We shall have to ask why the Chancellor of the Exchequer is proposing to give away some £500,000 to India that is not yet due, and it is rumoured to abolish the £500,000 Carriage Tax, which might be applied to paying for the main roads? But it is not difficult to indicate where this money should come from. Carry out the principle of the 43 *Elizabeth*. Let property and income fairly contribute without favour and exemption. Tax income, tax wealth; you would have the support of the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) if you taxed drink, the fruitful parent of crime, pauperism, and lunacy. Tax luxury, speculation, or waste; but do not throw the whole weight of this unequal taxation on depressed interests of trade and agriculture, contrary to statute and contrary to equity. Do not overtax poverty and misery. Sir, we shall probably be told again to-night, for the hundredth time, that the Radical Party desire to look at this question as a whole. Sir, they have been looking at us as a whole for 40 years. We would rather be looked at as a part. Men have been born, have lived, farmed, traded, died, and ruined,

while the Party opposite have been looking at the question as a whole—we mean to have this relief now without further delay, adequately and equitably. We mean to take the sense of the House to-night, and if the Government should refuse it we will take the sense of the country at the coming General Election.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, while ready to entertain any necessary reforms in local administration, deprecates the postponement of further measures of relief acknowledged to be due to ratepayers in counties and boroughs in respect of local charges imposed on them for National services,"—(*Mr. Pell*.)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that, before entering on the subject of the debate, he wished to make an explanation to his hon. Friend the Mover of the Resolution, who had accused his Department of want of diligence, want of care, and want of respect to the House of Commons. That formidable charge only related to one particular Return. He had better at once frankly state that the Return in question was overlooked. The Return was ordered, but, owing to a misunderstanding in the Statistical Department, it was not printed. The oversight was owing to the illness of the head of the Statistical Department. He thought, however, that he and the Statistical Department had cause to complain of his hon. Friend for not having informed them earlier that the Return had not been produced. He would say, at the same time, in justice to a hard-worked Department, that there was, with the exception of this Return and one other which had been moved for during the present month, no other Return which had been asked for and had not been rendered. With respect to the subject before the House, he would say that the increase of the rates which had been referred to in the debate had affected the towns much more than the country. He had attempted to show that in the course of the debate last year, and the same fact had been proved most conclusively by his hon. Friend the Mem-

ber for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). As a matter of fact, in many of the rural districts the rates had rather decreased than increased. He would not venture to make such a statement on his own authority; but he relied on the statement of his Department, which had ample means of informing him of the truth on the subject. There had, however, been a terrible increase in some urban districts. But there was a question which called for more attention than the increase of rates, and that was the increase of local loans. On that subject his hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton had spoken strongly, as he had himself. The hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Baldwyn Leighton) had complained that no one kept a watch over the ratepayers' pockets. But that statement involved some injustice to the Department over which he presided, which was a very hard-worked Department, and did little else than watch the demands made on the ratepayers' pockets. The Department, however, had more control over local expenditure in some quarters than it had in others. There had been an enormous increase in the rates and loans in some municipal boroughs, and over those the Local Government Board had little control compared with that which it exercised in rural districts. Where the Board exercised the largest control there was least increase in loans and rates. It was not true, as had been stated, that the Government had refused to grant any relief in respect of local taxation. On the contrary, relief had been most distinctly promised in the course of last year's debate. He had himself said that persons ought to contribute to local objects according to their ability and means. He had also said that relief ought to be granted to local authorities, and that it should be accompanied by a corresponding devolution of powers and duties. The Mover of the Resolution repudiated any intention of treating this as a Party question; but he made one of the best Party speeches ever delivered in that House. While sharing, as hon. Members generally would, the honest sympathy of the hon. Member for the poorest ratepayers, he must express strong disagreement from some of his views. The attack of the hon. Member was really directed against the principles of centralization; and it was well known



how heartily he concurred with the hon. Member on this part of the subject, for he had repeatedly spoken against centralization. But his experience led him to entertain the greatest doubts as to the expediency of subventions; his impression was that they led directly to the centralization which the hon. Member deprecated. The hon. Member spoke of subventions in a wider sense than the term was usually understood to involve, for he referred to education grants. The Education Department had enormous powers compared with those of the Local Government Board; but those powers were given to the Education Department because of the very large contribution which the State gave to the cost of education, and those powers must be held and exercised for the protection of the public purse. One error which seemed to run through the speeches of those who advocated subventions seemed to be that they were a saving of money rather than a charge upon the taxes; they seemed to think that you got rid of expenditure whenever you put it upon the taxpayer. ["No, no!"] The Amendment almost amounted to this—"Never mind local government; but take care of local taxation." That was not the view of the Government. They felt the urgency of this subject; but they could not agree to divorce the subject of local taxation from the reform of local government. As, by the Forms of the House, there could be no Amendment to the Resolution, which was itself an Amendment to the Motion to go into Committee of Supply, the Government had no alternative but to vote for Supply, which was in this case equivalent to the Previous Question. It was said that the Government could give immediate relief to the local taxpayer. If it was meant by that that it was the duty of the Government to increase immediately the system of subventions, which they believed to be wasteful and to lead to centralization, without passing any general measure for the reform of local administration, that was not the view of the Government. It was not necessary to attempt to slay the slain, for there was no one who was prepared to stand up for the existing system of local government in England; it was assumed by the Mover and Seconder that it was to be dealt with sooner or later; but they said—"Temporarily, and until you have

established a better system, give us more money." The hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), in his non-Party speech, used strong language; he spoke of pretence, subterfuge, delay, excuse, desire to postpone, and hypocrisy; and this was a strong collection of epithets to be drawn from a single speech. In reply, he had to say that the Government had a large measure actually in existence; it was ready for introduction; if they were allowed to make that progress with their Business which they had a right to expect to do, then the measure would be introduced in that House; and if the progress of Business were facilitated, it would be passed by this House. [MR. PELL: This Session?] It was ready for introduction now. The Government would not have given enormous labour to the details of the measure if they had not supposed that they would be able to introduce it into that House, and if they had not had some expectation of being able to pass it. He laid it down as an undoubted proposition that if Public Business were allowed to proceed at the rate at which it used to do in the years from 1869 to 1872, the Bill could be passed by the House this Session, in addition to all the large measures that were before the House and the country. Not only had ordinary care been taken to produce a measure worthy of submission to the House, but in such modifications as the measure would exhibit this year he had been greatly assisted by his Predecessor, by the Government draftsman, to whom the preparation of such a Bill was well known to be a labour of love, by the labours of the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone) and the hon. Member for Bedfordshire (Mr. James Howard), as well as by the information collected by the right hon. Members for Ripon, Halifax, and North Hampshire, and others who had given time and thought to the subject. The principle on which the Government had proceeded in constructing the measure had been that in their opinion it was essential the measure should cover the whole ground of local administration. If they chose to introduce a Bill which should cover only a portion of the ground, it might be easy, even with the other Business before the House, to pass it; it might be easy to pass a Bill dealing only with county administration; but it would not

be sufficient to deal with that only. You could not change the existing financial or rating system, get rid of the operation of subventions, and intrust local authorities with the use of a portion of the taxes if you did not reform the constitution of those authorities from the top to the bottom. When the subject came to be looked into by Parliament, he doubted whether it would be thought that the policy of the Government, in preferring a complete measure, would be a cause of delay in the long run. A mere measure of county government would be obviously of very little use. He doubted whether it would be possible to carry through both Houses a measure which merely transferred the administrative powers of Justices to elected County Boards. The limited scope of such a measure would rather limit the chance of its being passed into law. A Bill dealing only with county government was liable to the charge made in advance that it would really do very little, while it would unsettle everything. The plan of the Government, while it would unsettle everything, would also settle everything, and therefore, while drastic, would introduce something like a lasting system. The Government had thought it necessary, in dealing with this subject, in their Bill, to propose to create not only elective County Councils but elective District Councils, distinguishing urban from rural districts, and to these powers would be transferred from the Justices and the Local Government Board. If the hon. Member was really anxious, as he said, to get rid of centralization, he would advise him to do all he could to facilitate the transaction of Business in that House in order that the Government might have an opportunity of bringing their Bill forward. With reference to the financial part of the question, he might state that the Government proposed to substitute certain taxes for a portion of the Parliamentary subvention. The hon. Baronet (Sir Baldwin Leighton) had spoken of those taxes as being probably very small, and as not supplying the place of the subventions which were to be taken away. But if the Government acted in that manner, they would break the promises which they had several times made to the House, that the measure should be one of relief to the local ratepayer; it would be a measure of relief,

and not of increase, to the local rates. The hon. Member who introduced the Motion spoke as though he agreed with the plan which was laid before the House last year by the noble Lord the Member for Carmarthenshire (Viscount Emlyn) with reference to the relief to be given towards the maintenance of the indoor poor. That principle had been accepted by the Government, and it was his opinion that in any measure upon this subject it ought to be provided that relief should be given, probably to the extent of 4d. per day, for every indoor pauper over the age of 16, out of the county fund, towards the maintenance of the indoor poor. Last year the Government admitted the principle of the division of the rate between the owner and the occupier, and effect would be given to it in the Bill. He quite agreed with the hon. Member in principle that a portion of the rates of which he spoke were for national charges; but he disputed some of the instances which were given. The hon. Gentleman told the House, in the course of his remarks that he would explain exactly what he meant to any hon. Member who liked to call upon him tomorrow morning. He should be glad to call on the hon. Gentleman and ascertain which were local and which were national charges. The hon. Baronet the Member for South Shropshire apparently assumed as national anything he pleased to state as such. For his part, he could not admit that the poor rate was a national charge. He must thank the hon. Member for South Leicestershire, on behalf of the House and on behalf of the Government, who had had to administer the Poor Law, for the great and persistent efforts which he had made to administer the Poor Law upon proper principles. The hon. Member was one of the best, if not the best, Poor Law administrator in the country, and it was impossible to speak upon this subject without trying to do justice to him. Local efforts might decrease the poor rate, but local extravagance would increase it. These were matters which ought to be dealt with locally. The hon. Member spoke of education as a national charge, and he was astonished to hear the kind of sneer which accompanied his remarks upon that subject. Some of the charges were of a national character, therefore he thought that personal property should, in some degree, contribute to-



wards those charges. That was a principle to which the Government stood committed, and to which they would give effect when they were allowed to proceed with their measure. Of course, there would be a simplification of the areas; and, therefore, it was proposed to give power to the County Councils to alter boundaries, except those of municipal boroughs, and there was a general provision for the simplification of areas by adjustment and consolidation. He admitted that any Bill upon this subject must be a long one; it could not possibly be short and simple. The hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) wanted it to be introduced at once and sent to a Select Committee. He (Sir Charles W. Dilke) feared that such a Bill could only, after a long debate on the second reading, be sent to a Select Committee with the general consent of the House, and he thought hon. Gentlemen opposite would not give their consent. What would be its fate as to discussion when it came back from the Select Committee? He feared that its life before the Select Committee would hardly tend to shorten its life before the House. The hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) talked as if the Government were less desirous than he was to press forward the Bill. Taking only the meanest motive—did the hon. Member doubt their anxiety, for the sake of their Party, the Government, and themselves, to pass the Bill?

MR. PELL: I referred to the inability of the Government to pass it.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he was very glad to accept the hon. Member's assurance, even at that late moment, although "cant, hypocrisy, subterfuge" did not seem to relate to inability. But, turning from the lowest to the highest motives, did the hon. Member doubt their anxiety to remove from the country the disgrace of the present administrative chaos of English local government? Hon. Members should allow the Government to make progress if they wanted the Bill. The hon. Member had said that the Government had offered the counties a stone when they asked for bread, in the shape of a vote. In his opinion, the agricultural labourer would not regard a vote as being as useless to him as a stone, and he quite agreed with the hon. Member that the rural ratepayers would use

the vote as a means of pressing this matter forward. He hoped they would. It was the best use they could make of it. The hon. Member, in taking that view, was showing in advance his belief in the capacity of those who were to be enfranchised, and there could not be higher praise given to the rural ratepayer, or to the measures which the Government were submitting. The Government were not afraid of the rural ratepayer, and they showed that by offering him a vote. The opinions of the Government were very similar to the Amendment of the noble Viscount (Viscount Lymington); but that Amendment was not placed on the Paper by the wish or desire of the Government. The Forms of the House would prevent the Amendment being moved; therefore, they should vote for their own Motion of Supply.

MR. SCLATER - BOOTH said, he must congratulate his hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire on having, at all events, succeeded in eliciting from the President of the Local Government Board some indication of the measure which was in store for future Parliaments, and which the right hon. Gentleman had justly described as a large and comprehensive one. It was to be a measure dealing with the whole subject from top to bottom, and interfering with and disestablishing every existing local authority in the Kingdom. That might be a good policy or a bad one; but he put it to the House whether a measure of that kind was to be passed in one or even in two Sessions of Parliament. To meet the urgent demand for relief by a dilatory Bill of that nature was to defer the whole question to the Greek Kalends. The future measure was no doubt part and parcel of the great change in the institutions of the country which the Chancellor of the Exchequer described as second only to the Revolution of 1688 — a revolution which began with the dethronement of a Sovereign, and ended by bringing in a new dynasty. The right hon. Gentleman had laid down the proposition that subventions led to centralization. Now, his contention was that the Poor Law Board had been established on a basis of centralization in the interests of the people at large. What schools, again, or lunatic asylums, would have been built were it not for the peremptory requirements of the Statute that



the local authorities should be saddled with the expense? And the heavier those expenses had grown the stronger grew the sentiment of injustice that these charges should fall on one class of property alone. Centralization was the essence of Poor Law and similar administration. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the Government declined to divorce the subject of local taxation from the question of local government. That was the point on which they joined issue with the Government. The present ratepayer was the person who suffered from these burdens of taxation; but if reliance were placed upon the promises held out by the Government, existing ratepayers would obtain no relief whatever. It was 13 years since a Resolution similar to the one now before the House was first passed; yet during the whole of that time no chance had been found of dealing with this great and complicated question of local self-government. He denied that the system of local government as it was now working in this country deserved the imputations that had been cast upon it by the right hon. Gentleman. He did not defend the anomalies of the existing systems of local government, for he knew too well what those anomalies were; but he did press for an immediate relief from some of the burdens which now fell so heavily upon the rural taxpayer, and he believed that the system of subvention, however objectionable it might be in some points, was the only means by which that relief could be immediately given to the bitter cry of the oppressed ratepayer. That mode was found easy enough two years ago, when the Head of the Government, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to prevent a hostile Division with which he was threatened, said that he would put down £250,000 in the Estimates in relief of local burdens. A great deal might be done to mitigate the hardship and sense of injustice which now prevailed, without any of the dangerous consequences which the right hon. Gentleman opposite found it convenient to allege. They had an illustration of that in the working of that most successful Act which had been passed by the right hon. Member for Ripon, under which the Metropolitan Common Fund had been established. Something ought to be done in aid of the cost of the indoor

poor and of lunatics, now a tremendous charge on the ratepayers. He had been driven to the conclusion, by a process of exhaustion, that relief in respect of that charge was at once the most reasonable, philosophic, and statesmanlike mode by which further assistance could be given to ratepayers. He had, however, never pressed for a larger subvention in aid of the police rate unless those steps were taken which would have the approval of many of his friends, but upon which he would express no opinion, of placing all the police of England under one central authority, as was the case in Ireland. While objecting to wait until a complete scheme of local government reform was passed, his hon. Friend (Mr. Pell) and others who acted with him did not ask for complete justice or that an accurate balance should be struck. They merely asked that the Government, by pursuing a course which had been approved of by Parliament during the last 15 years, should show their sympathy and their willingness to entertain the objections which had been expressed, and in that way, rather than by a renewal of the promises which had been so frequently falsified, hold out to the present ratepayers some prospect of certain and immediate relief in their burdens, and to the ratepayers of the future the satisfaction of knowing that their case would demand the attention of Parliament when this great and complex question came to be dealt with.

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS said, the mere fact that local taxation had increased by 230 per cent in 40 years, as against 40 per cent for Imperial taxation during the same period, was of itself sufficient to show the hardship of the case which they now submitted. He thought it had been shown that this was a subject which should receive the immediate attention of the Government, and he believed that if hon. Members on both sides expressed their private opinions they would be in favour of the Motion. He observed that hon. Members on the Ministerial side who had spoken strongly at Chambers of Agriculture and other meetings in the country upon subjects of that kind had hitherto maintained complete silence that evening; but he trusted that before the discussion closed the hon. Member for Great Grimsby (Mr. Heneage) and the hon. Member for South Northumberland

(Mr. Albert Grey) might, after expressing strong opinions in the Provinces in favour of immediate action on that question, now urge the Government to fulfil its promises. He, for one, did not desire to throw the whole cost of local taxation on Imperial funds, and he had a great horror of centralization; but he held that certain of those charges might be fairly transferred from local resources to the Imperial Exchequer. The management of the police should, he thought, be undertaken by the Central Government, and paid for out of Imperial resources. The maintenance of the highways and the relief of the indoor poor he did not think should be handed over to a centralized authority; but a grant in aid should be given to lessen the burden that was now imposed for the support of the indoor poor on the unfortunate occupiers and owners of real property. The house duty, the game and gun licence duty, the dog tax, and certain other taxes which were locally raised, should be handed over to local authorities. The President of the Local Government Board had stated that the Government had prepared a scheme for the reform of local administration. He should much like to see the proposal which the right hon. Gentleman intended to bring forward; and he must express, on the part of his constituents, the disappointment which they felt that that measure had been left so long without being effectually dealt with.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. AKERS-DOUGLAS, continuing, said, they were informed last year, and they had again been told by the President of the Local Government Board, that they must wait for a large measure of Reform. It was a curious circumstance, however, that whenever any scheme of moderate legislation was brought forward by Gentlemen on the Conservative side of the House, or whenever any desire was expressed for legislation that was very much required by the agricultural community, they were always told to wait for a large measure of Reform. He should like to ask the House what chances there were of any large measure of Reform passing the House dealing with the question of local government?

He ventured to think that, after the delay that had taken place in legislating upon this question, the agricultural community, who were led to expect so much from the promises hon. Members opposite so heedlessly gave at the last General Election, would find out that those hon. Gentlemen were not the true farmers' friends they pretended to be. Hon. Members opposite when they appeared in the country or at the Central Chamber of Agriculture were very fond of expressing affection and regard for agricultural interests; but the nearer they got to the House and to the presence of their Whips the quicker did their convictions appear to ooze out at the soles of their feet. He trusted that on the present occasion they would support the Resolution of his hon. Friend, in which case they would earn the gratitude of their constituents.

MR. RATHBONE said, he shared the regret expressed by hon. Members opposite at the delay which had taken place in the settlement of this question and the manner in which Governments on both sides of the House had treated this important question. He confessed, however, to very considerable disappointment at the speeches delivered on the opposite side of the House; and he differed very strongly from the Mover of this Resolution as to how the unfortunate ratepayer was to be best relieved. The mere transfer of taxes or rates from one pocket to the other, without a reform of local administration, would not relieve the taxpayer, while at the same time it would make future reform almost impossible. He was astonished to hear the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, who described the measure shadowed forth as revolutionary. On the contrary, he believed it was impossible for any Government to bring forward a measure more strictly and essentially Conservative, in the highest sense of the word, than the one which would effect a thorough reform of our local administration. What was the greatest danger to be feared? It was the fact that large classes of this country, who from their leisure and wealth were best enabled to take a useful share in the administration of the local affairs of the country, had withdrawn themselves more and more from active participation in local government. He could not conceive a greater or more pressing danger



to be guarded against than that the people of this country should feel that the leisured and wealthy classes had no *raison d'être* for usefulness in the great work of local government. He would quote a few figures to show the great danger arising from neglecting promptly to deal with this important and intricate question, and how injurious would be the attempt to deal with the subject by mere grants in aid without a reform of the system of local taxation and of the bodies who should control and direct this vast and increasing expenditure. He had heard statesmen speak as if all that was necessary was to watch the growth of Imperial expenditure and taxation; and if they did that, local expenditure and taxation might be safely left to go on. But the facts most strikingly disproved that. The local expenditure of England and Wales had increased from £25,002,000 in 1867-8 to £50,418,000 in 1881-2. In other words, it had doubled in that short period, whereas Imperial expenditure had only risen from £71,236,000 in 1867-8 to £85,472,000 in 1881-2. Differently expressed, it had only increased by one-fifth, while local expenditure had doubled. Imperial expenditure, exclusive of charge of debt, was, in 1867-8, £44,664,000, while local expenditure was only £22,918,000, or, exclusive of repayment of debt and interest, just about half as much as Imperial expenditure; but, in 1882, when Imperial expenditure was £55,806,000, exclusive of charge of debt, local expenditure had risen to £38,791,000. Varying the terms, from being one-half, it had risen to about two-thirds the amount of Imperial expenditure; and, as it was increasing at the rate of about £1,000,000 a-year, local expenditure threatened rapidly to equal national expenditure. No doubt a large portion of the increase in local expenditure had been devoted to excellent objects, but there had, nevertheless, been much extravagance and waste, owing to the ratepayer having no supervision over the expenditure. Small subsidies alone would do no good to the ratepayer. What they wanted was the adjustment of areas and the strengthening and reform of local authorities in such a manner as to enable the ratepayer to exercise some vigilance over the expenditure. The hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) said there was no one to defend the ratepayer. Well, what they wanted

to see was the formation of some elected representative body that would defend him. If all that the Motion asked were granted, it would have but small effect in relieving the ratepayer from his burdens. The subsidies in aid of local taxation that had been made in recent years had not reduced the rates. In 1873-4 the subsidies in aid of local taxation were £1,001,000; in 1879-80 they had risen to £2,732,000. But during those same years the rates had risen from £19,773,000 to £25,694,000; and they were still increasing at the rate of £1,000,000 a-year. Again, local debts during that time rose from £59,647,000 to £107,042,000; and, in 1882, they had risen still further to £120,072,000. What sign was there here of any relief to the ratepayers? The sops which had been thrown out by previous Governments had given no real relief to the ratepayer. Until they improved the authorities by which the public funds were distributed, and made it possible for the ratepayer to exercise greater vigilance over his own affairs, any attempt at reform in the direction indicated by the Motion would be merely pouring water into a sieve. The true friends of the ratepayers were those who advocated measures that would give permanent relief rather than those who would administer palliatives which left large grievances untouched.

MR. LONG said, that if the local taxation party in the House had not passed any measures, they had done negative good by opposing measures that would have increased the burdens of the ratepayers. There seemed to be a failure to appreciate the unanimity and strength of feeling on this subject that existed in the agricultural constituencies where it was believed to require attention before any other subject. But the Government preferred to postpone relief until they could rectify areas, to do which seemed to be the joy of Radicals. Until they could point to squares on a map they would put off reforms, which, to be of use, should be granted immediately. It was not everything to say that rates in rural districts had gone down. The question was whether, with the fall in the value of land and the difficulties of cultivation and occupancy, they could be paid as readily as before, and whether agriculturists did not pay more than their fair proportion of the charges that fell



on rates. They were told that the difficulty should be met by a reduction of rent; but this was a remedy which had been frequently tried before, and which could not be done much further without involving dire distress. Besides, that answer was no sufficient settlement of their complaint that they were paying an unfairly high proportion of the rates of the country. What they demanded was pure and simple justice. If the Government were really anxious to pass a Bill, it was for them to put it in a position to facilitate its being passed; but, in his opinion, it was the duty of the Government to attend to the matter without delay, instead of waiting until they could introduce a measure which might possibly give satisfaction to themselves. The burdens under which the class he referred to were suffering might be met partly by subventions and partly by taxing articles which at present were not touched. Some portion of the expense of the roads might be met by taxes locally levied and collected; and he must say he had always regretted that the right hon. Gentleman the present Leader of the Opposition had thought fit to remit the horse tax. That he considered a very fair tax, and he believed that if it were now levied and applied to the maintenance of roads, it would be of great advantage in relieving that branch of local taxation. The roads in his own neighbourhood were cut up and worn out almost exclusively by waggons and their horses in their traffic to and from the stone quarries, and he thought that this was an instance in which the amount of local taxation might be fairly increased. He hoped the hon. Members who signed the Memorial to the Prime Minister last year would not again put themselves in a false position.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that the debate would be a landmark in the history of the question; because, after the speech of the President of the Local Government Board, it was impossible to pretend to believe that it was not the serious wish of the Government to deal with local taxation and local government. The present Government had been exposed to annual debates, in which they had been bombarded with assertions that they were playing with the question, and only desired to escape from immediate diffi-

culties, without seriously intending to place any proposals before the country. It would have been as well if hon. Members opposite, before reproaching the Government which came into Office in 1880 with their neglect of that subject, had explained to the House why it was that they themselves had not dealt with it between 1874 and 1880, when they were in Office. In 1874 the question was at least as prominent as it was in 1880, and in the former year, during the elections, the Liberal Government was much blamed for not having settled the question. After the General Election of 1874, it was universally believed that the Conservative Government would at once take the matter in hand. That belief was strengthened when the hon. Member for Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) became a Member of the Government. But some time after the hon. Member for Norfolk disappeared from the Government; and it was only after a good deal of reminding with regard to their election speeches, and a good deal of pressure from the Liberal side of the House, that in 1877 a meagre County Government Bill was introduced, but not seriously pressed forward. In 1878 another Bill was introduced, which was of a still more meagre and unsatisfactory character. Before, therefore, Members opposite preached such long, and loud, and eloquent sermons, they had better explain why it was that they were in Office so many years and practically did nothing, except now and then give out, in a very unbusiness-like manner, a certain amount of money in the form of subventions in aid of local rates, which subventions had been shown by many—and by none more clearly than his hon. Friend the Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone)—to have no result whatever in diminishing local burdens. All that had been done was to shift the burden from the ratepayer on to the taxpayer; while the total burden of rates and taxes had gone on increasing. That statement had been questioned; but the different Returns which had been obtained, and especially those which had been procured by his hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), proved the truth of what he was saying. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Selater-Booth) spoke with great authority as a former President of

the Local Government Board. He was surprised to find the right hon. Gentleman coming forward as the defender of the present system of local administration, which, he thought, was condemned with unanimity by both Parties in that House. But, after expressing pious horror at the revolutionary opinions of his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board, the right hon. Gentleman went on to advocate a number of reforms in local administration, and referred to the highway rates, the cost of relief of which, he said, ought to be partly thrown on the counties; of assimilating areas in counties, in respect of local government; and other improvements which ought to be effected in local government. The right hon. Gentleman had also theories as to valuation and county police. He thus showed himself to be a thorough Reformer. But the difference between the right hon. Gentleman and his right hon. Friend was that the right hon. Gentleman would deal with all those questions by piecemeal legislation, whereas his right hon. Friend was in favour of a large and comprehensive measure of Reform. Then the right hon. Gentleman had charged the Government with a desire to cut up the country into a number of administrative squares. That was an old charge, which was most frequently introduced in connection with the question of Parliamentary Reform and of electoral districts. He had often had the pleasure of co-operating in questions of local government with his hon. Friend the Member for North Wilts (Mr. Long), and they had effected great improvements in respect of administrative areas; but they had certainly done nothing in the direction of cutting up the country into squares. The truth was, that on the opposite side of the House there was a very great unwillingness to face the magnitude of this question. It was, no doubt, easy to taunt the Government with the fact that their plan was a large one, and might take some time to pass the House; but he thought he had a right to remind the House that the necessity of dealing with the question of local government had been recognized by hon. Members opposite themselves so far back as 1879; and that being so, he ventured to ask them how they were justified in saying that now, in 1884, the Government

would be justified in giving it the go-by, and in merely repeating those operations of shovelling out money from the Consolidated Fund, which had had nothing but disastrous results? [*Cries of "No!"*] That was a matter of opinion. If hon. Members could show there had been any real relief to the ratepayers let them do so. The figures seemed to show that there had been a slight difference in the distribution between the taxpayer and the ratepayer; but there had been an increase in the burden upon both. But the very first thing to be done was to deal with this question of local government. The essential vice of the present want of system was that there was a complete separation, in many instances, between the spending and the rating authorities; between the authorities who imposed burdens by their expenditures on the ratepayer and the authorities who had to get that money from the ratepayer. For example, in the case of highway expenditure, except in the exceptional cases where the powers of the Highway Act of 1878 had been used, and the Guardians had taken over highway powers, the Highway Board and the Guardians were distinct. The former spent the money and got it from the latter by a precept, and the Guardians in turn got it from the parochial ratepayer through the overseers. But when the ratepayer complained of the heavy incidence of the rate he found that the members of the Boards of Guardians could disclaim all responsibility for the heavy expenditure, because it was not they, but a number of Highway Boards, among whose districts the Union was divided, who were responsible for it. The same argument held good in respect of many other rating authorities, who treated the common fund of the Guardians as a sort of milch cow; and that was why the first principle of reform was the concentration of authority over both taxation and administration. Then, again, the Act of 1878 threw one-half of keeping the roads in repair upon the county rate; but the county authority had no control whatever over the expenditure of the highway authority within its area. The highway authority might spend upon the roads double what ought to be spent, but the county authority could not refuse to pay, and in that way reckless expenditure was en-

couraged. He thought that was not an unfair description with which they had to deal. But it would be said—"What is the use of waiting all this time? Do you really contend that you will be able to produce a measure which will deal with these evils?" The contention of the Government was not only that they could meet them, but that the Bill was ready, and if produced to the House and the country would recommend itself both to ratepayers and taxpayers. The drift of opinion on this question had been clear for some years. The Sanitary Commission had recommended, in 1871, that the unit of area should be the same for all local purposes, "and that the larger areas should be, as far as possible, multiples or aggregates of that unit." And when the Act of the subsequent year had decided that the Union should be the chosen area of administration for the purposes of the Act, it became almost a certainty that the sanitary areas thereby constituted would become the future unit of local administration, and that the other areas would, sooner or later, have to assimilate themselves to it. Another exhaustive inquiry, in 1873, into the whole question of areas made the superiority of the Union tolerably clear; and the Education Acts of 1876 and 1879 accordingly followed the lines of the Act of 1872, and adopted the Union as the area of administration. A Committee, which sat in 1878, recommended the consolidation of the highway districts with the rural sanitary districts; and the Act of 1878 partially followed the recommendation. Another Committee, in 1879, made a similar recommendation in regard to the districts of Coroners, and embodied it in the Bill referred to it for consideration. At the same time power was given by Acts passed in 1876 and 1879 to the Local Government Board to alter and dissolve Unions, and to deal with divided parishes. The Union or rural sanitary district was the future unit of the local government and administration of the English rural districts for all the purposes compassed by the different authorities at present existing. To these purposes additions would from time to time have to be made, according to the necessities of time and place. A Committee of the House of Lords also, which sat in 1878 to inquire into the Highways Act, pointed

to the fact that the rural sanitary district, or Union, was a district which must be taken as the basis of English local government. The inquiries were full and exhaustive. Therefore, it might be said that the Government had approached this question with the great advantage of having before it the accumulated experience, not only of previous Governments, but of influential and important Committees and Commissions. With that knowledge before them, and aided by those inquiries and studies which had been made by private individuals and independent Members of the House, the Government were able to approach this question with the prospect of knowing that they could find a road out of the present difficulties. In these circumstances, he could not put this point too strongly to the House—that the Government firmly believed that if the House would only allow this Bill to be introduced and the other Business to be proceeded with as it ought to proceed, the Bill would pass into law. But there was no prospect whatever of this Bill, any more than any other Bills, being introduced, if the present condition of Public Business continued. It was not the Government who were responsible for the condition of affairs which had rendered the introduction of this Bill impossible. It was quite certain that it was so understood in the country. The country would expect the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) and the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) to make their addresses in future to the hon. and learned Member for Bridport, and to ask him to remove all the blocks he had put down against the various Bills, and in order that time might be obtained some evening for the introduction of the Local Government and Taxation Bill. If this Bill were met by the arts of Obstruction, he would look forward with perfect satisfaction and equanimity to any county election in which he might be concerned directly or indirectly. He would hold in his right hand the Franchise Bill, introduced by the Prime Minister, and in his left hand the Bill which had been framed and with the outlines of which he was familiar, but which could not be introduced owing to the action of hon. Members among the Conservative Opposition, and would confidently appeal to the



county electors to judge between the two Parties.

MR. CLARE READ: Sir, the noble Lord who has just addressed the House (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) began his speech by reviewing the history of this question from the year 1873; but I think it a pity that he did not go back a little further—namely, to the year 1872, because in that case he would have recalled to us the fact that the hon. Baronet the Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes) succeeded in carrying in this House during that year, by a majority of 100, a Resolution which formed the first step towards a relief of the burdens of local taxation that had been taken for many years. It is, however, a curious fact that the Government of the day took not the slightest notice of the expression of opinion thus recorded by the very large majority of Members of this House who voted for that Resolution, and that it was left to the Government over which Lord Beaconsfield presided, as soon as that Government came into Office, to give to the ratepayers that relief which the Resolution sought to procure for them—namely, to double the amount of the subvention then granted out of the funds of the State towards the cost of the police, and to give a fixed sum of 4s. per head in aid of the cost of maintaining lunatics. The noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has informed the House that although we in the agricultural districts have had this large remission of the burden of local taxation, amounting altogether to a total of something like £2,000,000 annually, our rates have, nevertheless, increased. Well, I would ask the noble Lord who was it that increased the rates? Who passed the Education Act?—a measure which no one in this House will deny has had the effect of increasing our rates very considerably. Then there have been certain Sanitary Acts which were, no doubt, very good measures in themselves, but, at the same time, they have been placed on an unfair basis; and there has also been an augmentation of the highway rates, which has brought about this result—that the disturnpiked roads have been thrown on real property for their maintenance. Therefore, Sir, although we are unable to say that taking our rates as a whole they have

shown a decrease, yet at the same time there can be no doubt that they would have been ever so much heavier than they are at the present moment but for the remission of this £2,000,000 per annum which we succeeded in extracting from Her Majesty's Government—I do not mean the present Government, but the Government of Lord Beaconsfield. And, Sir, I should like to make a remark with reference to another point, and that is with regard to the prisons. There is a general belief in this country that the prisons cost a great deal more than they previously did, and the noble Lord (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) has said that if we have given anything to the ratepayers on the one hand, we have, on the other, made the taxpayers contribute a great deal more than they did before. I have here a Return, which was moved for by my hon. Friend the Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes), in which the expenditure for the different prisons throughout the country is given for a period between 1868 and 1881, both years inclusive. From this Return it appears that in 1868 the expenditure upon our gaols was £673,000, upon an average number of 18,000 prisoners, whereas in the year 1881, when entirely under Government control, there were exactly the same number of prisoners in the gaols—namely, 18,000, and the expenditure had decreased to £473,000, showing that there had been an actual saving effected for the country of £200,000, while the prisons had decreased in number from 113 to 67. Therefore, the House will see that there has been a very considerable saving all round. Well, Sir, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone) has told the House that the Conservative Party have done nothing whatever to check the addition to that load of local taxation which fresh legislation proposed to heap upon the ratepayers. The hon. Member for South Leicestershire said, in a speech which he delivered in this House during the last Session, that it was a useful function on the part of the Local Taxation Committee that it should have considered 93 Bills which threatened to impose increased rates; and he added that it had arrested 73 of these Bills in progress, while 15 of them had been amended, and only four had become law. I think, therefore,

that upon this showing the Local Taxation Committee has done something to avert an augmented load of taxation from being put upon the unfortunate British ratepayers. In the speech just delivered by the noble Lord (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) and in that also of the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) we have had what has really amounted to the introductory speeches on the first reading of a Bill, which, however, is not before the House. Instead of affording the House any hope or indication of a further proposal for relief of the local burdens, we have simply had a sketch of the proposed Government measure—a Bill we should certainly much like to see. In fact, so much of the noble Lord's address was devoted to the development of the intended Bill that he might very consistently have concluded his speech with the words, "I now move that this Bill be read a first time." But, Sir, it appears to me that the unfortunate ratepayer is to be allowed to starve until such time as the great and abundant crop of local administrative reform they are now endeavouring to sow shall have been fully matured. Upon the question of Reform, Her Majesty's Government gives us merely piecemeal legislation. They offer us only a portion of what ought to be a complete measure; and yet, when we agriculturists ask for only a small modicum of relief from the pressure of the burdens of local taxation, we are told—"You cannot have any relief whatever until this great, grand, and beneficent Act of Local Government Reform shall have been passed." I am afraid, however, that we shall have to wait a good many Sessions before that Act is passed. I say this with great pain and sorrow, because, for my own part, I have always said we required a reform of our local system of administration as well as a sound and substantial relief of the burdens of local taxation. I have observed from the speeches made by hon. Members opposite that they are one and all in the habit of asserting that Government subventions lead to extravagance. I beg entirely to differ from those hon. Gentlemen. I believe, on the contrary, that these subventions really conduce to efficiency, as well as to uniformity in the administration of the affairs of local government. Let us take, for example, the case of the police.

*Mr. Clare Read*

With respect to this body there has been no greater increase in the local expenditure since the Government have doubled the subvention from the Imperial Exchequer, although there have been a great many extra duties imposed upon it. For instance, the County Constabulary have had to carry out the work necessitated by the passing of the Cattle Diseases Act, as well as of various other Acts—such as that for preventing adulteration. In many counties the Education Act has given the police a great deal of additional work to do; and we have recently been asked by the noble Marquess the Secretary for War (the Marquess of Hartington) that they should also be employed as recruiting sergeants to help in the enlistment of our soldiers. But if anybody ever does ask for an addition to the force, or an increase in their pay, I should like to know, from hon. Gentlemen who sit near me, who it is that recommends it? Is it not almost universally the Inspector of the Constabulary, and not the Chief Constable of the district or the magistrates at Quarter Sessions? I should be very sorry to see our Police Force transformed into an Imperial Force on the principle that has been adopted in regard to the Irish Constabulary; but I do say with respect to the subvention we already receive, it might be really half the whole expense of the police, instead of being only half the cost of pay and clothing; for, instead of the subvention being one-half, what we do receive is hardly two-fifths. Certainly, it would be the duty of the Government to contribute half the pensions, because they are nothing more than pay. With regard to the question relating to the maintenance of lunatics, it is sometimes said that this exhibits an increase. At any rate, the increase cannot be said to be the consequence of the subvention. There can be no doubt that the Inspectors of Workhouses, when they happen to come upon such cases as those of troublesome idiots or mild lunatics, which have been in the workhouse for some time, naturally suggest that the proper place for such persons is not the workhouse, but the County Lunatic Asylum. But with regard to the Lunacy Commissioners, they are the men who are continually suggesting increase in the buildings, the provision of better clothing, and more amusements for the unfortunate inmates of the asylums,



and, consequently, it is they, and not the local authority, who are the persons that augment the cost of maintaining these unfortunate people. Now, let us turn to the case of the Poor Law. There are some of the charges in the administration of the Poor Law which are paid, I think in one or two instances entirely, out of the Imperial Exchequer, while, in others, the Government contribute one-half. I will take, first of all, the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses employed in the different Unions. We shall, of course, be told that we wish, very naturally, to get all the money we can out of the Government; but what, I ask, has been the case in the rural districts lately? In a great many instances the Guardians have dispensed with the presence of schoolmasters and mistresses, and sent all the children to the neighbouring Board schools and elementary schools in the different districts, thus making the Government a present of the salaries they previously paid, and throwing the burden almost entirely on the shoulders of the ratepayers. I think I am right in saying that the Government pays half the salaries of the Union doctors. Well, Sir, I would ask this House whether they regard the Union doctor as an over-paid official? In my humble opinion, he is about the worst paid officer we have. But the House would naturally suppose, after what it has been told of the great extravagance to which these subventions on the part of the Government have led, that we are in the habit of paying that officer an enormous salary. Half the pay of the Medical Officers of Health and half the salaries of the Inspectors of Nuisances are also paid by the Government. These officials are appointed by the Guardians of the Poor, and their salaries are fixed by those bodies; but is it not constantly the case—and on this point I appeal to hon. Gentlemen who sit near me and who are well acquainted with the way in which the Boards of Guardians perform their duties—that the Local Government Board intervenes and tells us, not that we pay these men too much, but that we do not give them sufficient salaries? They contend if you want to get the best possible men for the performance of these duties you must pay them accordingly, and it may be that such men will in the long run be found

much cheaper than a lower paid official. Be that as it may; it is the Government and not the local authorities who insist upon the payment of high salaries. Now, Sir, the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board has stated that the power of the local authority is very much diminished by these Government subventions and Government interference and control. The worst of it is that we have frequently to put up with all this interference and all this Government control, without receiving any equivalent in the shape of Government pay. As an example, let us look at what happens in the case of the indoor poor. For instance, the Poor Law Inspectors regulate the diet, the clothing, and the classification of the paupers. They say how many officers we are to have; they define the services to be performed and the number of appointments; they confirm the salaries we pay them and ratify the appointments; and it is only with their sanction that we can dismiss any of our officers. They lay down for us the sizes of the buildings we are to erect, the accommodation they are to provide, and the entire management and treatment of the poor is under their immediate supervision and control; and yet, on the other hand, the Government does not pay us anything. In my opinion, if we were to get one-half of the cost of the indoor poor, which, under the circumstances, we ought to have, from the Imperial Exchequer, we could not require any further interference and control on the part of the Government officials. I think I gathered from the speech of the right hon. Baronet the President of the Local Government Board that in the new Bill which he says is to be submitted to the House it is proposed that the county rate is to be charged with a contribution towards the maintenance of the indoor poor in the different Unions. This may be all very well as far as it goes; but I am fearful that the county rate will be levied on the same basis as the poor rate. What we want is, not that we should have an increase in the burdens imposed on real property, but that personal property should be made to contribute towards the relief of the poor. Some of this latter description of property has increased during the last 20 years to the extent of something like 300 per cent,



while the increase that has taken place in the value of property in land has only been about 20 per cent, and I very much doubt whether in the last few years it has not considerably decreased instead of having undergone augmentation. The hon. Gentleman the Member for North Wilts (Mr. Long) has drawn our attention to the contribution made by the Government to the highways, and upon that point I must say that, as far as I am concerned, I think they give that subvention in the worst possible form to those counties which are still without the blessing of Highway Boards. For instance, in my own county—Norfolk—they give a dole to about 300 parishes; but what I contend is that it ought to be given in aid of the county rate, and not to the individual parishes. When the Highway Act of 1878 was passed, it was said it was necessitated by the almost crushing severity with which the disturnpiked roads rate fell on individual parishes, and it was considered right to make the area of contribution larger than the parochial area, and, therefore, half the expense was put on the county. In addition to this it was said that the Imperial taxation ought to contribute something—that these thoroughfares were not for the benefit of the immediate locality, and consequently an addition of £250,000 of Imperial taxes was voted two years ago by a reluctant Government. One would have thought that instead of giving the money to the individual parishes, which had already received half the expense of the maintenance of their main roads, the Government would have given it in aid of the county rates. The result is that small, out-of-the-way parishes, which are more hit by agricultural distress than any other portion of a county, have to contribute, first of all, half the expense of the maintenance of the roads which belong to great parishes and small towns that are in a more flourishing condition, and then, in addition to this, they have to pay one-fourth more as their contribution towards the general taxation of the county. This, in my opinion, is increasing the injustice we complain of three-fold. I think the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said there was a regular scramble for this money throughout the country. I do not think that this is so; but when we

see that this is the only chance which these unfortunate parishes have of getting anything at all out of the county rate or out of the Government grant in aid of their rates, it would not be very surprising to find that every one of them tried to make out that it had a main road. I know that when at a meeting of the Norfolk Court of Quarter Sessions some time ago, this was suggested by an individual magistrate, Lord Kimberley jumped up and said the first time local taxation was discussed in the Cabinet he should have the pleasure of telling his Colleagues in what way the Government money was scrambled for in Norfolk. But the noble Lord ought also to have told his Colleagues that that very week he presided as Chairman of a Board of Guardians who resisted the mandate of the Local Government Board with regard to the pay of the medical officer of health, because they had the best possible man and paid him £50, instead of £80 a-year. We, in Norfolk, at an expense of £50,000, maintain 5,000 miles of road, a cost of £10 per mile, one-half the cost of the main roads being £16,000; and I find that instead of Norfolk receiving £4,000, which it ought to have, according to the contribution offered by the Government, it only received £2,000, as stated in the Return. This, I think, is a proof the County Surveyor particularly insists on having really good roads that instead of, as one might have expected from what has been said by the noble Lord the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the county having been extravagant in spending the money of the Government, it has only asked for the £2,000 it has received. Now, Sir, I consider that subventions from the Government constitute the only means we possess at the present time of making personal property contribute towards the local burdens; and I must add that I cannot possibly understand why it should be said that if more of these subventions are given, or if some of them were increased, they would stand in the way of a great measure of local administrative reform. In the year 1877 I had the honour of moving in this House the following Resolution, which was carried unanimously:—

“That no readjustment of local administration will be satisfactory or complete which does not refer county business other than that relating to the administration of justice and the

maintenance of order to a representative County Board."

But I never thought for one moment that that reform of local administration need stand in the way of the relief of local taxation. I had always thought that some relief ought certainly to come first; and that after this had been achieved, we might hope for an improvement in our local administration. But, Sir, my idea of a County Board will, I fear, at the present day be regarded as old and obsolete. I have always thought it quite possible that we might have a Board composed two-thirds of Guardians and one-third of members of the Quarter Sessions, who should manage the affairs of the county. I believed that in this way we should have an assembly of business-like, common-sense, hard-working, and slow-speaking men, who, with their practical knowledge and experience, would be a great help to the management of county affairs. But, on the other hand, I am quite sure of this—that these are not the men who would be elected on a County Board, as they are decidedly not the men who would go to the trouble, annoyance, and expense of a popular election. I understood that last year the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) was desirous of having County Boards established, not so much for the purpose of economizing the rates, or of expending the money of the ratepayers more efficiently, but because he wished to educate the agricultural labourers for the exercise of the franchise. I very much fear from what I hear and see that they are likely to get the franchise and to vote for the election of Members of Parliament without in the first instance having obtained that elevating and educating experience which they might have acquired by participating in the election of members of the County Board. I am greatly afraid that this County Parliament with which I say we are now threatened, and which is to reform us all, and bring about such a large amount of good, will prove to be a great, unwieldy, partizan Board, something like an overgrown Town Council, and composed of noisy, spouting politicians, elected and swayed by Party politics, from which, I am happy to say, every Court of Quarter Session with which I am acquainted is entirely free. [*Ironical cheers.*] The hon. Mem-

ber for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) greets that statement with ironical cheers; but I can furnish for the information of the hon. Gentleman an instance from the county of Norfolk, which is, I hope, still a Conservative county. The Courts of Quarter Sessions of Norfolk were until lately presided over by three able and excellent men, all of whom, notwithstanding the preponderance of the Conservative element in the county, were Liberals. I am afraid that if this Board be, as has been sketched out by the President of the Local Government Board, elected by non-rated householders, they would be found to be composed of men who will expend very lavishly funds to which they do not contribute. It was, I believe, said in this House during the last Session that these Boards are not only to govern the county finances throughout the country, but that they will also exercise in other ways the moral and social influence that will necessarily devolve on them; and on this point I may refer to such questions as those of local option, licences, and other troublesome problems which the Government would gladly shunt, and which will probably be handed over by the Imperial Parliament to be locally decided by the County Boards. I can only say that whenever these Boards are established, and whenever there arises a question that is expensive or troublesome, that question will, if possible, be shifted from the shoulders of Parliament and sent over to the County Boards to settle, leaving us, the unfortunate ratepayers, to pay the piper. We grumble at the present day at a county rate of 2*d.* or 3*d.* in the pound; but I feel assured we shall have some gigantic levies from the new County Board, which, I maintain, will be mountains when compared with the present mole-hills of our county rates. Sir, I demand, as a ratepayer, relief from present evils before I am called on to bear the heavy burdens of the future.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON, who had on the Paper an Amendment—which by the Rules of the House he was prevented from moving—to the effect—

"That this House, while fully conscious of the urgency of legislation, recognizes the connection, which must exist between the reform of local taxation and that of local government, to be so intimate that it would be detrimental to the interests of either question to deal with the one independently of the other,"



after explaining that the hon. Member for South Leicestershire had misunderstood the object of the deputation to the Prime Minister to which he had referred, said, that if Parliament were to grant fresh subventions in relief of local rates, the ultimate gainer would not be the tenant farmer, but the owner of real property. He believed that real property was at the present moment unfairly taxed. Originally it was the chief source of income and the chief form of property; but personal property, owing to the steady progress, in spite of commercial depression, of large commercial fortunes, had increased far more than real property. Truly the one was dependent on the other—that was to say, the large fortunes made in commerce increased the selling value of landed estates; but the value of land itself had increased from extrinsic, and not intrinsic, qualities. He fully agreed with previous speakers as to the justice of affording relief to real property; but this was a totally distinct question from affording relief to ratepayers. Thus the Resolution, which was apparently intended to benefit one particular class, would in reality, if adopted, benefit another. There was a prevailing opinion that leaseholders in large towns suffered severely because they paid all new rates the expenditure of which increased the value of the property of the ground landlords; and many Members would be glad to see the ground landlords made to pay a portion of the rates. The chief charge brought against his own Amendment was that it would involve delay. But the interests of the ratepayers were not likely to gain as much by some immediate relief of a patchwork and piecemeal nature, as they would lose in adding fresh complications to existing anomalies, and so increasing the difficulty of effecting a satisfactory settlement of the question as a whole. The suggestions made as to education, police, and pauper lunacy would, if attempted to be carried out, raise many controversial questions. How was it that the Party opposite when in power had not been able to deal with this question? [Mr. PELL: They gave £2,000,000.] How was it they had not dealt with it so as to render this debate unnecessary? The Resolution would leave untouched a state of things which was illustrated by the fact that in the West Derby

Union, Liverpool, there were 48 distinct and independent local authorities. As custodians of the public purse, Members ought to weigh very carefully the effect of adopting such a policy. By granting relief they would weaken materially their capacity to deal with the reform of local government. The complexity of our present system had helped to guard it from public condemnation. The question ought to be dealt with as a whole—first, on the ground that further subventions of public money, which were very doubtful in themselves, ought not to be handed over to be administered by a system largely irresponsible, whose very complexity baffled any effective public control; and, secondly, that it was necessary to make local relief conditional upon local reform, so that the one might give the stimulus to carry the other. Before Parliament agreed to relieve the local ratepayer at the cost of the taxpayer, it would be well if it were satisfied that the classes whose intention it was to benefit were the classes who would reap the benefit, and that the sums of money that were spent in relief were adjusted to the shoulders of those who obtained under our present system an unfair exemption. The class which would, perhaps, be the most largely affected by a measure of this kind were the tenant farmers of the several counties. But he would point out to the House that the present proposition, while purporting to benefit one class, would really benefit another; for if Parliament decided to give additional subventions towards local relief, the gainer would be, not the tenant farmer, but the landowner. The landowner fixed his rent with full consideration for the amount of the local rates, and if the latter were reduced he would find himself in a position to raise the rent, so that what the tenant did not pay directly he would have to pay indirectly. He wished to be distinctly understood in this matter. The landowner was entitled to relief through a measure specifically for that purpose; but he could not support a method such as was suggested, which could only afford a temporary relief to ratepayers, and must result, so far as it was possessed of a permanent character, in a benefit to real property, and not to ratepayers, purchased at the cost of the taxpayer in the most extravagant manner by means of



a system which experience had proved to be most wasteful, and which would tend to complicate and retard a practical and efficient reform of local taxation. It was for these reasons that, while acknowledging and fully recognizing that there was much that was unfair under our present arrangements, he hoped the House would decline to regard this great and most pressing question of local government and local taxation except as a whole, based on a survey of the entire question and all its bearings.

SIR MASSEY LOPES said, he cordially supported the Resolution before the House. It was unnecessary to specify the numerous abuses incident to our local taxation; we had got a little beyond that; all were agreed, to a certain extent, that the grievance was a great one. Both sides admitted the equity of the demand, and were almost agreed as to the remedy. He did not at all object to the remedy which had been shadowed forth by the Government; it would be a very suitable remedy, and the only thing they wanted to know was when, and to what extent, that remedy would be applied. And they were the more anxious to know that, after having heard from the President of the Local Government Board that their subventions were to be taken away and local licences substituted in their place. The real controversy before the House was the question of the continuous delay of the Government in reference to this matter. The Motion was well-timed—before the introduction of the Budget. When his hon. Friend brought the subject forward last Session, he was told by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he was too late because the Financial Statement had been made, and there was no surplus left. The position this Session was different, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not yet brought forward his Budget, and he hoped that the Division upon the Motion would show him that it would be absolutely necessary to make alterations in his financial proposals. Ever since 1853 the Prime Minister had been continually promising to deal with these questions; but, instead of dealing with them, he had been continually drawing bills on local taxation and always renewing them without discharging one of them. Fifteen years ago, in 1869, the Prime Minis-

ter said that the question was imminent and should be taken up immediately after the Irish Church Question had been disposed of. In 1870 and 1874 also the Prime Minister promised to deal with the question of local taxation, while the President of the Local Government Board only last year had likewise promised to place the matter on an equitable basis. But, notwithstanding all these promises, the Home Secretary had during the last three years introduced a Police Superannuation Bill, the effect of which would be to considerably increase the existing local burdens. They had heard much about the Franchise Bill of late; but he did not hesitate to say that Bills for the reform of local government and for the equitable readjustment of local taxation would be far more acceptable and much more welcome to the public at large than the Franchise Bill. They would remedy greater anomalies, would redress greater grievances, and confer greater benefits upon the very class upon which you propose to confer the franchise. The poor man who paid very little Imperial taxation would, he thought, rather have his local burdens reduced than the vote which it was proposed to give him. The poor man was much more affected by local burdens than the wealthy. Take the burning question of the day—the housing of the poor. No one could deny that local burdens pressed with exceptional severity on the houses of the poor, and that the poor man who, out of his savings, built or bought a house paid more relatively in the way of taxation than his wealthier neighbour. That exceptional taxation deterred the building of better houses, and on that question depended not only the health of the poor man's family but the virtue of his daughters. The removal or diminution of such burdens would bring great moral, material, and physical benefit to the poorer classes. Then the impositions upon land tended indirectly to increase the cost of the people's food; they afforded protection to the foreigner at the expense of the home producer, and hindered the application of capital to the improvement of the soil. Agriculture was in a more depressed condition than it had ever been within living memory; and at no time would the reduction of local burdens be more welcome than at present. That result was especially seen in the case of poor

land where the margin between profit and loss was very small. And in view of the increased cost of labour, much of the poor land in the country must go out of cultivation. The case was much stronger and more serious now than it was in 1872, when he had the honour of carrying a Resolution on the subject by a large majority against the Government. Then there was the cost of education, which, in 1872, was only £72,000; while in 1883 it was £2,000,000. To that were to be added sanitary rates and highway rates. Increased rates proposed for national objects had more than absorbed all remissions. During the last 40 years Liberal Ministries had generally been in Office, and all these Imperial Services—Police, Lunatics, Education, &c.—during that period had been imposed on ratepayers. Conservative Governments had never imposed such burdens. He asked hon. Members opposite to name one such burden that had been imposed by the Conservatives. In 1841 local rates amounted in the aggregate to £8,000,000; in 1882 they were £28,000,000. The poor levy was £6,300,000; while in 1882 it was £14,000,000. Local debt then amounted to £67,000,000, of which Scotland bore £6,000,000, and Ireland £4,000,000. Local debt was now £150,000,000; and during the last five years that vast amount had been increased by £49,000,000. At the present rate of increase local debt would almost rival the National Debt, and we should, indeed, bequeath a heavy burden to posterity. The present system of local taxation was indefensible, as had been admitted by the President of the Local Government Board, who had said that people ought to contribute according to their ability and means, and not only in respect of the land and houses which they occupied. The right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had also admitted that if landlords had a claim of relief in 1872, that claim was much stronger now. The present system of local taxation was opposed to every principle of reason and justice. Its only principle seemed to be convenience of collection. There was a fatal facility about the collection of rates. As the Prime Minister said last year, it was a very difficult and delicate thing to increase Imperial taxation, but comparatively easy to increase local taxation.

*Sir Massey Lopes*

There was no reason why they should not get relief before they got reform. Reform was not a necessary preliminary to relief. There was no reason why the Government should not forthwith hand over local licences to local taxation if the feeling of the Government was opposed to local subventions. A vast responsibility attached to the 31 Liberal Members who last year voted against this Motion, and whose convictions were in favour of it. ["No!"] Yes; because they signed the Memorial to the Prime Minister. Had they voted for the Motion it would have been carried by a majority of 50, and the result would be that the House would be discussing at this moment local taxation reform and relief instead of the Franchise Bill. The President of the Local Government Board said that the Government would produce their Bill if the Opposition would only consent to take franchise without redistribution; but these terms could not be accepted. The Government had never been in earnest with this question. They on that side of the House wanted no more evasions and deviations from the real question at issue—no more delay and no more prevarication. The question before them was simply whether the Government should be allowed to shunt and shelve this question Session after Session, or be made to redeem their pledges by dealing promptly and efficiently with grievances which had been long admitted to be a galling anomaly and a vast injustice.

MR. DODSON: In the first place, I may say that I am not at all surprised at the zeal and anxiety with which hon. Members both on that and on this side of the House have looked to this question of local taxation and local government. With regard to local rates, the pressure of local taxation is large, and is a growing burden, and it is one which is attended with a sense of injustice because the heavy burden of local rates falls upon one particular class of property which is—though it is not quite a strictly correct definition—called real property. Not unnaturally the ratepayers on that class of property, who see what is roughly described as personal property exempt from this burden, have the strongest feeling that there should be no further delay in making personalty contribute to relieve the burden. Many hon. Gentleman,

however, who have spoken on this question, fell into a confusion of ideas, for they began by asking that personality should be made to contribute, and then before long they proceeded to ask for grants in aid from Imperial funds. But this is not the same thing. Imperial funds are derived from the general Revenue of the country, which is not taken from property only, but from the wages of labour and other sources. There was also a further confusion, owing to the incidence of these local rates as between owners and occupiers being entirely lost sight of. On that subject I shall have a word or two to say presently; but I must remind the hon. Member for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) and the hon. Baronet who has just spoken (Sir Massey Lopes) that, in their historical review of this question, they entirely forgot the very important proposal of aid to local burdens made by a Liberal Government early in the day when the question came seriously under review. Both entirely lost sight of the fact that, in 1870 or 1871, my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) introduced a Bill which proposed to give considerable relief by surrendering a tax which would have afforded very large and substantial assistance to local rates.

MR. CLARE READ: Yes; to the City of London.

MR. DODSON: It was not confined to the City of London.

MR. PELL: More than one-half of it would have gone to London.

MR. DODSON: I allude to the proposal of my right hon. Friend to surrender the house tax. The hon. Baronet the Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes) threw out a general challenge, which I cannot but think was a rash one. He said—

“I challenge hon. Members on that side of the House to point to a single rate that was ever imposed by a Conservative Government.”

All the rates, he said, were the doing of the Liberals. But I suspect, on a close examination of our rates, it will be found that the facts are not altogether as stated in regard to several charges. [“No!”] I will at once give hon. Members an instance. One very important rate, and the first of the great modern rates, was imposed, not by a Liberal, but by a Conservative Government—the police rate.

SIR MASSEY LOPES: Pardon me; the police rate was imposed by a Liberal Government.

MR. DODSON: It was imposed by Sir Robert Peel.

SIR MASSEY LOPES: No; by a Liberal Government, in 1856, when the present Prime Minister was Chancellor of the Exchequer. At first it was permissive, but it was made compulsory afterwards.

MR. DODSON: Well, the precedent and principle of the rate was introduced by Sir Robert Peel and by a Conservative Government. Then the hon. Baronet proceeded to say that these local burdens affected the poor man in regard to his dwelling. Sir, I will not undertake to raise the question how far the burden of local rates is taken into account in the erection of proper dwellings for the labouring classes. Nor will I enter into a discussion of the infinitely varying cases of distribution of rates between ground landlords, owners, and occupiers of houses. But I will say this, that you would give little or no relief to the poor man as to any share of rates he may sustain, directly or indirectly, in regard to his dwelling, if that relief is to be derived from Imperial taxation contributed to by the working man himself. The hon. Baronet went further, and made a singular and a most startling statement. He said that the effect of rates was to add to the cost of the poor man's food. This is the first time I ever heard that statement made.

SIR MASSEY LOPES: I said that the imposts upon land tended indirectly to increase the cost of food.

MR. DODSON: “The imposts upon land indirectly increase the cost of food!” It is the first time that I have heard that statement ventured upon in this House, and I should be curious to hear anyone who has ever devoted a few hours to the study of political economy attempt to prove that proposition. Rates upon land are not like a general tax upon a commodity which can be thrown off upon the consumer. Does the hon. Baronet mean to say that the price of wheat at this moment is increased by local rates even in the face of foreign competition? [Cries of “Hear, hear!”] Hon. Gentlemen opposite say “Hear, hear!” But I should be very glad to hear any hon. Member get up and state a definite



argument to prove the proposition that a local rate, paid in the first instance by the occupier, but which, according to all rules of common sense, must fall upon the land, is one that can be thrown upon the consumer in the market. I venture to defy any hon. Member to prove such a proposition. And now I pass on to the Motion and speech of my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell). My hon. Friend has been exceedingly careful and guarded in the proposal which he has submitted to the House in a speech of very great tact and great good humour. I watched my hon. Friend very attentively, and I observed that he most carefully abstained throughout his speech, as he had done in his Motion, from making any definite proposal or naming any amount which he proposes to give as a contribution in aid of local rates. The hon. Baronet who seconded him has been equally cautious in his speech. He also proposed no plan, and named no definite amount. But the hon. Baronet has been very frank, for he has gone further and has told us that he would not make any suggestion as to how the money to be given in aid of the local rates was to be provided, adding that he would not do so because it might disturb the harmony of the Party. The Resolution of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), together with his own speech and the speeches of those who have supported him are matters upon which I must congratulate them on account of the dexterity with which both have been framed in order to catch votes without holding out any definite proposal. My right hon. Friend the Member for North Hampshire (Mr. Selater-Booth) was scarcely more specific than any other hon. Member on that side of the House. My right hon. Friend did, however, go as far as this—he told us the proper way of giving assistance to the local rates was in the shape of subventions, because it was so easy to give subventions; it did not require a Bill, we had only to get a Vote in Supply. Well, no doubt, that is a very easy way to give subventions in aid of the local rates. It is as easy as the descent of Avernus; but in this case it is just as difficult to retrace one's steps, and, no doubt, the right hon. Baronet (Sir Stafford Northcote, who sits by his side, and who has tried the experiment,

will tell him so. In 1874 the right hon. Baronet, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer—I think it was in the first or second year of the late Government—proposed subventions in aid of local rates; but he expressly stated then that he proposed those subventions only temporarily as a stop-gap, to give immediate relief. He added that he did not approve of the system, but he hoped shortly to be able to deal with the subject and to place contributions in aid of local rates on a more satisfactory basis. The right hon. Baronet found the same difficulty as others in carrying out his intentions. He took the easy step of giving subventions, but he was never able to retrace his steps and place the matter on a firmer and more satisfactory basis. The objections to giving subventions and to the manner in which they were given have been often stated. They tend to stimulate expenditure. [*Cries of "No, no!"*] Hon. Gentlemen say "No!" I submit that that is a proposition which it is very difficult to controvert. You, in effect, say to the local authorities—"Whatever you spend, we will meet you with half." Surely the Government thus contribute to encourage expenditure? [An hon. MEMBER dissented.] An hon. Member opposite shakes his head; but that is not all. The Government not only themselves thus contribute to stimulate expenditure, but they actually send round officials to encourage the local authorities indirectly, if not directly, to spend more money. That has been the case alike under a Conservative and a Liberal Government. It is certainly the case in regard to the police. The difficulty of these subventions is that nobody can find a way to give them except in proportion to local expenditure. To give them, as has been suggested, in proportion to rateable value, would be to give them, not in aid of poverty, but of wealth. There is also the objection that by subventions, as now made, you relieve real property by taxes which are levied upon articles consumed by the community. With regard to giving aid to the local authorities, the Government hold three things. We say that the aid should be so given as not to impair the incentive to economy; next, that it should be so given as not to make the local authority to whom it is given the slave of the central authority; and, thirdly, that before we

give a considerable increase, such as is proposed, to the large aid that is already given, there ought to be truly representative bodies in the different districts to whom the administration of the rates and the aid could be entrusted. There is only one other point I wish to refer to before I sit down. I have referred to the statement of the hon. Baronet that local burdens add to the price of a commodity to the consumer. But we have always heard aid asked, not on the ground of injury to the consumer, but on behalf of the owner and the tenant, and more especially the agricultural tenant. Relief is asked for the occupier as well as the owner of land, each of whom is in turn represented as bearing the full weight of the rates. But if the consumer pays the rates in the price of his food, their grievance is gone. If, however, relief be asked, as it has been, to save the tenant from ruin in these times of agricultural depression, I am afraid not even the total abolition of the local rates would aid the farmer much. The distress of the farmers of late years has not been caused by the rates being 3s. or 4s. in the pound, but because, owing to bad seasons, the produce of many an acre of land has been reduced in value by some £3 or £4. It is very difficult to trace the exact incidence of the rates. It has been reckoned that on an average a quarter of the rates falls on the agricultural occupier, and three quarters are paid by the owner and comes out of the rent. The agricultural rates have been differently estimated at from £7,000,000 to £10,000,000, and about one quarter of that amount—or from £1,500,000 to £2,500,000—is paid by the agricultural tenants. What would the remission of the whole of that one-fourth which falls to their share be compared with the loss of £25,000,000 or £30,000,000 which the tenants suffer by an unfavourable season? We talk of rates of 3s. or 4s. in the pound being a terrible burden; but supposing one quarter of them be actually paid out of the pocket of the agricultural tenant, the tenant's share of that would be, at most, 1s. in the pound. And what is the 3s. or 4s. in the pound levied upon? Why, upon the rateable value. And what is the rateable value? It is less than the rent. Therefore, the total rate means less than 3s. or 4s. in the pound of the actual rent; and the tenant's share really

means less than 1s. in the pound upon his rent. If land in this country is, as some people think, permanently depreciated in value, and agriculture is not likely to recover, you will not sensibly relieve the tenant by taking off 3d. or 6d. or 1s. in the pound, or even 3s. or 4s. from the rates. I am not speaking of the landowner; but what the tenant must look to, if this be the case for relief, is a charge eight times heavier than the whole amount of the rates, and 30 times heavier than his share of them—namely, the rent. That is the source to which he must look if the land in this country is permanently depreciated in value for adequate relief. I am not going to enter into any abstruse theory as to rent; but I may state, in the simplest form, that the farmer is content to farm for the ordinary rate of profit upon the floating capital he employs. All that is realized above that profit is rent. That is the simple way of stating it. But if there is no such margin, one of two things will happen. Either the owner of the land must allow the tenant to have it rent free, or he must farm it himself for the sake of the profit to be made on the capital employed in its cultivation, and be content to forego interest on the capital he has invested in the purchase of the land. I do not want to detain the House with arguments upon this question; but I wish to keep two points clearly before hon. Members—That although it is quite right and proper that personalty should be brought to contribute in aid of realty to the burden of local rates, it is not desirable that taxes should be imposed upon labour for that purpose. Further, it is futile to calculate that the agricultural tenant can be kept on his legs by aid given to the local rates if the land is permanently depreciated and the agriculture of the country is doomed not to recover. I do not say that that is the case at all. I myself do not believe it. I do not think that land has depreciated in value permanently. I believe that in the natural course of affairs, with good seasons, things will come round again. With regard to the Resolution of my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), I object to it on account of its vagueness, and of the still greater vagueness of the speeches by which it has been supported. The Government



are thoroughly in earnest, whatever hon. Gentlemen opposite may say, in their desire to deal with the question. A Liberal Government, through my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), brought in the only Bill ever introduced which dealt comprehensively with the subject. I myself, when President of the Local Government Board, had a Bill prepared and on the eve of being introduced early in the Session of 1882; and I very much regret that the sad event, which all sides will remember, rendered it impossible that anything could be done in that year. My right hon. Friend, my Successor in that Office, now has a Bill prepared, and will introduce it as soon as the state of Business in the House will permit. Under these circumstances, I am not disposed to accept the vague Resolution of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), but I will support the Motion for going into Committee of Supply.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I do not know whether it is altogether fair to describe the proposal of my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire, and the speech he has made in its support, as being wanting in clearness, or being vague, or uncertain; but one thing I think is perfectly clear—that if the proposal and speeches of my hon. Friend and those who support him are vague, those of the Government, as represented by the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, are a hundred times more vague. The right hon. Gentleman has given us a most glowing picture of all the good intentions on this subject with which the various Cabinets with which he has been connected since 1872 have been paved. He has laid great stress upon the magnificent proposal which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon made in 1872, which he characterized as a real, great, substantial proposal for dealing with this question of local taxation. Well, I do remember that there was a proposal made in that year by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon at that time; but I really forget what became of it, and I think very few people could tell us anything about it now. It remains in our minds as the vaguest possible shadow; and, indeed, as far as I can remember, although the proposal was brought forward, it never was brought to a discussion by the Govern-

ment of the day. That appears in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman to be all that is necessary to do—to make some shadowy proposal, and not to submit it for discussion at all, and then to think that the Government have done a great deal. We did a great deal more, although my noble Friend the Member for Barnstaple (Viscount Lymington) looks upon it as so simple a matter that he quite forgot it. No doubt the grant we made is, in the eyes of hon. Gentlemen opposite, a very small matter in comparison with the magnificent results of the treatment of the subject by a Liberal Government. We have had the magnificent Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon, which never came on for discussion, and then we had something even better than that. We had a Bill which was actually drawn on the subject, which was actually drawn by the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down. We are told that it was drawn in the year 1882, just 10 years after the measure of the right hon. Member for Ripon. That, of course, was very far superior to anything that was ever done by the Conservative Government; but, unfortunately, that Bill never saw the light at all. We are, therefore, unable to contrast it even with the plan of the right hon. Member for Ripon. We know nothing at all about it, and what its provisions were we have no knowledge whatever of. Then, tonight, we have something that is a greater advance than anything else, because we have a Bill shadowed forth in the speech of the President of the Local Government Board. That appears to me to be the way in which the present Government always conduct their Business now. When they have a difficult subject to deal with, they do not put their views into the form of a Bill; that would be altogether wrong; but they embody them in a speech made by some Minister who is more or less connected with the subject-matter. And, Sir, on how many occasions have they done this in the course of the present Session? Certainly this is not the first time that such a course has been adopted. It is a verification of the old saying—“*C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre.*” It is in these circumstances that my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) comes forward and says—“After all, with all these promises, are



you going to do anything or nothing in the matter?" Even the poor £2,000,000 which my noble Friend the Member for Barnstaple (Viscount Lymington) thought entirely beneath his notice—even that I venture to think was better than nothing. But now we are told—"You do not ask for anything. You do not come forward and say this is what we ask and propose. You are so vague in your ideas that they are not worth taking notice of." We make no proposition in the matter, because we are conscious that in this matter we are in the hands of the Government. It would be absolutely impossible for my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire, or for anybody on this side of the House, or for anyone, indeed, except Her Majesty's Government, to come forward with any practical proposal in the matter. We have no right to do so. It is a question of finance, and a question in regard to which the initiatory duty must lie with Her Majesty's Government, and my hon. Friend would have been to blame if he had come forward with some cut-and-dried scheme. Her Majesty's Government would at once have said that, the proposal being absurd and impossible, they were justified in setting it aside. My hon. Friend comes forward and says—"We have been waiting a long time. We are suffering greatly, and we ask for something in the way of real and substantial relief. You tell us, as you have told us scores of times, that nothing can be done until we have a reform or alteration of the system of local government." Well, Sir, my hon. Friend and we on our part are not at all unwilling to consider any proposals for the reform of local government which Her Majesty's Government may think fit to make; but for Heaven's sake give us something! At present you do nothing at all, and your proposals are so vague, and your schemes so magnificent, that you tell us this is not the time nor the season for dealing with them. I really would ask the House what is the upshot of the proposal of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster? What has he told us in the speech to which we have just listened? It is very difficult to get at his exact views of the situation. Does he propose to do anything, or does he not? Does he think anything is wanted, or does he not? Sometimes we thought

he was admitting the pressure and burden, and was about to say that it was a matter the Government were prepared to relieve. At other times he seemed to say there was no burden and no pressure at all, and that it was nonsense to suppose the rates had anything to do with the depressed state of agriculture. It was not the rates, he said, but the rent. Now, that is a very easy way of getting rid of the matter; but we want to know from the Government, will they tell us that there is nothing wanted, or, if there is something wanted, are they prepared to deal with the matter, and give us the relief wanted? Let them give it to us in their own way, and let us have something to discuss. At present, they bandy a few words about the condition of agriculture; and they tell us that, after all, we do not understand political economy. That really is the upshot of what the right hon. Gentleman has said; and it brings me to the remarkable statement made by the right hon. Gentleman, in the course of his speech, that imposts upon land cannot increase the cost of food. To what extent they may increase it is one question; but that the imposts on the land have a tendency to increase the cost of the production of the land is a proposition which—we may be the "stupid Party"—but even the "stupid Party" can perceive. The hon. Member, in making his demand, has merely, I am sure, given utterance to cries of distress, which will find a response in the bosoms of the large majority of the agriculturists in this country. There can be no doubt whatever that the agriculturists are feeling strongly the pressure of these burdens upon them. They cannot help feeling the great pressure of the incidence of these burdens which are imposed upon them, not for local, but for national purposes; and they ask, in a modest and temperate manner, that some relief be given to a state of things which is fast becoming intolerable. Are we to be satisfied with the sort of answer which has been given to-night? I do not anticipate that those who are really suffering and feeling the pressure of these burdens will be satisfied with an answer of this kind. I think that my hon. Friend has done good service in calling attention to this matter on this occasion, and in demanding to have some satisfactory assurance from Her Majesty's Government.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he was sorry to interpose in the debate after the right hon. Gentleman who had just addressed the House. He would have been prepared to address the House earlier, but he had unfortunately failed to catch the Speaker's eye. As, however, no Irish Member had spoken, and as he had heard the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster broach doctrines which would be considered the vilest heresy in his part of the country, he felt that it was necessary he should say a few words upon the subject before the debate was brought to a close. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had assured the House that the occupier only paid one-fourth of the rates, while the landlord paid the remaining three-fourths. It was exactly the opposite in his part of the country; the occupier paid three-fourths of the rates and the landlord only one-fourth. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had also assured the House that any aid given to local taxation would not affect the occupier at all—that if there were any remission of rates it would exclusively benefit the owner, and would be of no use to the farmer and occupier. Now, if there was one subject which his constituents, and particularly the farmers, were continually dunning into his ears, it was the necessity of some reform in the levying of local taxation and the desirability of obtaining aid from the Imperial finances towards the new rent the farmers were now called upon to pay. If the contention of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was right, then all he (Colonel Nolan) could say was that the farmers in his part of the country and all this constituents were wrong. His own opinion, however, was that they were perfectly right. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster said, among other things, that the rates imposed upon the land did not affect the cost of food to the consumer. The right hon. Gentleman had been answered to a certain extent by the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), who had pointed out that they could not make food cheaper by putting heavy imposts upon the occupier in the shape of local rates. In some of the baronies with which he was acquainted rates amounting to 10s. and 12s. in the pound were of common occurrence, and the con-

sequence was that the farmer's produce was deteriorated; for instance, the seed potatoes he was able to purchase were of an inferior description because he was unable to afford the extra cost of obtaining superior ones. He could point out numerous cases where the existing heavy rates had had a material effect in increasing the price of food; and he had no doubt, if the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary were appealed to, he would at once say that the facts were not exaggerated. He did not think the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had got himself well up in his case, or he might have made a point against the Conservative Government when it was denied that they had imposed a new tax? What did they say about the explosives tax? That was put on by a Conservative Government, and it had to be paid for out of the very limited resources of the Irish people. The owners and occupiers of land in Ireland had not only to pay rates for the poor, but for cemeteries, and for sanitary laws, which were simply a piece of philanthropic nonsense in his part of the country. Sanitary arrangements might be suitable for large and densely populated towns; but in the country districts, where there was plenty of pure air and not always an over-abundance of food, they were in the habit of crippling the unfortunate occupier and taking away from him the means of obtaining food in order that he might improve the air. Then, in addition, the owners and occupiers of land had also to pay for the preparation of the voting lists, which was looked upon as a great grievance, and cost a good deal of money. He certainly hoped that before long the cost would be decreased, and he was of opinion that the charge itself should be borne by the Imperial Exchequer and not by the tenant. Then, again, the tenants paid heavily for doctors; but they did not object to that, because they did get advantage from the medical services rendered; but they had to pay for veterinary surgeons, for certain matters connected with emigration, and for many other purposes. In regard to emigration, he thought there were a great many charges thrown upon the rates which ought to be paid from Imperial resources. He must say that the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was the only person who had attempted,



in opposing the Motion, to evade the real question at issue. As a general rule all other speakers had alluded to the question, although they might not have argued it altogether fairly, and had said that they did not object to diminish the local rates. It was a fair question whether the existing charges ought to be borne by local taxation or by the Imperial Exchequer. No doubt, Imperial taxation was not named in the Resolution of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell); but it was well known to be most unpopular throughout the country to require the local rates to pay for charges which ought to be defrayed by Imperial taxation, and the President of the Local Government Board and the noble Lord the Member for Barnstaple (Viscount Lymington) both made assertions which might be tied up in a bundle and put aside for three or four years. They were excellent speeches in favour of the reform of local government when the proper time arrived; but they had very little to do with the question which the House had been called upon to discuss. The real question was, who was to pay for the maintenance of the poor, and the many other expenses he had enumerated which were now met by local taxation? He contended that they ought not to fall three-fourths on the occupier and one-fourth on the owner of the land, but that a certain portion of them should be paid by the fundholders and the personalty of the country. At present this description of property altogether escaped taxation, and he did not see why it should not be made to contribute its fair share. At the present moment the farmers, who were poor enough themselves, bore all the burden of the poor, except a very small portion of it that was contributed from Imperial taxation. A portion of it came out of the poor themselves, who had to pay a heavy duty upon the spirits they consumed, and a duty which had been raised within the last three or four years. They had also to pay a heavy duty upon tobacco, and to contribute out of their small resources to maintain an Army in Ireland, and to pay the English fundholder, while none of the Revenue arising from these sources was given towards the relief of their own local rates. The real question was—Why should they continue to pay these charges, which

ought to be borne by the entire nation, and from the payment of which the fundholder ought not to be allowed to escape? He certainly failed to see why the locality should maintain its own poor. It ought to be a national expenditure, although there was no reason why a certain proportion should not be borne by the locality. Then, again, with regard to the expenses connected with emigration and some of the sanitary fads which were continually cropping up, he saw no reason why they should be paid for out of the local rates. He looked upon the present attitude of Her Majesty's Government and upon the Amendment proposed by the noble Lord the Member for Barnstaple (Viscount Lymington) as a deliberate attempt to shelve the question until the middle of next Parliament. If the Resolution of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) were not carried that night, he felt satisfied that the people of Ireland would obtain no relief for their local burdens. Probably they did not care much about the question in the boroughs; but so far as the Irish counties were concerned the matter was one of the greatest importance. He supported the Resolution, because he believed that the passing of it might have a material influence upon the forthcoming Budget of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; whereas its rejection would only have the effect of continuing the excessive burdens now imposed in the shape of local taxation.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I think that holding the Office I do, and being in respect of that Office greatly interested in this question, the House will allow me to explain, in a few words, the course I propose to take on the Motion of the hon. Member. It appears to me that the question between us on this side of the House and the hon. Member is a simple one, and may be stated under three heads. We agree with the hon. Member upon one point, and that is, that in the readjustment of the local and Imperial burdens some relief should be given to the ratepayer. Upon that we are entirely agreed; but we differ from him on two other points—that is, we differ from him in respect of the authority to whom the relief should be given, and also in respect of the shape in which that relief should



be given. Now, with respect to the authorities to whom the relief we propose to give should be given, hon. Gentleman opposite say that it should be given to the present authorities. Hon. Members opposite say that now at the present time relief should be given to the present authorities. We, on the other hand, say that the relief should be given simultaneously with the constitution of representative local government; and we have undertaken, following a Bill for the better government of the Municipality of the Metropolis, that the next large question shall be how to deal with the better constitution of the local authorities. So much for the question as to the authorities to whom relief should be given. Next, as to the manner in which the relief should be given. Hon. Gentlemen opposite say that the present system of subventions should be continued. Now, we, on the other hand, say that the additional relief should be given in the shape of power to raise and administer local revenues—that the body which has the taxing power should be the same as that which has the power of administration, just as we have given taxing powers to Municipal Corporations. In one sentence, that is the only difference between us; and I will only give one figure to show how our proposals and the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite differ with respect to the administration of the sum which has been named by several Gentlemen opposite. It is extremely difficult to judge of the precise extent to which hon. Gentlemen opposite propose that relief should be given. I have heard suggestions made in the course of the debate that relief should be given to the extent of £3,500,000, £4,000,000, and £5,000,000. Well, I will assume, for the sake of argument, that additional relief to local burdens should be given to the extent of £4,000,000. It has been asserted that the objects for which it should be contributed are mainly, or to a large and growing degree, education and police. Other smaller and growing charges have been mentioned, but still to a very much less extent than the local expenditure on education and police. Now, I would remind the hon. and gallant Gentleman who has just spoken that Ireland has no charge whatever thrown upon her for education or police.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

COLONEL NOLAN: The right hon. Gentleman is mistaken. My county pays a police charge.

MR. HEALY: What about the Crimes Act?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): Of course, under special circumstances limited charges for police are paid by the localities; but I am speaking of ordinary circumstances. I say that the ordinary police charge in Ireland is entirely paid by the Imperial Exchequer, and is not a local charge. Nor is education a local charge in Ireland, although in this country many millions are defrayed by the local school boards. Ireland, therefore, has a very small portion of these local burdens to meet. Taking the £4,000,000, which has been suggested as a fair amount to be given in aid of local burdens, let the House consider for a moment the practical way in which it would be carried out if it had to come directly in the shape of subventions from the State. It would add £4,000,000 to our Imperial taxation. How could that sum be raised? It would either have to be raised by a 2*d.* Income Tax—and I greatly doubt whether hon. Members opposite would support such a proposal; or it would have to be raised by an addition upon articles of ordinary consumption; or it might be raised one-half in one shape and one-half in the other. Taking the last assumption, half of a charge, which is now entirely a charge upon real property, either in the shape of houses or land, would in future have to fall upon articles of consumption by the people; and I say that such a change in our method of taxation would be intolerable, and would be opposed by the great mass of the people. I undertake to say that such a proposal, whether under the present system of election or under the system proposed by the Franchise Bill, would be most unpopular even with hon. Gentlemen opposite, who would find it strenuously resisted by their constituents. What was done in 1874 was a very different matter. I did not then object to the relief of local burdens made by the late Government; but it must be remembered that I have never spoken against the relief of local taxation in that form. But then, if you remember, the Government at the time gave relief to the consumer, to the extent of £2,000,000, in the shape of remission of

the sugar duties. It was not unreasonable for the right hon. Gentleman to propose and to carry out a transfer from the local to the Imperial taxpayer under those circumstances. But the proposal shadowed out by the opposite side is, in my opinion, one not only unjust in itself, but one which the taxpaying masses of the country can hardly be expected to agree to. Having, as I think, fairly stated the difference between the two sides of the question, I hope we shall adhere to the course we have indicated.

MR. NEWDEGATE, who rose amid cries of "Divide!" said: My hon. Friends are aware that I am at all times very economical of words. In the present instance I wish in the fewest possible number of words to describe what appears to me the position of the question before the House. The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) has recently made a speech, in which he justified a qualified amount of obstruction, I suppose, for the sake of affording a moderate amount of education. I do not make this suggestion, but such seems to be the inference of the hon. Member for Newcastle. His speech was addressed to the Hotspur Club. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster has declared that the burden of rates falls in the proportion of three-fourths upon real property, and one-fourth upon the floating capital of the tenant; but the right hon. Gentleman is about to vote for placing the control of local taxation in the hands of those who, according to his own showing, pay only one-fourth, at the expense of those who pay three-fourths of the burden. Now, it has hitherto always been the maxim that, in matters of taxation, according to the respective weight of the burden ought to be the control of those who bore it; but the principle adopted by the Government, if they accept that of the Amendment standing in the name of the noble Lord (Viscount Lymington), is the reverse of that maxim; for they would sanction the principle that they who pay the least should have the largest control. Again, when the question of subventions in aid of local taxation was raised, what said the right hon. Gentleman? He said it would be impossible to give subventions out of general taxation in relief of local taxation, unless the entire control over the whole was

placed in the hands of Government officials. Now, I am one of the "stupid Party." I am not enlightened like hon. Gentlemen opposite. I am supposed to be one of a minority in the United Kingdom; but I represent the financial opinions of the United States—indeed, of almost the whole world. When, however, you speak of the "stupid Party," you speak of the world at large. The French have a maxim, *Toute la monde a raison*; but hon. Gentlemen opposite do not accept that maxim. You are rather isolated in your enlightenment. You have long seemed proud of your isolated position; but look at the state to which you have brought this country. Is not agriculture depressed? Is not trade depressed? Yet, when we ask you for relief, you tell the majority of the labouring classes and the owners of real property—aye, and of much floating capital—that lest you should detract from the isolation in which your enlightenment has placed you, you will do nought to relieve this distress, nothing in equity for the relief of local burdens; but that you will entrust the control of local taxation to the body of occupiers who, by the admission of your Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, only pay one-fourth of the burden, to the virtual supersession of the owners of real property, who contribute three-fourths of the burden.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 197; Noes 208: Majority 11.

#### AYES.

|                         |                          |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Acland, Sir T. D.       | Bright, J.               |
| Acland, C. T. D.        | Brinton, J.              |
| Agnew, W.               | Broadhurst, H.           |
| Ainsworth, D.           | Brown, A. H.             |
| Allen, W. S.            | Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.  |
| Allman, R. L.           | Bruce, hon. R. P.        |
| Anderson, G.            | Bryce, J.                |
| Armitage, B.            | Buchanan, T. R.          |
| Arnold, A.              | Burt, T.                 |
| Asher, A.               | Buxton, F. W.            |
| Ashley, hon. E. M.      | Buxton, S. C.            |
| Baldwin, E.             | Campbell, Sir G.         |
| Balfour, rt. hon. J. B. | Campbell, R. F. F.       |
| Barnes, A.              | Campbell-Bannerman,      |
| Barran, J.              | H.                       |
| Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.  | Carbutt, E. H.           |
| Biddulph, M.            | Causton, R. K.           |
| Blennerhassett, R. P.   | Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.  |
| Bolton, J. C.           | Cheetham, J. F.          |
| Borlase, W. C.          | Childers, rt. hn. H.C.E. |
| Brand, hon. H. R.       | Clark, S.                |
| Brassey, Sir T.         | Clifford, C. C.          |
| Briggs, W. E.           | Cohen, A.                |

Colebrooke, Sir T. E.  
Collings, J.  
Collins, E.  
Cotes, C. C.  
Courtney, L. H.  
Cropper, J.  
Cross, J. K.  
Crum, A.  
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.  
Currie, Sir D.  
De Ferrières, Baron  
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.  
Dillwyn, L. L.  
Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.  
Duff, R. W.  
Dundas, hon. J. C.  
Earp, T.  
Ebrington, Viscount  
Edwards, H.  
Edwards, P.  
Egerton, Admiral hon.  
F.  
Elliot, hon. A. R. D.  
Farquharson, Dr. R.  
Fawcett, rt. hon. H.  
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.  
Firth, J. F. B.  
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.  
Fitzwilliam, hn. W. J.  
Flower, C.  
Forster, Sir C.  
Fort, R.  
Fowler, W.  
Fry, T.  
Gladstone, H. J.  
Gladstone, W. H.  
Gordon, Sir A.  
Gordon, Lord D.  
Gourley, E. T.  
Gower, hon. E. F. L.  
Grafton, F. W.  
Grant, Sir G. M.  
Grant, A.  
Grey, A. H. G.  
Hamilton, J. G. C.  
Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W.  
G. V. V.  
Hartington, Marq. of  
Hayter, Sir A. D.  
Henderson, F.  
Herschell, Sir F.  
Hibbert, J. T.  
Hill, T. R.  
Holden, I.  
Holms, J.  
Hopwood, C. H.  
Howard, E. S.  
Illingworth, A.  
Ince, H. B.  
Inderwick, F. A.  
James, Sir H.  
James, C.  
James, W. H.  
Jardine, R.  
Jenkins, Sir J. J.  
Jenkins, D. J.  
Jerningham, H. E. H.  
Jones-Parry, L.  
Kinnear, J.  
Labouchere, H.  
Lambton, hon. F. W.  
Lawson, Sir W.  
Leatham, E. A.

Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.  
Lloyd, M.  
Lubbock, Sir J.  
Lymington, Viscount  
Lyons, R. D.  
Mackie, R. B.  
McArthur, Sir W.  
McArthur, A.  
McIntyre, Æneas J.  
Mitland, W. F.  
Mappin, F. T.  
Marjoribanks, E.  
Martin, R. B.  
Maskelyne, M. H. N.  
Story-  
Mellor, J. W.  
Milbank, Sir F. A.  
Monk, C. J.  
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.  
Morley, A.  
Morley, J.  
Morley, S.  
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.  
Noel, E.  
Paget, T. T.  
Palmer, C. M.  
Palmer, J. H.  
Parker, C. S.  
Pease, A.  
Pender, J.  
Pennington, F.  
Playfair, rt. hn. Sir L.  
Powell, W. R. H.  
Ralli, P.  
Ramsay, J.  
Rathbone, W.  
Read, Sir E. J.  
Reid, R. T.  
Roberts, J.  
Robertson, H.  
Roe, T.  
Rogers, J. E. T.  
Roundell, C. S.  
Russell, Lord A.  
Russell, G. W. E.  
Seely, C. (Lincoln)  
Seely, C. (Nottingham)  
Sellar, A. C.  
Shaw, T.  
Shield, H.  
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.  
Slagg, J.  
Smith, S.  
Spencer, hon. C. R.  
Stanley, hon. E. L.  
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.  
Stanton, W. J.  
Stevenson, J. C.  
Summers, W.  
Tavistock, Marquess of  
Tennant, C.  
Thomasson, J. P.  
Thompson, T. C.  
Tracy, hon. F. S. A.  
Hanbury-  
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O.  
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.  
Vivian, Sir H. H.  
Waddy, S. D.  
Walker, S.  
Walter, J.  
Warterlow, Sir S.  
Waugh, E.

Webster, Dr. J.  
West, H. W.  
Whitbread, S.  
Williams, S. C. E.  
Williamson, S.  
Willis, W.  
Wilson, C. H.  
Wodehouse, E. R.

Woodall, W.  
Woolf, S.

## TELLERS.

Grosvenor, right hon.  
Lord R.  
Kensington, rt. hn. Lord

## NOES.

Alexander, Major-Gen.  
Amherst, W. A. T.  
Archdale, W. H.  
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.  
Bailey, Sir J. R.  
Balfour, A. J.  
Barne, F. St. J. N.  
Barry, J.  
Barttelot, Sir W. B.  
Bateson, Sir T.  
Beach, right hon. Sir  
M. E. Hicks-  
Beach, W. W. B.  
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.  
Beresford, G. De la P.  
Biddell, W.  
Birkbeck, E.  
Blackburne, Col. J. I.  
Boord, T. W.  
Bourke, right hon. R.  
Broadley, W. H. H.  
Brodrick, hon. W. St.  
J. F.  
Brooke, Lord  
Bruce, Sir H. H.  
Bruce, hon. T.  
Brymer, W. E.  
Bulwer, J. R.  
Burghley, Lord  
Buxton, Sir R. J.  
Cameron, D.  
Campbell, J. A.  
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.  
Chaplin, H.  
Christie, W. L.  
Clarke, E.  
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.  
Coddington, W.  
Collins, T.  
Compton, F.  
Corbet, W. J.  
Corry, J. P.  
Crichton, Viscount  
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.  
Cubitt, right hon. G.  
Curzon, Major hon. M.  
Dalrymple, C.  
Davenport, W. B.  
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.  
Dawnay, hon. G. C.  
Deasy, J.  
De Worms, Baron H.  
Dickson, Major A. G.  
Digby, Colonel hon. E.  
Donaldson-Hudson, C.  
Douglas, A. Akers-  
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.  
Eaton, H. W.  
Ecroyd, W. F.  
Egerton, hon. A. de T.  
Egerton, hon. A. F.  
Elcho, Lord  
Elliot, G. W.  
Elton, C. I.  
Emlyn, Viscount  
Ewart, W.  
Feilden, Lieut.-General  
Fellowes, W. H.  
Finch, G. H.  
Floyer, J.  
Folkestone, Viscount  
Forester, C. T. W.  
Fowler, rt. hon. R. N.  
Fremantle, hon. T. F.  
French-Brewster, R. A.  
B.  
Galway, Viscount  
Garnier, J. C.  
Gibson, right hon. E.  
Giffard, Sir H. S.  
Gore-Langton, W. S.  
Grantham, W.  
Gray, E. D.  
Greene, E.  
Greer, T.  
Gregory, G. B.  
Halsey, T. F.  
Hamilton, right hon.  
Lord G.  
Hamilton, Lord C. J.  
Hamilton, I. T.  
Harvey, Sir R. B.  
Healy, T. M.  
Herbert, hon. S.  
Hicks, E.  
Hildyard, T. B. T.  
Hill, Lord A. W.  
Hill, A. S.  
Holland, Sir H. T.  
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.  
Hope, right hon. A. J.  
B. B.  
Houldsworth, W. H.  
Kennard, C. J.  
Kennaway, Sir J. H.  
Kenny, M. J.  
Knight, F. W.  
Knightley, Sir R.  
Lawrance, J. C.  
Lawrence, Sir T.  
Leamy, E.  
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.  
Leigh, hon. G. H. C.  
Leighton, S.  
Lennox, Lord H. G.  
Lever, J. O.  
Levett, T. J.  
Lewisham, Viscount  
Loder, R.  
Long, W. H.  
Lopes, Sir M.  
Lowther, rt. hon. J.  
Lowther, hon. W.  
Lowther, J. W.



Macnaghten, E.  
 McCarthy, J.  
 McGarel-Hogg, Sir J.  
 Makins, Colonel W. T.  
 Manners, rt. hon. Lord  
 J. J. R.  
 March, Earl of  
 Marriott, W. T.  
 Master, T. W. C.  
 Maxwell, Sir H. E.  
 Mayne, T.  
 Miles, Sir P. J. W.  
 Miles, C. W.  
 Mills, Sir C. H.  
 Milner, Sir F.  
 Molloy, B. C.  
 Monckton, F.  
 Morgan, hon. F.  
 Moss, R.  
 Mulholland, J.  
 Newdegate, C. N.  
 Newport, Viscount  
 Nolan, Colonel J. P.  
 North, Colonel J. S.  
 Northcote, rt. hon. Sir  
 S. H.  
 Northcote, H. S.  
 O'Brien, W.  
 O'Connor, A.  
 O'Connor, T. P.  
 O'Donnell, F. H.  
 O'Gorman Mahon, Col.  
 The  
 Onslow, D. R.  
 Paget, R. H.  
 Parnell, C. S.  
 Peek, Sir H. W.  
 Peel, Sir R.  
 Pemberton, E. L.  
 Percy, rt. hon. Earl  
 Percy, Lord A.  
 Phipps, C. N. P.  
 Phipps, P.  
 Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.  
 Price, Captain G. E.  
 Puleston, J. H.  
 Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.  
 Rankin, J.  
 Read, C. S.

Redmond, W. H. K.  
 Rendlesham, Lord  
 Repton, G. W.  
 Ridley, Sir M. W.  
 Ritchie, C. T.  
 Rolls, J. A.  
 Ross, A. H.  
 Ross, C. C.  
 Round, J.  
 St. Aubyn, W. M.  
 Selater-Booth, rt. hn. G.  
 Scott, M. D.  
 Selwin - Ibbetson, Sir  
 H. J.  
 Severne, J. E.  
 Sexton, T.  
 Sheil, E.  
 Smith, rt. hon. W. H.  
 Smith, A.  
 Stanhope, hon. E.  
 Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F.  
 Stanley, E. J.  
 Storer, G.  
 Strutt, hon. C. H.  
 Sykes, C.  
 Talbot, J. G.  
 Thomson, H.  
 Thornhill, A. J.  
 Thornhill, T.  
 Thynne, Lord H. F.  
 Tollemache, H. J.  
 Tollemache, hn. W. F.  
 Tomlinson, W. E. M.  
 Tottenham, A. L.  
 Walrond, Col. W. H.  
 Warburton, P. E.  
 Warton, C. N.  
 Whitley, E.  
 Wilmot, Sir H.  
 Winn, R.  
 Wortley, C. B. S.  
 Wroughton, P.  
 Wyndham, hon. P.  
 Yorke, J. R.

## TELLERS.

Leighton, Sir B.  
 Pell, A.

## Words added.

## Main Question, as amended, put.

*Resolved*, That this House, while ready to entertain any necessary reforms in local administration, deprecates the postponement of further measures of relief acknowledged to be due to ratepayers in counties and boroughs in respect of local charges imposed upon them for National services.

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE  
 BILL.—[BILL 119.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.*)

## SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [24th March].

## THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON :

I do not know whether it is absolutely necessary that anything should be positively decided to-night as to the subject which we discussed last night—namely, the adjournment of this debate. Of course, the second reading of this Bill will be proceeded with as the second Order on Monday, and I believe it would be a great convenience to the House generally that there should be some understanding arrived at as to the period at which this debate should be concluded. From what I have heard, I believe it would be possible that it should be concluded in the course of next week, and that it would be a great convenience to the House generally, and to hon. Members in making their arrangements for the Easter holidays, if there could be an understanding as to the time when the debate will be concluded. As I said last night, if the right hon. Gentleman opposite was disposed to use his influence with hon. Members who have Motions on the Paper, so as to obtain Tuesday for the resumption of this debate, then I think it might be possible to conclude the debate next week.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE : I am not sure that it is possible to come to any definite understanding at the present moment; but I agree with the noble Marquess that we should not prolong the discussion on the second reading beyond the Easter holidays; and although there are a very large number of Members on both sides of the House who are anxious to speak, I believe it is possible that an arrangement might be made by which the debate might be closed before the holidays. I do not know that it will be so easy to close it next week; but I think it may be possible to conclude it by Monday week. At all events, with regard to the proposal of the noble Marquess that we should do what we can to continue the debate on Tuesday, I think that is well worthy of consideration, and I would appeal to my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton), and other Gentlemen who have Motions on the Paper for that day, to waive their rights in order to continue this discussion. I do not think we can now fix a time for the resumption of the debate; but I hope we may be able to approach an understanding.

MR. CHAPLIN wished to put a Question to the noble Lord, or some other Member of the Government, with regard to their intention to make progress with the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill? He knew that some hon. Members below the Gangway were anxious to defeat the Bill; but the Government must remember that they were pledged to proceed with this Bill with all the despatch in their power. The Government were very anxious to press forward the Representation of the People Bill; but he had not seen any earnest endeavour on their part to obtain that despatch with the Cattle Diseases Bill to which they had pledged themselves at the commencement of the Session; and when he said that, he meant that he did not recollect a single occasion on which that Bill had been taken as the first Order of the Day on a Government night. He hoped there would now be some understanding as to when the Government intended to proceed with the Bill.

MR. PELL said, he hoped the noble Lord would be able to give the House some notion on Monday as to what steps they intended to take with reference to the decision of the House this evening.

MR. WARTON said the subject for which he had a place on Tuesday was one which he had brought before the House last Session; but the Government had not vouchsafed a single word with regard to what he then said. He had written to the noble Lord upon the subject, and he should wait till Monday for an answer.

MR. SOLATER-BOOTH said, he had certainly understood that a Morning Sitting was to be taken on Tuesday next for the Contagious Diseases Bill debate.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: With regard to what has fallen from the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), it is impossible for the Government to give any undertaking as to the time when they will take any other measure until the second reading of the Franchise Bill is disposed of. With reference to what the right hon. Gentleman opposite has said, our experience is not very favourable to the idea of making any progress with the Cattle Diseases Bill at a Morning Sitting. After the experience we have had, we cannot think it worth while to ask the House to proceed with that measure at a

Morning Sitting at the expense of losing the day on which we might make further progress with the second reading of the Franchise Bill, which I think it would be convenient to the House to dispose of, if possible, next week, and, at all events, at the earliest possible time before the holidays. With regard to what the hon. and learned Member for Bridport said, I do not recollect the circumstances under which he put forward his Motion last year; but he has communicated with me, and I will place myself in communication with the House, and if some means can be taken to prevent the inconvenience to which he has referred, I shall be very happy to make a proposal. I am quite sure the desire of the House is that the House shall not be taken by surprise. I hope, under these circumstances, that the appeal that has been made may receive favourable consideration, and that we may be able to take Tuesday for the debate on the Franchise Bill.

MR. WARTON said, that after the kind statement of the noble Lord, he would withdraw his Motion for Tuesday.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, the Motion for which he had the second place on Tuesday was one which he had once before tried to bring before the House, and one which many hon. Members wished brought forward; but he should give way at once, in order to proceed with the Franchise Bill.

Debate further adjourned till Monday next.

#### ARMY ANNUAL BILL.—[BILL 144.]

(*The Marquess of Hartington, The Judge Advocate, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

#### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*The Judge Advocate General.*)

MR. PARNELL said, he understood that Mr. Speaker had ruled that this Bill did not come within the terms of the amended Standing Order known as the Half-past 12 o'clock Rule, and therefore it might be taken as an unopposed Motion. He wished now to call attention to the question of flogging under the authority of foreign Sovereigns or Rulers. That was a most im-

portant question; for, without any doubt whatever, the express terms of the Statute which was passed in 1881 for the purpose of abolishing flogging in the Army had been evaded in the case of certain Egyptians attached to the expedition of General Graham which succeeded in relieving Tokar and rescuing the garrison of that place. These Egyptian camel-drivers were attached to the British Army as camp followers, and, consequently, under the Army Discipline Act they were subject as soldiers to the provisions of British military law. On the return of the expedition from the relief of Tokar, or after the expedition against Osman Digna, Admiral Hewett considered that he had power, under the commission he had received from the Khedive of Egypt, to order these camp followers to be flogged for an offence committed while they were with the expedition; consequently, as they were attached to the British military forces, they were flogged for an offence committed while they were undoubtedly subject to British military law. He thought the House would agree with him that it was a most unsatisfactory state of affairs that a British officer abroad should, under the authority he had received from a foreign Ruler, flog persons who, being attached to a British force, came under the provisions of British military law. He, therefore, wished to suggest, when the proper time came, that it should not be possible to put in force against persons attached to any British military expedition, and who were subject to British military law, any more excessive penalties than the British law allowed with regard to British subjects. By that law, when a British officer in command of a British expedition accepted the services of any persons, whether soldiers enlisted under the law of any foreign country, or merely natives of that country, those persons at once became subject as soldiers to the Army Discipline Act. It was exceedingly hard that it should be, in addition, possible to try them under British authority for an offence committed while attached to the expedition under the provisions of another code. It was highly improper that British officers should be permitted to have recourse to the barbarous practice of flogging, especially when that form of punishment had been especially con-

demned by Act of Parliament. They all remembered the discussions which had taken place on the question of flogging. He was certain that when the present Government brought forward their Bill abolishing flogging in the Army and Navy, it was not supposed it would be possible for any British officer in the future to run a coach-and-six through the Statute, and to flog persons without the authority of the law. It was in order to avoid a repetition of such a great scandal that he desired to draw attention, on the Committee stage of the Bill, to these matters, and to ask the House to insert provisions to prevent anything of the kind happening in the future. They knew that, under the provisions of the Egyptian Naval Code, Admiral Sir William Hewett had flogged men, utterly ignoring the English law; and he (Mr. Parnell) would ask Her Majesty's Government whether they intended to assert that the Queen's officers were to be entitled to inflict that punishment? It so happened that he could only ask the protection of Parliament for a very limited class of Egyptians who had been in the service of Her Majesty during the recent campaigns. As regarded the soldiers of the Regular Egyptian Army, they had been under the authority of their own officers, and he did not seek any protection for them. As a matter of fact a large number of those men, in addition to the 16 carriers or camel-drivers, had been flogged; but, as they, undoubtedly, were not subject to the Army Discipline Act, but to the provisions of the Egyptian military law, he did not feel himself at liberty to interfere on their behalf. Where, however, it was established that persons subject to the British military law, had been flogged under another military code, and that punishments had been inflicted upon them that were disgusting to Parliament, and which had been expressly repealed and abrogated by Parliament, he had a right to ask that provisions should be inserted in this Annual Army Act which would render the recurrence of such a thing utterly impossible. He did not intend to prolong the discussion on this stage of the Bill; but he wished to ask the Government whether they would afford an opportunity, in Committee, for drawing attention to this important matter at a reasonable hour, so that hon. Members might be able to enlist



the sympathies of the House on the subject at a time when it would be possible to have it properly discussed?

MR. SEXTON said, that with regard to the disgraceful acts referred to by the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), although it could be understood that British officers proceeding to a foreign country might receive authority which would give them new powers subsidiary to those already conferred upon them by the Government at home, it was not to be conceived that they could receive powers conflicting with those vested in them by that Government. The course he (Mr. Sexton) intended to pursue this year was the one he had pursued in former years as to the disgraceful condition of the law in regard to the liability of the military to maintain their wives and children. The first provision of the law to which he took exception was that which rendered it necessary, before the case of the woman who had a claim on a soldier as his wife, or of the woman who, not being his wife, had a claim on him in the matter of the paternity of her children, came before the Court—it might be in a place far distant from that in which the soldier was located—for such woman to lodge a sum sufficient to defray the expenses of the man to the Court and back again from the Court to the barracks. The next thing to which he took exception was that shameful order which enabled the soldier to use the plea of foreign service to avoid the claims of the woman; and the next was as to the amount paid by the soldier to the woman. He would ask that the Committee should be fixed for a day not earlier than Thursday, so that the House might have reasonable notice of its coming on.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am sure Her Majesty's Government will be pleased to consider any proposal that may be made by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) in relation to the question which he has brought before the House. I do not know how it will be in his power to make provision in this Bill against the recurrence of what is alleged to have taken place at Suakin. It must be remembered that, as yet, we have no accurate account of what actually did take place. We have only the statements of newspaper correspondents on the subject: for all we learn from Admiral Hewett is that he punished—

he does not say in what manner—certain camp followers of General Graham who had disobeyed orders. There will be some difficulty, I am afraid, in putting into the Army Act provisions which will restrict the power of the Governor of a place invested with authority over the whole of that place by a Foreign Government. However, the subject is one for consideration in Committee. As to the question raised by the hon. Member for the City of Cork, as well as that raised by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), we have no desire to prevent discussion. We will put down the Committee stage for Thursday, and take it as the second Order of the Day. I trust it may be reached in time for the discussion of the points which have been now raised.

MR. HEALY wished to point out to the noble Marquess that the Government were endeavouring to fix Thursday for the Division on the Franchise Bill. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT dissented.] The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary (Sir William Harcourt) shook his head, but he (Mr. Healy) believed he was right in what he said. ["No, no!"] He was only repeating what had been said in the hearing of the House. If the Division were taken on Thursday, they all knew it would be late—no big Divisions ever took place until somewhere about half-past 2 in the morning. Surely such an hour as that would not be a time to take the discussion of a point like that raised by the hon. Member for the City of Cork; therefore, he might assume that if the Division on the Franchise Bill was taken on Thursday, the Committee stage of the Army Bill would not be taken on that day. As to the alleged cases of flogging at Suakin, the noble Marquess declared he had no information on the point, and that the statements which had been made on the subject had come from newspaper correspondents. Well, were hon. Members to dispute and refuse to receive the statements of newspaper correspondents when they were derogatory to the Army, and accept them only when they were in laudation of that branch of the Service? In the future, when newspaper correspondents described a brilliant charge, and the Army was accorded the fullest measure of unstinted praise that could be poured forth, we were to accept all that was said as true; but when our soldiers were accused of the assassination of their opponents,

*Mr. Parnell*

and our officers were charged with flogging offenders, we were to wait for the Admiral's despatches. In this matter the Government seemed to be playing the game of "Heads we win, tails you lose." He regarded many of the newspaper correspondents as conspiratorial liars, who might be relied upon, as a rule, not to say anything adverse to their country's honour. They were the greatest of "Jingoes;" and he did not believe that if they saw their own Army beaten they would say so—like the Roman warrior, they would cover their face in their cloak so that they might not see what was going on. Therefore, when he saw a newspaper correspondent chronicling such a circumstance as the flogging of unfortunate Egyptian carriers, seeing that it told against the correspondent himself, he (Mr. Healy) was inclined to accept it as the truth. The noble Marquess pointed out how difficult it would be to introduce into the Army Bill a provision of the kind described by the hon. Member for the City of Cork. What was it they wanted to provide against? They wanted to provide against a British officer, military or naval, acting in derogation of the Army Act. Well, he (Mr. Healy) himself could draw up a provision to do that in two minutes, and, no doubt, the noble Marquess would be able to do it in half the time. He would say that under no circumstances should any British officer take his power from any Foreign Government as to the infliction of corporal punishment, and that he should neither inflict, nor suffer to be inflicted, any corporal punishment other than that what might be allowed under the Army Act. It was simply absurd to set up this miserable Khedive—who, in reality, had no more power over Egypt or the Soudan than an imprisoned Potentate in Hindustan—as the person from whom these flogging powers were derived. He trusted they would have from the Government a distinct assurance, in the first place, to the effect that they would have an opportunity of debating the question in the course of the ensuing week; and, in the second place, to the effect that the Government themselves would bring in the required provision, and not put hon. Members on the Irish Benches to the trouble of doing it.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he

did not intend to follow hon. Members into a discussion upon the Egyptian Question. It was suggested that Thursday should be fixed for the Committee stage of the Bill, and he wished to point out that the measure must become law by the 30th April, the date at which the existing Army Act expired. It must by that time pass through all its stages in this House, and through all its stages of the other House. According to the late ruling of the Speaker, they could proceed with it at any hour; but, at the same time, the Government were anxious to give opportunity for its discussion. If hon. Members would take the discussion on Monday, the Bill might be put down for Committee for that day.

MR. SEXTON: No; Thursday.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN): Very well. In any case, I hope the House will allow the Bill to be read a second time to-night.

Motion agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed for Thursday next.

## MOTIONS.

—o—

### COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

#### RESOLUTION. NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That all Petitions against the Bill, presented not less than three clear days before the sitting of the Committee, be referred to the Committee, and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, Agents, or Witnesses, be heard upon their Petitions, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bill against such Petitions."

—(Mr. Halsey.)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, it was impossible for the Government to agree to the Motion. Where were the counsel to be "heard in favour of the Bill against such Petitions" to come from? Who was to employ them? The Bill was one introduced for public reasons; those who supported it were Members of Parliament; and he must protest against Members being called on to argue against, it might be, scores and hundreds of counsel representing Petitioners. The Motion was one entirely without precedent.

MR. HALSEY said, he would not press the Motion against the view of the



hon. and learned Gentleman. He (Mr. Halsey) had been asked to bring it forward in connection with a Petition he presented to the House a short time ago. If it was contrary to the general wish of the House, however, he would not press it.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Committee do consist of Thirteen Members."—(*Mr. Waugh*.)

Motion *agreed to*.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. George Howard be a Member of the said Committee."

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, he had to object to the name which stood first on the list, not because of any doubts in his mind as to the capacity of the hon. Member to serve on the Committee, but simply because the name was the first on the list. Amongst the names proposed he did not find that of a single Scotch Member. True, there were no copyholds in Scotland; but that was no reason why there should not be a Scotch Member on the Committee. This was a Committee to deal with a public question, and however English that question was in its character, it was only right that Members of all sections should take part in the inquiry.

MR. BUCHANAN said, he did not wish to oppose the appointment of the Members of the Committee, or to insist that Scotch Representatives should be put upon it; but he considered that a distinct omission had been made in nominating the Members. It might be said that Scotch Members would not be able to throw much light on the subject, as they did not possess copyholds in their country; but, no doubt, men like the hon. Member for Roxburghshire (Mr. A. Elliot), an English barrister, well versed in English law, would be able to do good service, particularly as the Bill was almost exclusively a Cumberland measure.

MR. SEXTON said, the hon. Baronet (Sir Herbert Maxwell) and the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Buchanan) had done good service by calling attention to this question. Both those hon. Members had put forward very reasonable claims. This question of copyholds, though it concerned England more than

any other part of the United Kingdom, was also a subject in which Members from Scotland and Ireland might be supposed to take an intelligent interest. The Committee, as proposed, consisted of 13 Members, 12 of whom were English and one Irish—the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). He would suggest that one of the English names should be struck out and a Scotch name substituted, or that the number of the Committee should be increased by the addition of a Scotch Member.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, there could be no objection to taking advantage of the desire of Scotch Members to serve on the Committee. As a rule, especially since the introduction of the Grand Committees, great difficulty had been experienced in manning ordinary Committees. They often heard Scotch Members say their desire was to have a separate Scotch Administration. [Sir HERBERT MAXWELL: No, no.] He knew that it was not the hon. Baronet's desire; but that, certainly, was the wish of many Scotch Members. There, however, could not be the smallest objection to putting on the Committee hon. Members for Scotland who desired to serve on it, and who were likely to have an interest in the subject to be considered and to understand it. It might be asked why Scotch Members desired to be on the Committee, seeing that they had no copyholds in Scotland, and the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) had no answer to give to the question; at any rate, he was reduced to speaking of the hon. Member for Roxburghshire, not as a Scotch Member, but as an English barrister. But if that hon. Member were present to-night in the capacity of an English barrister, one of the last things he would desire would be to have his time taken from him in the mornings when, under ordinary circumstances, he would be practising his profession; and the hon. Member for Edinburgh would not be likely to receive very warm thanks for his interposition. But if Scotch Members did desire to serve on the Committee, notwithstanding that they had no special, if, indeed, any, knowledge of the subject to be considered, he did not see that it was anyone's business to prevent them. If the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Herbert Maxwell) was anxious to serve on the Committee, and would get someone



to propose him, the Government would accept his name; or, if the hon. Baronet opposite would propose the hon. Member for Edinburgh, and the hon. Member for Edinaburgh would propose the hon. Baronet, both names would be accepted. In the meantime, he hoped hon. Members from Scotland would not carry their patriotism to the extent of excluding all English Members from the Committee and composing it exclusively of Scotchmen. He hoped the first name on the list would be now agreed to.

MR. WARTON said, he sympathized with the hon. Baronet and the hon. Member for Edinburgh, and held that the adoption of the proposed names, almost entirely English, would be the adoption of the first principle of Home Rule, and there was no knowing how far it might not be carried.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, he should be most happy, after the right hon. Gentleman's recognition of his protest, to withdraw his objection to the first name. At the same time, he must say he had always thought that Members were appointed on Committees not only to give information, but also to acquire it.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

MR. ELTON, MR. CHARLES JAMES, MR. JAMES W. LOWTHER, MR. SOLICITOR GENERAL, MR. GREGORY, MR. MELLOR, MR. PELL, MR. CHEETHAM, MR. COLLINS, MR. WAUGH, MR. HASTINGS, and MR. HEALY, *nominated* other Members of the Committee:—Three to be the quorum.

MR. R. H. PAGET: I would now move to add a name to the Committee.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member must give Notice of his Motion.

MR. R. H. PAGET intimated that he would give the necessary Notice.

#### ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY [ADDITIONAL OFFICERS, SALARIES, &c.].

##### RESOLUTION.

Committee to consider of empowering the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to appoint certain additional Officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and of authorising the payment of their Salaries and Allowances out of moneys to be provided by Parliament (Queen's *Recommendation* signified), upon *Monday* next.

MR. HEALY said, he supposed this was the formal Resolution upon which the Bill of which the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant gave Notice in the debate on Sunday week would be founded.

MR. TREVELYAN: That is exactly the case. I think, after what passed on the occasion referred to, hon. Members will hardly oppose the Resolution.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman explain the Bill on its introduction?

MR. TREVELYAN: I trust the hon. Member will allow the Motion to be moved in Committee on Monday without explanation. There will be an opportunity given to hon. Members to discuss the Bill when I introduce it.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman explain the Bill on its introduction?

MR. TREVELYAN: Yes.

*Resolution agreed to.*

#### WATERWORKS CLAUSES ACT (1847) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. TORRENS, Bill to declare and explain the sixty-eighth section of "The Waterworks Clauses Act, 1847," *ordered to be brought in* by Mr. TORRENS, MR. SCLATER-BOOOTH, MR. ARTHUR COHEN, and MR. RITCHIE.

*Bill presented, and read the first time.* [Bill 159.]

House adjourned at half after One o'clock till Monday next.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday, 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Report*—Medical Act Amendment\* (34).

*Third Reading*—Local Government Provisional Orders\* (33), and *passed*.

#### HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF ALBANY.

##### ADDRESS OF CONDOLENCE TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, it was my painful duty on Friday last to announce to your Lordships the death of His Royal Highness Prince Leopold, the Duke of Albany—a death rendered all the more lamentable by its suddenness and the youth of him who has thus passed away. I rise now to ask your Lordships to join in the Addresses of Condolence of which I have given Notice it was my intention to move. Ten years ago, the question of a Parlia-

mentary Grant gave occasion to the Leaders of both the political Parties in the two Houses of Parliament to speak of Prince Leopold in words of praise such as are not often applicable to so young a man. Public opinion has since that time pronounced its verdict, that there was no mere flattery and exaggeration in the words which were at that time used. Ill-health, which so often destroys the energy and faculties of its victims, in Prince Leopold's case only turned his thoughts into intellectual channels. He studied letters, science, and art in different lines; and, in imitation of his illustrious Father, and very much in the same spirit, he applied the results of those studies in persistent efforts to raise all classes, and especially the lower and poorer classes, in this country to a higher level of enjoyment and of knowledge. It was only three years ago that His Royal Highness became a Member of this House, and if he did not take a leading part in your Lordships' discussions it was exclusively owing to that judicious determination of the Members of the present Royal Family that it is better that they should not be mixed up in political and Party strife. In all other respects he was qualified to take a foremost part among your Lordships—he had the voice, the manner, the culture, and the thought necessary for a first-rate speaker. He took great interest in political questions, in home politics, in foreign politics, and especially in Colonial politics. He gave frequent assistance to the Queen in Her Majesty's manifold daily political work, and his own strong wish—I may say his concentrated ambition—was to be employed in the service of the State. I do not think it is here or now necessary for me to dwell upon the merits of his private life. There are many of your Lordships who know full well his capacity for friendship, his affectionate feelings, and his simplicity and modesty of bearing, although associated with the consciousness of mental power. I ask your Lordships to join in these Addresses. They express not only your own feelings, as one of the greatest Bodies in the State, but they are typical of the universal sympathy felt in this country, and in the great Dependencies of this country—of sympathy with the widowed Mother, the most prosperous Sovereign who ever ruled over this

country, but who yet has received such heavy blows in her domestic relations; and they express feelings of sympathy with that young Widow, soon about to become for the second time a mother, who has seen in one short moment shattered the unalloyed happiness of a marriage which was based on mutual attachment and on love. My Lords, I beg to move the Address which stands in my name.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I rise to perform the melancholy task of seconding, on behalf of the noble Lords who sit on this side of the House, the Motion which the noble Earl has made. I am sure that all your Lordships will be anxious at this moment to proffer your sympathy to the Sovereign and to the Widow, and to give expression to feelings which have found voice, not only among every class in England, but wherever the English tongue is spoken. The bitterness of a bereavement lies in the sudden contrast that a few hours may make, and there never was a contrast more sudden or more terrible than this. An exalted position, high intellectual powers, rapidly unfolding gifts of eloquence and culture, great popularity, a recent and happy marriage—all these things were his on Thursday night, and were all swept away in the few short hours of Friday morning. If ever the sympathy of subjects can carry any balm of consolation for so great a grief to those who have suffered so suddenly, I am sure it will be freely offered, and I am sure it will be kindly and graciously received on the present occasion, even though our words can do little to efface the sting which death has left. My Lords, the loss is not merely an individual loss; it is a loss to the whole nation, and to every class of it. The noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) has dwelt in vivid but fitting terms on the great powers possessed by the deceased Prince, and on his great anxiety to use them for the Public Service. He had given proof—though he was not able to do it in this House—he had given proof outside of many of the gifts which he had inherited from his Father, and which, by constant industry and culture, he was developing, and which promised a brilliant future. It was his lot to take part in many movements for the elevation and benefit of the people of this country. He threw himself into them

with cordiality and heartiness, and, in addressing himself to subjects which, by the very generality of their interest, might have a tendency to become common-place, it was always his gift to touch, in his speeches upon these subjects, some new chord of sympathy, and to give proof of special penetration, of fresh and unhackneyed thought. There was every prospect, if life had been spared, of a career of devoted service to the public, of great and singular talents in a position singularly fitted for their effective exercise. All that hope, has been cut off. We have now only to reverence his memory and mourn his loss. In carrying this Vote of Condolence to the foot of the Throne, and to the Wife whom he has left behind him, your Lordships will be expressing your sorrow for a grief which has smitten not only the Throne, but all classes of this country.

*Moved*, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to express the deep concern of this House at the great loss which Her Majesty has sustained by the death of His Royal Highness Prince Leopold George Duncan Albert, fourth son of Her Majesty the Queen, and to condole with Her Majesty on this melancholy occasion :

"To assure Her Majesty that this House will ever feel the warmest interest in whatever concerns Her Majesty's domestic relations ; and to declare the ardent wishes of this House for the happiness of Her Majesty and of Her family." —(*The Earl Granville*.)

On Question, *agreed to nemine dissente.*

*Ordered*, That the said Address be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF ALBANY.

ADDRESS OF CONDOLENCE TO HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS OF ALBANY.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I beg to move the second Resolution of which I have given Notice.

*Moved* to resolve, "That this House do condole with Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany on the loss which she has sustained by the death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Albany." —(*The Earl Granville*.)

On Question, *agreed to nemine dissente.*

*Ordered*, That a message of condolence be sent to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany, and that the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Bedford do attend Her Royal Highness with the said message.

## RAILWAYS—CONTINUOUS BRAKES— LEGISLATION.—QUESTION.

EARL DE LA WARR asked Her Majesty's Government, When it is proposed to introduce the Railway Brakes Bill?

LORD SUDELEY: I am informed by the President of the Board of Trade that he intends very shortly to introduce into the other House the Railway Bill which was referred to in the Queen's Speech at the opening of this Session, and that in this Bill the question of continuous brakes will be dealt with.

## EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)— THE MAHDI.

### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD COLCHESTER, in rising to ask, Whether Her Majesty's Government have any information leading them to believe that the Mahdi is disposed to accept the offers made to him relative to Kordofan ; whether such acceptance would imply the abandonment of all temporal or spiritual pretensions outside that province ; and, whether the forces lately in conflict with British troops in the Eastern Soudan were not avowedly in arms for the purpose of establishing the authority of the Mahdi in that region ? said, the Question he wished to put to Her Majesty's Ministers bore on a point which had never been distinctly made clear in any of the explanations given, either in that House or "elsewhere." The revolt, headed by the Mahdi, before Her Majesty's Government entered on their recent policy, was one the objects of which could not be limited to any one Province or even to the Soudan itself, being directed to establish a supremacy for a Leader who claimed to bear the commission of a Prophet over all Mussulman lands which it could overrun. Her Majesty's Government, however, had considered that, by recognizing the independence of the Soudan, they would stop the tide of that movement. They relied, apparently, on the language of Colonel Stewart, pointing out that, but for the oppression of the country, the Mahdi would not have been able to light that conflagration, a statement by no means necessarily implying that now that numbers of followers had accepted the Mahdi's mission, and that victories like those over Hicks and Baker had led them to believe his



cause irresistible in its power, they would be ready to set bounds to their progress, till, as had partly occurred, their strength had been broken. The first thing they had heard after General Gordon's mission was that he recommended no direct dealing with the Mahdi. The next thing was that he proclaimed him Prince of Kordofan. This, they had been told, was recognizing an established fact. But recognizing such a power as that of the Mahdi was making the fact more significant, which, if it was unconnected with any conditions, tended only to make him more confident in his pretensions. They did not know the terms of that offer, or how it had been received. He had seen that one of the organs of the Liberal Party in the Press stated, as a fact, that the Mahdi was favourably disposed to England, which, no doubt, made it appear more strange to many that we should be engaged in a struggle with his lieutenant, Osman Digna. The same report stated that El Obeid was in complete anarchy, the Mahdi having performed no administrative acts beyond certain executions, a state of things which, if true, did not augur well for the success of the policy which recognized him as a Sultan. He (Lord Colchester) did not wish to express any particular censure of the operations lately undertaken in the vicinity of Suakin, though it was natural enough that those who did believe in the policy of the Government, those who did think that a solution of the question was to be obtained by leaving the Soudan to itself, might have been bitterly disappointed at such a result, and disposed to denounce, as useless slaughter, that warfare against those they had been told only desired to be rid of Egyptian oppression. It might seem repugnant that men of determined valour should be slain by thousands by the mere mechanical superiority of the arms of European troops; but it was clear that the followers of Osman Digna were desperate and dangerous fanatics, neither giving nor accepting mercy, and whose triumph meant the extermination or slavery of all who, whether Christian or Mussulman, did not accept their Prophet's mission. If the views of Her Majesty's Government were, that it was necessary to allow no troops professing allegiance to the Mahdi to approach the

*Lord Colchester*

Red Sea shore, he did not dispute that it might have been a right policy. But their satisfaction must be diminished by finding that all their victories resulted only in driving the enemy into a country a few marches inland, where they could not be followed. Since the Notice of the Question had been given there had been still graver news from Khartoum. It appeared that the policy of withdrawal from a liberated Soudan had ended by involving us in a war with the Mahdi, a war alike by the Nile and the Red Sea, the practical purpose of which must be to compel him to take the step he could hardly do without ruining his cause—that of abdicating the position of a *quasi*-Caliph to accept that of a local Prince. He would conclude by asking the Question of which he had given Notice.

EARL GRANVILLE, in reply, said, that the answer to the first part of the Question must be in the negative. Her Majesty's Government had no information of the kind the noble Lord asked for; and, that being the case, he was unable to give any answer to the second part, which was dependent on the first. In reply to the third part, he believed there was no doubt whatever that the Natives, who fought against Her Majesty's troops near Suakin, professed to do it for the purpose of establishing the authority of the Mahdi in that part of the country.

#### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN) — RELIEF OF GENERAL GORDON.

##### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD STRATHNAIRN was understood to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether the arrangements which were reported to have been made for the departure of our troops from Suakin could be delayed or postponed, as it would be a great advantage if the Government could devise some means—the road to Berber and Khartoum being now open, and there being plenty of water—to render assistance to General Gordon? They would probably meet with no resistance, and would be of the greatest service in relieving General Gordon in his task of defending the lines of Khartoum. He should like also to have some information respecting the health of the troops.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I do not wish, on my own personal authority,

to controvert anything that has been said by the noble and gallant Lord (Lord Strathnairn). There is no doubt whatever that we have reason to be deeply grateful for the general state of health of the troops near Suakin at this present moment, for it is very satisfactory. At the same time, your Lordships will remember that very great hardships were for some time endured by them, and great difficulties experienced in respect to obtaining a supply of water; and I rather think that the noble and gallant Lord will allow that a march of 240 miles into the interior, when the climate is becoming worse every day, is hardly the same thing as the late advance of a few miles inland from Suakin. As to defending the lines at Khartoum, no doubt, it is very desirable they should be properly protected; but I must remind the noble and gallant Lord that General Gordon is undoubtedly a very great General; and not only so, but he is one of the most distinguished members of the Engineer Corps of this country.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I had hoped that the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) would have taken advantage of the opportunity of these two questions to have made some statement to the House with respect to the present anxious and lamentable position of affairs in Egypt, and would have given us some indication of the policy which Her Majesty's Government are prepared, under the circumstances, to pursue. I should have been glad if it were possible for the noble Earl to tell us in what manner it is intended to hold Suakin, and in what manner it is intended to relieve General Gordon; for I imagine that both of these objects must be constantly present to the mind of Her Majesty's Government, and that they must surely have formed some plan for achieving them. I must confess that, as far as matters have gone at present, although I can quite understand the hesitation which the military authorities in this country may well feel before authorizing a march from Suakin to Berber—an undertaking which, although sanctioned by the great authority of my noble and gallant Friend (Lord Strathnairn), yet is evidently one that is surrounded with difficulty—although I can understand their hesitation in this respect, yet the particular objects and aims of the policy of the Govern-

ment are to my mind more shrouded in mystery than they ever were before. As far as the gallantry of our soldiers or the ability of our officers is concerned, we must look back on the last few weeks with the most unfeigned congratulation. There has been nothing but that which we can felicitate ourselves upon; but if we ask ourselves what are the results that have been obtained by this campaign, I do not see that we can give any other answer than that some 6,000 Blacks and some 200 Whites have been killed. I cannot see that any other result has been obtained. The lines of Suakin are just as defensible now as they were then, and they were just as defensible then as they are now. No change whatever has been made in that respect by the operations which were undertaken. There is no doubt that a great advantage might have been gained if it had been possible to impress the Native mind with any permanent and abiding belief in our power and the fear of our resentment. But have we been able to impress them with any such feeling? Is there any sign that such a conviction has reached their minds? On the contrary, is not that sudden retirement certain to impress them with the very opposite conviction? They do not understand the mysterious ways of your policy; they cannot understand that you have made such a great expedition with the mere object of shooting so many Blacks and then coming back again. They must have thought that there was some ulterior object which we intended to achieve, and it is perfectly clear that we have not achieved it by immediate retirement. They can draw no other conclusion than that your campaign has absolutely failed. I regret very much that this should be the result; but the impression of which I speak is the natural result of what I must think the hasty and uncalculating action of Her Majesty's Government. They do not seem, at any stage of these long troubles, to have looked for two or three months a-head of the very period in which they were acting. They appear to have never asked themselves—"If this move fails, what will be the next move to take?" And the result is that we find ourselves forced by the climate to withdraw our troops at the very moment when some advantage might have been obtained from the sacrifices



that we have made, and the blood that has unfortunately been shed. This has been simply the result of the miscalculation of the Government. I suppose they have formed some plan for the future. I suppose that there are some arrangements by which trustworthy troops will be left to defend Suakin, the defence of which has been held hitherto to be the great object of all our efforts. Then, I suppose that the gallant man who has gone to Khartoum, with his life in his hand, in order to retrieve the blunders of English policy, will not be abandoned to his fate; but I shall be glad to know by what means Her Majesty's Government propose to attain objects which appear to be so unattainable.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK said, that before this Question was passed, he would like to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether Her Majesty's Government had received any official confirmation of the news which had appeared in the newspapers with respect to the defeat of General Gordon at Khartoum?

EARL GRANVILLE, in reply, said, that he had heard—and he was sorry to say the news was perfectly true—that a sortie had been made by the garrison from Khartoum, which had not been successful; but the Government were awaiting fuller information with respect to the engagement and the position of affairs at Khartoum. He wished to add, however, that Her Majesty's Government had confidence in General Gordon as to his maintaining his position at that place.

#### MEDICAL ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Lord President.*)

(NO. 34.) REPORT.

Order of the Day for Consideration of the Report of Amendments read.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he was anxious that the Bill should reach the other House of Parliament before the Easter holidays; and he proposed that its third reading should be taken on Thursday. He had an Amendment, which he would move on Thursday, relating to the constitution of the Medical Board in Ireland. Having added a representative to the Board from the Medical Colleges and Corporations in Ireland, he had proposed, at the same

time, to give an additional member to be elected conjointly by the Irish Universities; and he had had, as he thought, reason to think that that proposal would be acceptable. Since the last stage of the Bill, he understood, on the contrary, that the proposal was extremely unacceptable, and he found it necessary to give it up. He would put an Amendment on the Paper that evening which would have the effect of giving an additional representative on the Board to each of those Universities.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he could not conceive how there should be any such haste in proceeding with the Bill; because, even if it went down to the other House before Easter, was there any chance of that House proceeding with the measure for a very long time to come? At an early part of the Session the noble Lord the President of the Council told their Lordships that he was extremely anxious to proceed with the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, that it might go down to the other House and be discussed there. Well, that Bill had gone down to the other House, and they knew well the condition in which it now was. It had been put down for a Morning Sitting, and the result was that several Members made long speeches, and the House was obliged to adjourn. That was not the way in which the Government, if it were in earnest about passing the Bill, should have treated it. During the last stage of the Bill now before their Lordships, the noble Lord had come to an understanding with his noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns), and agreed to introduce a clause in reference to the representation of the Universities and Medical Corporations on the Board.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): I assure the noble Duke that the proposal I make is entirely consonant with what passed between me and the noble and learned Earl opposite (Earl Cairns), and is found in the Amendment of which I have given Notice. I privately informed the noble and learned Earl that I was about to propose the Amendment; and I now suggest that it would be convenient that I should propose it on Thursday.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: As I understood the noble

*The Marquess of Salisbury*



and learned Earl (Earl Cairns) and the agreement referred to, there were to be four members in each University and in each Corporation. I understood the noble Lord the President of the Council to modify that, and to say that there were to be three members in each University and one other member to be chosen.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): I have given that up.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: If the noble Lord is proposing to insert, on the third reading, a clause that will have the effect of giving four members to each University and three to each Corporation that is an alteration to which I should not object.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): That is precisely the effect of the Amendment of which I have now given Notice. My Amendment, as now proposed, will give four members on the Board of each of the Universities and three to each of the Corporations.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: I should not have troubled the noble Lord if he had explained that at first.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): I think if the noble Duke had followed the progress of the Bill he would have understood it.

*Amendments reported, and agreed to.*

*Bill to be read 3<sup>a</sup> on Thursday next.*

House adjourned at a quarter past  
Five o'clock, till To-morrow,  
a quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 31st March, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Considered as amended*—*Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.)*

PUBLIC BILL—*Second Reading*—Representation of the People\* [119] [Third Night], *debate further adjourned.*

## INDISPOSITION OF MR. SPEAKER.

The House being met, the Clerk at the Table informed the House of the unavoidable absence of Mr. SPEAKER on account of severe indisposition:—

Whereupon Sir ARTHUR OTWAY, the Chairman of Ways and Means, proceeded to the Table as Deputy Speaker, and 40 Members being present, took the Chair pursuant to the Standing Order.

## PRIVATE BUSINESS.

### LONDON AND SOUTH WESTERN RAILWAY BILL.

#### SECOND READING.

*Order for Second Reading read.*

MR. BRYCE said, the Bill proposed, among other things, to take, for the purposes of their undertaking, certain small portions of Barnes Common, one of the open spaces set apart for the enjoyment and recreation of the inhabitants of the Metropolis. In consideration of the importance of the subject, he should have deemed it his duty to oppose the Bill, if it had not been that the London and South-Western Railway Company had recognized the justice of the claim put forward on behalf of the public in that part of London, and had agreed to throw into the common certain pieces of land belonging to them larger in extent than that which they proposed to take. Under these circumstances, he did not intend to oppose the Bill, and he ventured to mention the matter as a precedent which he thought might be advantageously followed by Railway Companies in other cases.

*Bill read a second time, and committed.*

### SOUTHAMPTON CORPORATION (CEMETERY, &c.) BILL (*by Order.*)

#### CONSIDERATION.

*Order for Consideration, as amended, read.*

*Bill, as amended, considered.*

MR. W. H. JAMES, in rising to move the insertion of a clause for the amendment of Section 72 of the "Southampton Marsh and Markets Act, 1865," said, it would be in the recollection of the House that at the time of the second reading of

the Bill he had moved an Amendment to the effect that it was undesirable for the House to sanction the taking of common land in the neighbourhood of a populous town for the purpose of enlarging a cemetery. That Amendment was defeated by a considerable majority, and it was defeated mainly on the ground that there was a clause already in existence, in the Act of 1865, which regulated the open spaces belonging to Southampton, which provided that no portion of this land should be taken for enlarging the cemetery without previously holding certain meetings of the Vestries, and without convening a special meeting of the Town Council. What he now proposed was, that that portion of the clause which excepted applications to Parliament for authority to take portions of the open spaces belonging to Southampton for various purposes, and among others for the enlargement of the Cemetery, should be repealed; so that, in the event of any application being made to Parliament at any future time for land for the enlargement of the Cemetery, it should be necessary, in the first place, to obtain the sanction of the inhabitants of Southampton to the application being made. His chief object in proposing this clause was to provide that the ratepayers of Southampton, in regard to any future steps it might be considered desirable to take with the view of appropriating any portion of this common land, should receive adequate and sufficient publicity. It might be alleged that sufficient means already existed in the provisions of the Act relating to borough funds. Under that Act it was necessary to hold a public meeting, and also to hold two special meetings of the Town Council; but the provisions would be undoubtedly more stringent under the clause which he had placed on the Paper; because the Vestries of Southampton—and he believed there were five existing parishes which had Vestries—must each of them consider the question, if it were proposed at any future time to enlarge the cemetery by appropriating a further portion of the common land. In point of fact, each Vestry must pass a separate and distinct resolution, and there would be a further safeguard in holding the two special meetings of the Town Council. Another object he had in moving the insertion of the clause was this. He was

satisfied that many hon. Members who voted for the second reading of the Bill did so because they felt that full publicity would be given to these points by the Committee to whom the Bill was referred. With the permission of the House, he would state what actually happened. In the first instance, the Corporation of Southampton opposed, upon the question of *locus standi*, the only opponents of the Bill who had petitioned, and they threatened with opposition on *locus standi* other persons in the town who were not in favour of the scheme. The result was that all opposition to the Bill was practically withdrawn; and therefore the measure so far as it affected the people of Southampton, had really never been considered at all. It was not simply in the interests of the town of Southampton that he had raised the question, and he did not think the House would look at it merely in that light. He thought that any proposal which involved the taking of common land belonging to the inhabitants of a town was a very bad one; and he was quite certain that his hon. Friend below him (Mr. Lee), and the other hon. Member for Southampton opposite (Mr. Giles), would agree with him in that proposition, even so far as the interests of the people of the town of Southampton were concerned. He had no doubt that both of those hon. Members would go a long way in admitting the principle he was anxious to establish. All that they wished was, that an exception should be made for their own town in this particular instance. But if the principle were once established, and they allowed this common land to be taken for a Cemetery, they would soon have some other community coming before Parliament for the purpose of taking common land for hospitals or reformatories; and he was therefore anxious to lay down a precedent for the future guidance of the House. If something of this kind were not done, when future applications were made, it would be said—"You have done this in the case of Southampton, and why should not the same thing be done in the case of Brighton, Barnstaple, or any other town for which a measure of the same kind is proposed?" He thought that if a clause if this character were inserted in the Bill it would provide that full publicity should in future be given

to every application of this character. Unless something of the kind were done, he entertained a strong opinion that the interests of the public would not be sufficiently or adequately protected by means of the Private Bill legislation of the House; but that they would be effectually shut out from obtaining a hearing. In the first place, they would be out of sight; and in the next out of mind. There was one small matter connected with the clause as it stood on the Paper which he must refer to. As it now stood, it related to applications to Parliament for authority to take portions of common land for the defence of the Realm. He was told that some opposition was likely to be raised by the War Office to that part of the clause, and therefore he proposed to strike out the words "for the defence of the Realm."

New Clause:—

(Amendment of section seventy-two of Southampton Marsh and Markets Act, 1865.)

"So much of sub-section (c) of section seventy-two of 'The Southampton Marsh and Markets Act, 1865,' as excepts applications to Parliament for authority to take portions of common land for enlarging the Cemetery, or enlarging the Cemetery from the operation of the said sub-section, is hereby repealed; and, after the passing of this Act, no application to Parliament whatever for taking or using any part of the said common lands for any purpose other than the purposes for which the same are to be so devoted and kept shall be made, supported, or assented to directly or indirectly by the Corporation, unless the application has been previously assented to, as in the said sub-section is provided,"—(*Mr. W. H. James*),

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time.

MR. H. LEE said, he trusted that the House would not accept the clause which the hon. Member for Gateshead (*Mr. W. H. James*) had moved. It did not seem to him that the hon. Member had assigned a sufficient reason why the clause should be inserted in the Bill, inasmuch as the Corporation of Southampton had not abused the powers which had previously been vested in them, but had acted throughout in strict accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1865, which required them to convene meetings of the inhabitants and of the Town Council before any application

was made to Parliament. Section 72 of that Act made provision for keeping the common land always open, except where application was made to Parliament for authority to take any part of it for the defence of the Realm, or for enlarging the Cemetery or waterworks. Before making an application to Parliament, it was necessary to obtain the assent of the Town Council and three-fifths of the rate-payers present at Vestry meetings of three out of the five parishes of Southampton. There was no ground whatever for presuming that, in the future, the Corporation would be likely to act in an improper manner. The circumstances under which this addition to the Cemetery was required had already been stated to the House. He might, however, explain briefly that for 40 years 15 out of 375 acres of common land had been used for a Cemetery; and the Corporation of Southampton now sought to add 12 acres more, in order to avoid the very large expense which would be incurred if they were compelled to go outside the borough in order to obtain a new Cemetery. They were empowered by the Act of 1865 to go to Parliament, even without a preliminary meeting of the inhabitants of the borough; but there had been no opposition whatever on the part of the inhabitants of the borough to the taking of these 12 acres. There was one Petition against the Bill; but it was withdrawn; and even that Petition owed its origination more to outside influence than to the action of the inhabitants of the borough. He trusted, therefore, that the House would reject the clause as it had been drawn by the hon. Member on the ground that it was altogether unnecessary. It was hardly likely that the Corporation of Southampton would seek to take any portion of this common land without the consent of the inhabitants. They were the natural custodians of the land, and they had no desire to see that common land used for any improper purpose, or for any purpose that would diminish the power of the inhabitants to make use of it as it was intended. Therefore, if the House consented to insert the clause proposed by the hon. Member, they would throw upon the Corporation of Southampton a stigma they did not deserve; because they had already taken every step they were required to take by law in order to bring the matter publicly before the inhabit-



ants. A meeting of the inhabitants had been convened, and if the people did not attend in large numbers it was not the fault of the Corporation. At that meeting a resolution was passed by a considerable majority empowering the Corporation to make their application to Parliament. The clause now proposed would really make very little difference. The effect of it would be very little greater than that of the requirements of the law as it now existed at the present moment under the Borough Funds Act. He would not weary the House by going further into the matter; but he trusted that the House would reject the clause, and pass the Bill as it had been sent down from the Committee.

MR. GILES said, he altogether protested against the insertion of the proposed clause. The second reading of the Bill had been passed by a very large majority—a majority of 218; and he thought that the attempt now being made to force upon the Corporation of Southampton a clause which would take from them the power they sought, and which was practically given to them by the Act of 1855, would, if successful, amount to a reversal of the verdict already arrived at by the House. His own opinion was that the objection raised by the hon. Member for Gateshead (Mr. W. H. James) was only a sentimental objection, because not only the Corporation of Southampton, but the ratepayers were—he would not say unanimously—but greatly, in favour of utilizing a portion of this common land for the enlargement of the existing Cemetery. He therefore hoped the House would not listen to the proposal made to it to reverse the policy already adopted, but would at once reject the clause.

MR. BRYCE said, he was not quite sure, from the remarks which had been made by the two hon. Members for Southampton (Mr. Lee and Mr. Giles), whether the House would clearly apprehend what the real point at issue was. The case stood thus—By the general law, a Corporation proceeding in this way were required to go through certain formalities; but they had been exempted by a local Act of Parliament from going through these formalities in case of taking land for the defence of the Realm, or for the enlargement of the existing Cemetery. All that the clause of his hon. Friend the Member for Gateshead

(Mr. W. H. James) proposed was that, in making any future application for taking common land for the purpose of the Cemetery, they should proceed precisely in the same way as would be necessary in the event of proposing to take the land for any other purpose. Surely there was nothing unreasonable in that. It was only fair and right that every opportunity should be afforded to the inhabitants of Southampton for expressing their opinion on the question; and all his hon. Friend asked was that such an opportunity should be given for publicity. The clause could not prejudice the question in any way. It merely asked that, in any application to Parliament for power to take common land in future, every publicity should be given to the inhabitants of Southampton in order that they might be able to express their opinion upon the matter. He thought it was desirable that the clause should be inserted, so that it might form a precedent in the case of similar applications being made by other Municipal Bodies hereafter.

MR. LEWIS said, the object of the Amendment was practically to repeal a portion of an Act of Parliament which was at present in existence; and, in that case, the onus rested on those who proposed the clause and opposed the Bill to show that the legislation in question should be altered. No attempt had been made to satisfy that condition; and the House was simply asked, in the interests of an indefinite number of unknown persons, to subject the Corporation of Southampton to inconvenience in dealing with this public property—an inconvenience which the Legislature had deliberately considered, and had deliberately refused to inflict upon the Corporation. It was not necessary that he should go into the question whether the objection was a sentimental one or not. He would only say that if they exercised their common sense they would refuse to entertain it. The House was asked to repeal a portion of a section of a well-considered Act, and without any reason whatever being assigned in justification of the alteration. He hoped the House would refuse to accept the Amendment which had been proposed.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Bill to be read the third time.

## MOTION.

—o—

PARLIAMENTARY OATH (MR. BRADLAUGH).—RESOLUTION.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER acquainted the House that Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the Members for Northampton, had addressed a letter to Mr. Speaker, which was read by the Clerk as followeth :—

20, Circus Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.  
28 March 1884.

To the Right Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons.

Sir,

*By the Order the House was pleased to make against me on the 21st February, I am excluded from access to the Library of the House. For my defence in the argument on the hearing of the suit commenced against me on behalf of Her Majesty for my votes in the House on February 11th, and in which suit issue has been joined, it is material to me to have access to records of the House, which, so far as I am aware, can only be perused in the Library of the House. I therefore, through you, Sir, respectfully ask the House, notwithstanding its Order of the 21st February last, to grant me, until the hearing of the said suit, the entry to the Library hitherto always accorded to all other Members of the House. I beg, respectfully, to add that I still hold myself bound by the undertaking contained in the letter from myself of February 21st last, entered on the Journals of the House of that date.*

*I have the honour to be,*

Sir,

*Your mo. obedt. servt.,*

C. BRADLAUGH.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Mr. Deputy Speaker, I had communicated to me yesterday by Mr. Speaker the letter from Mr. Bradlaugh which has just been read at the Table. It appears to me that nothing could be more reasonable than the request which Mr. Bradlaugh makes in that letter, and certainly it was not the intention of the House to exclude him from access to the Library. I therefore beg to move that Mr. Bradlaugh be permitted to use the Library of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That Mr. Bradlaugh be permitted to use the Library of this House, being otherwise subject to the Resolution of the 21st February.”—(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

MR. HEALY: I have no objection whatever to this Motion, and I do not rise to oppose it; but I wish to ask you, Sir, as a point of Order, why this letter from Mr. Bradlaugh should have precedence over every other Business of the House?

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Questions involving the privileges of a Member of Parliament have, according to the Rules and Practice of the House, precedence over all other Business.

Motion agreed to.

*Resolved*, That Mr. Bradlaugh be permitted to use the Library of this House, being otherwise subject to the Resolution of the 21st February.

## QUESTIONS.

—o—

EGYPT—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I beg to ask the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can now state when he expects to be in a position to make a general explanation of the policy of the Government in Egypt?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, in reply to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman, put to me this day last week, I renew—although I will not repeat it in detail—the protest which I then made against the assumption which that Question appears to involve—that I had undertaken, on the part of the Government, to make any statement with regard to the general policy of the Government in Egypt. As regards the Soudan, I am able, after communication with my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, to repeat the assurance which I gave last week, that the Government will endeavour, either by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister—or, in his absence, I will endeavour to take his place—to communicate to the House such information as may be possible with regard to the state of affairs in the Soudan generally. With regard to the question of the future defence and protection of Suakin, to which reference is made in a subsequent Question by the noble Lord the Member for West Essex (Lord Eustace Cecil), I hope we shall be able to give tolerably full information to the House. With regard to the state of affairs in Khartoum and to the position of General Gordon, we will communicate to the House such information as

we are able to give; but I am not able, in the present state of communication between Khartoum and Cairo, to say how far it will be possible for us to make a complete statement on that subject. I hope, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman will renew the Question on a subsequent day before the rising of the House for the Easter Recess. Perhaps, in order to anticipate Questions that may probably be put, I may state that we have received from General Gordon a message that generally confirms the statement that was made in *The Times* of this morning, although it does not contain any reference to the alleged treachery of any of the Egyptian officials. The message, however, does contain a statement from General Gordon of a reassuring character as to his own security and as to the security of Khartoum.

MR. MACFARLANE: What was the date of that communication?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The date was the 16th.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I do not think, Sir, that the answer of the noble Marquess is a satisfactory one. He has not answered the Question I put to him. In the first place, I beg to remark that I did not imply or express that the noble Marquess had promised to make any particular statement. I wanted to know when it would be possible for the Government to make such a statement—and I do not confine myself to the question of the Soudan; but I think that it would be right for the House to ask for a general explanation of the policy of the Government. I would ask the noble Marquess, who says that some statement will be made before the Easter Holidays—it cannot be far from the Holidays now—to tell us, first, when the Holidays will begin; and, secondly, when that statement will be made?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, as regards the commencement of the Holidays, we propose, if possible, that the House shall adjourn from its rising next Tuesday until the following Monday week; but that arrangement will be contingent, of course, upon the conclusion of the debate on the second reading of the Franchise Bill, and also on my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department being able to find an opportunity of introducing the Bill for the better govern-

ment of London. I am afraid that it is impossible for me, at present, to make a more definite statement in regard to the Holidays than that. If the right hon. Gentleman will renew his Question on Thursday, I will communicate in the meantime with my right hon. Friend, and will endeavour to arrange, either that the statement shall be made on Thursday, or to name the day on which it will be made.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I am very reluctant, Sir, on account of the peculiar circumstances of the Business of this evening, to interfere with that Business in any way, and, therefore, I will postpone my Question until Thursday; but, unless I receive a satisfactory answer then, I shall feel it to be my duty to press that Question by every means in my power.

MR. ONSLOW: May I ask the noble Marquess this Question? The noble Marquess says that he will place, as far as he can, information before the House as to General Gordon. What my right hon. Friend (Sir Stafford Northcote) wishes to know is, what is the policy of the Government with regard to Egypt, and not merely what information the Government has received with regard to the Soudan and Egypt? I would ask the noble Marquess, whether, considering the very critical position of General Gordon at the present juncture, he cannot, before Easter, tell us what measures Her Majesty's Government are going to take in order to relieve General Gordon from his difficulties?

MR. J. LOWTHER: I beg to ask the noble Marquess, whether any definite information has been received from General Gordon? The noble Marquess says that he has received a telegram from General Gordon. Can he communicate it to the House?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, the telegram we have received, as I have said, generally bears out the statement which appeared in *The Times* of this morning. In fact, General Gordon, in his telegram, refers us to the statement in *The Times*, because, I think, he says that he has not time to write at any great length. The telegram does not contain any official statement as to the alleged treachery; and it concludes by the assurance, to use General Gordon's own words—"They are all right at Khartoum."



THE PARKS (METROPOLIS) — HYDE PARK—THE ACHILLES STATUE.

MR. J. W. LOWTHER asked the First Commissioner of Works, If he has taken any and what steps, since the 29th March 1883, to arrest the decay, by corrosion, of the "Achilles" statue in Hyde Park; and, if not, if he would explain the cause of the delay?

MR. SHAW LEFÈVRE: Sir, I have had the Achilles Statue carefully examined, and find that its defective state is due to the imperfect amalgamation of the metals in the original casting, which has led to serious corrosion. Before dealing with the matter, which may involve a very expensive process of repair, it is thought better to wait and see how far the flaws in the metal extend. At present there is no immediate danger to the statue.

THE NEW FOREST—WOODS AND PLANTATIONS—RECEIPT AND EXPENDITURE.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If there is any account of the expenditure on the woods and plantations in the New Forest during the last fifty years, and of the revenue actually realized from the sale of timber and trees during that period?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, I am desirous of giving the information for which the right hon. Gentleman asks in as complete a form as possible. The preparation of it involves a good deal of labour, and I must ask him to be so good as to defer his Question for a week.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—CASE OF PATRICK MALLEY, OF ROSSMUCK, TURLOUGH, CO. GALWAY.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can state what was the amount allowed to the Law Life Assurance Society in the case of Patrick Malley on the townland of Rossmuck, E.D. of Turlough, Galway, under the Arrears Act; whether the amount allowed to the landlords included all the ordinary annual rates and taxes, according to the agreement between Malley and the landlords; whether since the award under the Arrears Act, Malley and the other tenants on the estates have been ordered

by a decree at the Oughterard Petty Sessions to pay rates for a period of two years or two years and a half; whether he is aware that the tenants thus treated are in a condition of such distress that they had to walk both to the Sessions and back, a distance of 40 Irish miles, many of them without the price of a single meal; and, whether, in case the sum awarded to the landlords under the Arrears Act was calculated on the landlords paying all rates and taxes, the subsequent proceedings for rates against the tenants were legal?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that he was informed by the Land Commissioners that in the case of Malley £5 was the sum paid, being the amount the landlord was entitled to under the Arrears Act. This sum was irrespective of the arrears of rates and taxes. He believed it was the case that Malley and other persons were subsequently decreed against for arrears of county rates; and he understood that, being poor people, they had to walk a long distance to the Court. He (Mr. Trevelyan) was advised that the magistrates had no option but to give a decree.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Then, am I to understand that the facts stated in my Question are correct?

MR. TREVELYAN was understood to assent.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the £5 paid in the case of Malley was more than the landlord was entitled to under the Arrears Act.

LIGHTHOUSES (IRELAND)—THE ARDGLASS HARBOUR LIGHT.

LORD ARTHUR HILL asked the President of the Board of Trade, How soon he intends to remove the existing insufficient light at Ardglass Harbour, county Down, from its present position, and to erect it in its proper place—namely, on the pier?

MR. J. HOLMS: Sir, the Board of Trade have nothing to do with improving the local light at Ardglass. By the 11th section of the Ardglass Harbour Act, 1876, the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland are required, at the outer extremity of the works at the harbour, to exhibit and keep burning from sunset to sunrise such light or lights, if any, as the Commissioners of Irish Lights may direct. I am not aware

whether the Board of Irish Lights have made any direction in the matter, or that they have been negligent in their duty respecting it.

#### ARMY (INDIA)—THE KIRWEE BOOTY.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Secretary of State in Council has had his attention called to the recent judgment, by Lords Justices Cotton, Bowen, and Fry, in the Court of Appeal, in the case of "*Kinloch v. The Queen and v. The Secretary of State for India in Council*," and to the sympathy which all those able Judges expressed for the position of the Troops who claimed the alleged balance of their prize money; whether he will consider the desirability of advising Her Majesty to refer the long unsettled question respecting the residue of the Kirwee Booty to the decision of the Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice, under the Act 3 and 4 Vic. c. 65, s. 22; and, whether the residue of the property, taken from the Ex-Princes of Kirwee, should, under sections 2 and 12 of the Statute 1 Vic. c. 2 (the Civil List Act), be paid over to the Consolidated Fund, if it is not distributed as prize money to the Troops?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, I cannot find, in the shorthand notes of the three judgments, any remark which bears the interpretation placed on the views of the Lords Justices by the right hon. and gallant Member (Sir John Hay), unless an expression by Lord Justice Fry, of his sympathy with the motives of Mr. Kinloch, can be held to bear that construction. There does not appear to be any reason for re-opening the question of the alleged residue of Kirwee Booty, which was settled by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, after full consideration and hearing counsel, in 1869 and 1870.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER asked the hon. Gentleman, whether it was correctly reported that the Government of India had refused to give an account of the prize fund; and, whether, seeing this fund came into their hands in 1858, and was not distributed until ten years afterwards, while some of it was still disputed, it was not incumbent upon the Secretary of State to interpose his authority in behalf of those interested in the matter?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, this Question, I am told, does not arise upon that which I have just answered; but refers to the sum, shown as the balance of the Military Prize Funds, in the Finance and Revenue Accounts. It is not the fact that the Government of India have refused to furnish a statement of those balances. On the contrary, they did furnish a statement in considerable detail, and I have asked them to supply still further details.

#### THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND —THE EXAMINATION IN ARTS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that a Fellow of the Royal University set the same questions in the honour paper at the second University examination in Arts, last September, in English language and literature, as he had set to his own class at the sessional examination in Cork Queen's College; and, can he explain why this paper is omitted from the College Calendar just published?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I regret very much that this Question was put on the Notice Paper of the House of Commons, as it will be read as conveying an imputation of favouritism which is quite undeserved. There were, I am informed, 12 questions in each of the examination papers referred to. There was one question common to both, and in one other case a superficial resemblance between two questions; but I really put it to any hon. Member who knows what University examinations are, whether such a circumstance could possibly convey any charge? The Professor who prepared the papers states that this very partial reproduction of the questions was entirely unconscious on his part, and that he had not the first paper before him when he set the second, which was prepared during absence from home. He adds that, if he had had the first paper before him, he would have avoided the one repetition referred to. With regard to the non-appearance of the paper in the College calendar, papers are frequently omitted, sometimes by accident, often by design. In the present instance, it was accidentally omitted, owing to circumstances with which the Professor was wholly unconnected. In fact, he was not even aware of the omission.

MR. HEALY: May I ask how many Cork students presented themselves for honours at the University?

MR. TREVELYAN: That is a matter of importance to the gentleman concerned, and I do not like to mix it up with anything else, beyond vindicating his character.

MR. HEALY: Then I shall put the Question again on a future day.

#### PAYMENT OF WAGES IN PUBLIC-HOUSES PROHIBITION ACT, 1883— EVASION OF THE ACT.

MR. BRYCE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has ascertained if it is the case that the Act prohibiting the payment of wages in public-houses, passed last Session, is being evaded to a considerable extent in some parts of London; and, whether, if such is the case, he will take steps to have the Law enforced?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, there appeared to have been some cases in which the law prohibiting the payment of wages in public-houses had not been observed. The persons had been warned upon the subject, and he was informed that the police had orders to see that the law was strictly observed.

#### EGYPT (ARMY OF OCCUPATION)—THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TO THE SOUDAN — ALLOWANCES TO SUB- ALTERNES.

COLONEL MILNE-HOME asked the Financial Secretary to the War Office, If it is true that officers in the Expeditionary Force to the Soudan were deprived of their Colonial allowances from the day they left Cairo, thereby suffering considerable pecuniary loss; and, if so, whether the loss so incurred will be made good to them?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER: No, Sir; it is not true. I have made special inquiries since the hon. and gallant Member for Horsham (Sir Henry Fletcher) put this Question to me on the 22nd of February, and I find that the officers were not deprived of their Colonial allowances when they went with the Expeditionary Force to the Soudan.

#### PARLIAMENT—PRIVATE BILL COMMITTEES.

MR. CRAIG-SELLAR asked the Chancellor of the Duchy, Whether, having regard to the recent discussion on

Private Bill Legislation, and considering the difficulty, under the new arrangements for the transaction of Business, by means of Standing Committees, of securing an adequate number of Members to serve on Private Bill Committees, he will move for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the best means of improving the existing system; or, if he does not see his way to move for a Committee, whether he will inform the House if Her Majesty's Government propose to take any steps to remedy this admitted evil?

MR. DODSON: Sir, I said recently in debate that I considered the subject was one of such gravity and complication that it could only be effectually dealt with on the initiative and responsibility of the Government, and that it was desirable that it should be so dealt with as soon as the time and opportunity had arisen. Holding these views, I am not prepared, on behalf of the Government, to move for the appointment of a Committee to consider, or devise a plan for, this purpose.

MR. CRAIG-SELLAR: Will the right hon. Gentleman answer the latter part of my Question?

MR. DODSON: The latter part is, whether I will move for a Committee?

MR. CRAIG-SELLAR: No; whether the right hon. Gentleman proposes to take any steps to remedy the grievance?

MR. DODSON: I answered that in the first part of the Question, when I said that the subject was one which ought to be dealt with on the initiative and responsibility of the Government.

#### ARMY—THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE IN THE SOUDAN.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, looking to the rapid approach of the hot season, and the reported enfeebled condition of many of our soldiers, he is now in a position to state what arrangements have been made for establishing a permanent garrison at Suakin, and for relieving the regiments at present stationed in the Soudan?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I have already made some reference to this subject in my answer to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote), deferring any detailed answer until Thursday next, when the right



hon. Gentleman will renew his Question; but I may say that although it is apparently the fact that on a very severe and trying march a large number of troops were seriously affected by the heat of the climate, yet there is no reason whatever to suppose that the force now at Suakin can, under ordinary circumstances, be described as being in an enfeebled condition. On the contrary, General Graham has reported that the health of the troops is remarkably good, there being no more than 2 per cent on the sick list.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL said, he would repeat on Thursday that part of his Question that referred to the establishment of a permanent garrison at Suakin.

#### COUNTY COURTS (IRELAND)—JURISDICTION AS REGARDS WORKING MEN.

Mr. BROADHURST asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether the jurisdiction of the Irish County Courts is limited to the sum of £50; and, whether, since this limitation of jurisdiction places Irish working men at a disadvantage compared with British workmen, in the case of suing an employer for compensation under the Employers' Liability Act, and compels them to appeal to a higher court, he will introduce a measure to relieve them from incurring greater cost in obtaining justice?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Sir, the jurisdiction of the Irish County Courts in an action for damages is limited to £50; but the jurisdiction of the English County Court is so also. In both England and Ireland an action under the Employers' Liability Act can be brought in the County Court only; and, whether the Employers' Liability Act has or has not the effect of extending the jurisdiction of the County Court, the English and Irish working men are precisely in the same position, and it is quite a misunderstanding to suppose they are differently circumstanced.

#### CUSTOMS—LANDING CARGOES OF TEA IN IRELAND.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If there is any prohibition, statutable or other, to the

direct landing of cargoes of tea in Ireland from China or India?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): No, Sir; I have communicated with the Commissioners of Customs, and I am informed by them that there is no prohibition of any sort to the direct landing of cargoes of tea in Ireland from either China or India. There are, I believe, 16 ports and three creeks in Ireland at which cargoes of tea may be landed.

#### REGISTRY OF DEEDS (IRELAND).

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Royal Commission which, in 1880, inquired into the Registry of Deeds in Ireland, recommended an improvement in the position of the members of the clerical staff of that office; whether there are seventeen members of the Third Class whose services range from eight to twenty-three years; and, whether it is intended, in accordance with the recommendation of the Commissioners, to incorporate them with the Second Class, or otherwise remove their causes of complaint?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will inquire whether a memorial was received from the clerks of the Registry of Deeds Office on the 14th February 1882, the prayer of which the Treasury declined to grant; whether the Third Class clerks recently submitted another memorial to the Registrar of Deeds, which he declined to forward; whether five clerks of the Third Class have asked the permission of the Registrar to seek transfers to other departments; and, whether the Treasury will permit the remaining clerks of the Third Class to rise by regular annual increments to the maximum salary of the Second Class as recommended by the Royal Commission?

Mr. FINDLATER asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is not the case that, prior to the passing of "The Registry of Deeds Office (Ireland) Holidays Act, 1883," the clerks in said office were allowed certain holidays (if the state of business permitted); whether the object and intention of said Act was to carry out some of the recommendations of a Royal Commission and grant additional holidays, so as to place the staff in the same position as the em-

ployés in other Public Departments in Dublin; and, whether the boon intended to be conferred upon the said clerks is materially diminished by a Treasury Letter, dated 8th June 1883, directing that no addition shall be made to the number of holidays theretofore enjoyed by the staff, which has led to the absolute deduction from the holidays previously granted of a number of days equivalent to the additional holidays allowed by the Act of 1883?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, I will answer the three Questions together. There are 17 third-class clerks of five to 23 years' service; the senior man having that service would long since have been promoted were it not for his unfitness. There was a petition two years ago the prayer of which was refused; the application, I am told, was recently renewed; but the Registrar very properly declined to endorse it, the circumstances being now more favourable to the men than they were two years ago. Some clerks have asked to be transferred, and one has been so; and the Treasury would be very willing to encourage transfers, so as to reduce the class more rapidly. There is no reason for thinking that the present scale of salaries is low in proportion to the duties to be performed, or with regard to the amount paid in other Departments for similar work, and there is no intention of adding to it. The Royal Commission's recommendations were connected with a large change in the law which has not yet been carried into effect. As regards the holidays, the men formerly did not get regular holidays; but they now get as much holiday as is allowed in analogous offices, the pressure which existed at the time of the Royal Commission having ceased. The object of the Act referred to was to enable this office to be closed on the same days as others.

#### INDIA (MADRAS)—THE PRINCESS OF TANJORE.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is the fact that the Princess of Tanjore, daughter of the late Rajah, is at present in a condition of poverty; and, whether the Government will, in view of all the circumstances of the case, reconsider the decision come to in 1855 to confiscate all the real and personal estate of the Rajah on his death, a de-

cision censured by the late Lord Kingsdown and by the Right honourable Gentleman the Member for Birmingham?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, I am not aware what are the present circumstances of the Princess of Tanjore, who, however, I learn, receives a pension of 36,000 rupees a-year. Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to re-open any of the questions affecting the Tanjore family, which were finally settled 22 years ago. I may add that it was not the case that all the real and personal property of the late Rajah was confiscated at his death. On the contrary, his private property was distributed among the members of his family.

#### STREET TRAFFIC (METROPOLIS)—THE REFUGES AT HYDE PARK CORNER.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he will provide that the authorities to whom the care of Wellington Place is to be assigned, through the Hyde Park Corner Improvement Bill, shall remove the refuges recently formed upon the level by iron posts flanked with blocks of stone projecting into the roadway, to the great danger of vehicular traffic, and replace them by refuges constructed like those of the parish of St. George's, Hanover Square, with a raised floor and iron posts fixed well within the edge of the curb?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Sir, I cannot undertake to compel the local authorities to make the change in the refuges desired by the right hon. Gentleman; but when the Bill has passed, it will be open to my right hon. Friend himself to address the Vestry to whose charge they will fall.

#### INDIA (RAILWAYS)—THE SELECT COMMITTEE—REPRESENTATION OF NATIVE INTERESTS.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Government will pay the necessary expenses of the attendance of the representatives of Indian Native Commercial and Transport interests before the Special Commission of Indian Railways; and, whether he can state that the Committee will not close the taking of evidence until time has been given for the selection and despatch of witnesses repre-

sentative of the Indian Native interests involved in the question of the extension of Railways?

MR. J. K. CROSS, in reply, said, publicity was given to the fact that a Select Committee on Indian Railways was about to sit; but no Representatives of exclusively Native interests had offered to give evidence, and therefore the question of payment of the expenses of such persons had not arisen. He could not say how long the Committee would sit; but, of course, the hon. Member would know that it was not a question for him, but for the Committee to decide.

#### IRELAND—THE COUNTY SURVEYOR OF KERRY.

MR. BLENNERHASSETT asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following resolution adopted by the Grand Jury of Kerry at the recent Spring Assizes:—

“That we repeat the request that has been so often previously made to the Government to divide this county, being fully persuaded that the duties devolving on the county surveyor cannot be fulfilled by one man;”

and, whether, when the Government decided to oppose the unanimous opinion of the grand jurors, cesspayers, and magistrates of Kerry, it had been brought under their consideration that there are 2,000 miles of road spread over an area of 1,185,918 acres to be inspected four times a-year?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, in the form in which this application was originally put forward, it might, had the Government of the day seen fit to do so, have been complied with; but it was refused in the public interests, because it was not considered that competent men could be obtained for the small salary which would be payable if the office, and consequently the salary, were divided. It was ascertained, at the time, that there were other counties in Ireland with an equal or greater mileage of roads, and which were in charge of one county surveyor. The proposal has more recently been put forward in a shape which would involve increased expenditure in respect of salaries. In this form the Government have no legal power to comply with it, except by Act of Parliament.

*Mr. O'Donnell*

#### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)— CATHOLIC AND ORANGE WITNESSES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the Catholic witnesses in the Ballymote shooting case, including several respectable farmers, were taken third-class by rail to Galway to give evidence at the Assizes, while the Orange witnesses, travelling by a later train, were provided with second-class tickets; why, after the engagement of the Right honourable Gentleman, on the 6th instant, that James and Joseph Murray would be proceeded against for aiding and abetting in the affray, the resident magistrate, Mr. Molony, R.M., did not call upon them to answer to the charge until the 20th instant; whether, though the Galway Assizes, at which it had been arranged that the Murrays should be tried, as well as the accused on the other side, had been fixed to begin on the 26th instant, Mr. Molony, R.M., on the 20th, took no step to expedite the cases, but accepted, in the absence of the accused James Murray, a statement that he “would be going to Galway to-morrow, and was unable to attend,” issued no warrant for his arrest, and put off both cases for another fortnight, the Assizes occurring in the meantime; and, whether the cross-case in which the Murrays are witnesses will now be proceeded with, on their evidence, at the current Assizes, while the case in which they are the accused will be held over, as a consequence of the facts set forth above, until some future time?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Catholic witnesses were sent in a third-class carriage according to the usual practice in the case of persons in their rank of life. The witnesses on the other side were treated exceptionally only on account of the state of James Murray's health. He had been seriously ill, his life having been for some time in danger; and the doctors attending him certified that it would be dangerous to allow him to travel third-class. His sons, who are themselves in delicate health, and his daughters, who are of tender years, were allowed to accompany him, as they did not think it would be safe for the old man to travel alone. The statement which I made on the 6th instant, and which the hon. Member refers to as my



"engagement" was simply this—that the Attorney General had directed that Joseph Murray should be summoned for aiding and abetting in the riot. This was done, and the summons was issued for the first Petty Sessions day, which followed—namely, the 20th of March. James Murray was summoned for the same day. As to what occurred on that day, I have received a Report which does not make the matter quite clear to my mind, and I shall answer the Question further on Thursday.

MR. HEALY: Has the right hon. Gentleman made arrangements to try the Orangemen by a Catholic jury and the Catholics by a Protestant jury?

[No reply.]

#### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—DISQUALIFICATION OF DISPENSARY DOCTORS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that the Catholic Bishop of Achonry, the Poor Law Board of Tubbercurry, and the clergy and many of the leading inhabitants of Tubbercurry (county Sligo) and the surrounding district, have applied to Colonel E. H. Cooper, Lieutenant of the county of Sligo, to recommend the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to appoint to the Commission of the Peace Dr. Flannery, of Tubbercurry, for the convenience of that town and of the barony of Leyny, a populous district to the south and west of the town, comprising nearly a hundred square miles, in which district no magistrate resides at present; whether Colonel Cooper has replied that he had already recommended to the Lord Chancellor Mr. J. Ormsby Cooke, who lives in the barony of Corran, six miles to the east of Tubbercurry, and remote from the district referred to in the application to Colonel Cooper; and, what course the Lord Chancellor will adopt in the cases of Dr. Flannery and Mr. Cooke?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is not the case that Doctor Flannery of Tubbercurry, who, it is alleged, has been recommended by various parties for the Commission of the Peace, is the Dispensary Doctor of the district, and is, as such, disqualified from being made a magistrate, in ac-

cordance with previous rulings of the present Lord Chancellor?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I understand that the facts with regard to the recommendation of these two gentlemen for the Commission of the Peace are as stated in the Question. In the case of Dr. Flannery, the Clerk of the Union has been informed by the Lord Chancellor that, being the doctor of the dispensary district of Tubbercurry, he cannot, according to an existing rule, be appointed a magistrate for the county of Sligo. I presume that the rule in this case is the same rule which is followed by the Lord Chancellor of not appointing publicans. That rule does not profess to be statutable; but I think the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) will see that there is some reason for this rule, because a dispensary doctor is an officer of the Board of Guardians, and, being an *ex officio* member of the Board by reason of his being a magistrate, he might therefore be his own master. The recommendation on behalf of Mr. Cooke remains for his Lordship's consideration.

MR. SEXTON: Well, then, on an early day I will ask the right hon. Gentleman, how he can reconcile this rule with the case of Dr. Nash, of Manorhamilton, who is a magistrate of the county and also pensioner of the Crown?

#### STATE OF IRELAND—MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE—INTRUSION OF A CONSTABLE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has received from the Reverend Patrick O'Donnell, C.C., President of the Doon (county Limerick) branch of the Irish National League, a complaint that on the 10th March Constable Brereton refused to withdraw from a meeting of that body held in a private house, when requested by the owner of the house to do so; that at a subsequent meeting on 17th March, Brereton threatened to break in the door when it was closed upon him; that he effected an entrance by a back door in a state of intoxication, and used offensive expressions, and threatened those present with arrest; whether the truth of these complaints is vouched by the Reverend President, Treasurer, and Secretary of the meeting; and, whether their application for a public investiga-

tion with respect to the conduct of Brereton will be acceded to?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I did receive such a letter, and I made inquiry on the subject. It is the case that the constable attended a meeting which was being held in a shop, and refused to leave when requested by the committee; and, on a subsequent occasion, he entered the house by a back door. He was not in a state of intoxication; and distinctly denies that he broke or threatened to break open the door, used offensive expressions, or threatened any persons with arrest.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Then, Sir, is the right hon. Gentleman satisfied that the mere statement of this policeman is sufficient against the statement of the rev. President, Treasurer, and Secretary of the League; and will there be no inquiry made into this man's most offensive conduct?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I did not say that I was depending on him only. I made the statement that he was not intoxicated on the authority of his commanding officer, who was present on the occasion.

#### PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—EXTRA POLICE, CORK CITY.

Mr. PARNELL asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the fact that, at the Cork Assizes, on the 20th instant, only seven bills for criminal cases were sent before the City Grand Jury; whether these cases were of a trivial description; whether one jury was sufficient for all these cases, and got through them by five o'clock in the afternoon; whether past Assizes for a number of years back show the same record, so far as criminal cases arising in the city of Cork are concerned; and, whether, in view of this absolute freedom of Cork from serious crime of any kind, and its almost absolute freedom from crime of any sort, he will continue to maintain an extra force of police there?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, seven bills were sent to the City Grand Jury at the late Assizes, and there were none of them of a serious character. Two juries disposed of the cases, which finished at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The criminal business has been very light for some time past; but the Bench of Magistrates

and the local Constabulary authorities, having carefully considered whether the extra police could be withdrawn, thought that it would be impossible to perform the duties efficiently with a less force than at present.

Mr. PARNELL: I beg to give Notice that on the Motion that the House do adjourn for the Easter Recess, I shall call attention to this subject of the extra police tax in the City of Cork.

#### SCOTLAND—PRESERVATION OF THE CASTLE OF ST. ANDREWS.

Mr. WILLIAMSON asked the First Commissioner of Works, What steps, if any, he is taking to prevent the outer wall of that interesting ruin, the ancient Castle of St. Andrews (which is national property), falling into the sea, a misfortune at present imminent?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: Sir, steps will shortly be taken by the Government to prevent the further wasting of the cliff by the action of the sea, which, if allowed to continue unchecked, might in time endanger this interesting ruin.

#### PRISONS (IRELAND) ACT, 1877—CON- VEYANCE OF PRISONERS.

Sir HERVEY BRUCE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will take immediate steps to assimilate the Law in Ireland to that of England, with regard to the expense of the conveyance of prisoners, and relieve the counties of the expense, on signing the warrant by the committing magistrate?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, I understand that it was the intention of the Government of the day that the provisions of the English and Irish Acts of 1877 should be identical with regard to the cost of the conveyance of prisoners; but, owing to a variation of phraseology, it has been held judicially that English counties are relieved from the time of the issue of the warrant of committal, instead of from the time of reception into prison. I have communicated with the Treasury on the matter, and find that they admit the inequality, and think that it should be removed. It would probably be difficult to alter the English law in the sense originally intended; and, therefore, it seems inevitable that the Irish law should be altered and assimilated with the English. I am unable, at this moment, to say precisely when we

can undertake to propose this change to Parliament.

PORTUGAL—THE MOZAMBIQUE  
TARIFF—DUTY ON TEXTILE FABRICS  
IN SHIPS ENTERING THE CONGO  
RIVER.

MR. CRUM asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, if, referring to the letter of the Foreign Office to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce of the 15th March, he could state whether the intention of the Mozambique Tariff to make the duty on textiles about 10 per cent has been realized; and, whether British vessels, when entering the Congo, would be subject to quarantine regulations, from which the proposed Treaty liberates them when departing?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the intention of the framers of the Mozambique Tariff, that the duties on textiles shall be about 10 per cent *ad valorem*, has, it is believed, been realized. In regard to the application of that Tariff to the Congo, Her Majesty's Government pointed out to the Portuguese Government that, owing to the character of the goods sent to the Congo, the specific duties in Articles 21 and 22 of the Tariff would exceed that amount. I am now glad to be able to inform my hon. Friend that, in answer to these representations, Her Majesty's Minister at Lisbon has been informed that the Portuguese Government will make the necessary alterations, so that the duties on cotton textiles and on other articles, except tobacco, guns, brandy, and gunpowder, shall not exceed 10 per cent. My hon. Friend is aware that on several important articles the *ad valorem* duties are already lower than 10 per cent.

NATIONAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND)—SUP-  
PLIES OF BOOKS, &c.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will consider the propriety of giving directions that books, maps, and apparatus may be supplied gratis to the National Schools of Ireland, instead of obliging managers to supply them?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am informed that, if this proposal were carried out, it would involve an increase in the Parliamentary grant of £30,000 a-year,

and be simply a relief to the parents of the children of the price of the school books. Managers very rarely supply school books gratis to the children. I am not prepared to ask the Treasury to consent to an increase in the grant for this purpose.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE asked, whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that in the Model Schools books were supplied gratis?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he thought his hon. Friend had got enough out of the Treasury to-day.

EGYPT—ALEXANDRIA INDEMNITIES—  
AWARDS OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What arrangements Her Majesty's Government intend making for payment of the amount of the awards of the International Egyptian Indemnity Commissioners for the properties destroyed at Alexandria during the war; if the sums already awarded amount to about four millions sterling; if Her Majesty's Government will be good enough to inform the House the total amount of the deficit at present existing in Egyptian finance; whether it is intended to ask the European Powers to modify existing arrangements for repayment to the bondholders by charging them with the cost of collecting the interest upon their properties in lieu of the Egyptian Treasury; and, whether it is intended to consolidate the whole of the bondholding debts, declare limited protectorate, and reduce and guarantee the rate of interest during such protectorate?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the amount of the indemnities already allowed is, approximately, over £4,250,000. The question of the payment of the awards is under consideration. In reply to my hon. Friend's Questions on the subject of Egyptian finance, I must refer him to the reply which my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave to the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) on Monday last.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: On this point I should like to ask the noble Lord a Question. He spoke of the amount already awarded. Is it contemplated that such amount will be much added to, or have the labours of the Commissioners nearly terminated?



**LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE :** It is not contemplated that there will be any material increase; but the exact figures have not yet been received, and, therefore, I gave what may be called the general result.

**POST OFFICE—POSTAGE OF PRINTED MATTER.**

**Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD** asked the Postmaster General, Whether, having regard to the fact that in the larger countries of Europe a lower rate of Inland Postage for printed matter under one ounce than a halfpenny has long since been established, he is prepared to advise the reduction of the rate of Inland Postage on printed matter to one farthing for any single package not exceeding one ounce in weight?

**Mr. FAWCETT :** Sir, after giving careful consideration to the suggestion of my hon. Friend that there should be  $\frac{1}{4}$ d. rate of postage for printed matter not exceeding one ounce, I have come to the conclusion that it would not be expedient to adopt it. The loss of revenue which would ensue would be considerable, being estimated at certainly not less than £250,000 a-year.

**COMMISSIONERS OF PUBLIC WORKS (IRELAND)—MAJOR GENERAL JAMES, R.E.**

**Mr. DEASY** asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the appointment held by Major General James, R.E. as Assistant Commissioner of Public Works in Ireland, is a permanent appointment; if the statutory constitution of the Board directs that it shall consist of the Commissioners only, and how, when, and by what authority the place of Assistant Commissioner was created; do the functions of the Board stand permanently in need of this Assistant Commissioner; is Mr. Lefanu, one of the Commissioners, about to retire; and, is it intended to appoint Major General James in his stead, with the result that the Board would be composed of two General Officers and one civilian?

**Mr. COURTNEY :** Sir, the appointment held by General James is temporary, and its continuance is matter for consideration. There can be no doubt of the power of the Treasury to create such an office. I am glad to say the public are in no danger of losing the services of Mr. Lefanu; and it is, therefore, un-

necessary to answer the closing portion of the Question.

**TRAMWAYS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES (IRELAND) ACT, 1883—THE GUARANTEE CLAUSES.**

**Mr. W. J. CORBET** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If Tramway Companies, who obtained Orders in Council for the construction of lines before the passing of "The Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883," can obtain the benefit of the Guarantee Clauses of that Act without beginning *de novo*; and, if not, whether the Government will give facilities to enable such Companies to get Supplemental Orders in Council for such guarantees without the great expense of beginning *de novo*?

**Mr. TREVELYAN :** Sir, I am advised that Tramway Companies, who obtained Orders in Council before the passing of the Act, cannot obtain the benefit of that Act without beginning *de novo*. I understand, however, that there are only two Companies in existence having such Orders which have not been carried out. There is no power under the Act to grant Supplemental Orders in Council for guarantees.

**STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT LONDONDERRY — REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.**

**SIR HERVEY BRUCE**, who had the following Question on the Paper on this subject:—

"To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, When the Report of the Londonderry Commissioners, presented on Friday the 21st instant, will be placed in the Library for inspection, and how soon it will be printed?"

said, he would withdraw it, as the Report had been issued that morning.

**Mr. SEXTON :** In reference to this Question, I would ask the Chief Secretary for Ireland, if it is true that the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has called upon certain magistrates in Londonderry to explain their conduct on the 1st November last?

**Mr. TREVELYAN :** The Lord Chancellor has communicated with some of the magistrates of the City of Londonderry; but I think it would be highly desirable not to state what the Correspondence is until it is laid on the Table.

REVISION COURTS (IRELAND)—  
COUNTIES OF ANTRIM AND CORK.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many days were occupied, in the past year, in the revision of voters' and jurors' lists, by the Recorder of Belfast and County Court Judge of Antrim, and by the Recorder of Cork, in their respective jurisdictions?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, in 1883 the Recorder of Belfast sat for 116 days, and was, in addition, 20 days occupied in Revision Sessions. The Recorder of Cork sat for 125 days, and was, in addition, 11 days occupied in Revision Sessions.

EGYPT—SLAVERY IN THE SOUDAN.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the following telegram from *The Times* correspondent at Suakin, dated March 24th:—

"In point of fact the English Government at present practically protects slave owners and dealers, chiefly by reason of the absurd construction of the convention, which ought to be burned. One simple method should be adopted. This is to ignore the evidence of domestic slavery, and to give masters no redress if the slaves choose to leave them. In Suakin such a measure would produce a wonderful effect, for the numerous rich residents here live by farming out the labour of their slaves. They ill treat them if they do not produce each evening the stipulated sum; thus driving the men nearly to starvation, and the women to the worst possible courses in order to satisfy their demands:—"

and to the following telegram of the same date from the correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph* at Suakin:—

"According to the English Consul Baker, and others of our authorities here, the Egyptian Convention is in force, and the British must protect Egyptians who have property in human chattels. We have already sent back several slaves to their Egyptian masters, who, the Arabs say, without us, would remain on the Red Sea Coast. Scarcely half-an-hour ago, a slave of a local dignitary, Sinawi Bey, who fondly thought the presence of the English freed him, ran away, alleging that his master ill-treated him, and took service with a fellow correspondent. Consul Baker says that the man must be returned to Sinawi, who now has two unruly slaves in the police station, where they are being beaten into a tractable condition;—"

and, whether he will cause inquiry into

these matters to be made, and, at the same time, inform all English civil and military authorities in Eastern Soudan that they must not protect slave dealers and slave owners, nor insist upon or aid in the return of escaped slaves to their masters?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I stated last week that we were extremely unwilling to address inquiries to our officers, civil, military, or naval, in Egypt and the Soudan upon vague and indefinite statements in newspapers with respect to their conduct, because it might cause them to infer that there was some doubt as to the manner in which they discharged their duty; but I said, at the same time, that if any definite and well-authenticated statements were brought to our notice we would make inquiries on the subject. With regard to the two paragraphs in the Question of my hon. Friend (Mr. Labouchere), the House will see that the first contains a statement which is absolutely vague and indefinite, and does not contain any evidence whatever in support of that general statement. With respect to the second part of the Question, I am not quite certain whether my hon. Friend accepts the authority of *The Daily Telegraph* as definite and well-authenticated; but, if he does, I would point out to him that the statement is as to something Consul Baker is stated to have said, and does not have any reference whatever to anything Consul Baker has done. I do not think that there is anything in this statement that gives sufficient cause for further inquiries of our officers in Egypt or the Soudan.

MR. O'DONNELL: Without making inquiries, could the noble Marquess say whether instructions have been, or will be, given to the English civil and military authorities in the Eastern Soudan not to assist and protect slave dealers or slave owners, or to assist in the recapture of escaped slaves. Can the noble Marquess answer that Question, without making the inquiries which it seems would be indelicate of him to make?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: No definite instructions on this subject have, I believe, as yet been sent to our civil and military authorities in the Soudan, because, until we receive some proof to the contrary, it must be assumed that those civil and military authorities

are acting according to what they consider to be their duty.

PORTUGAL—THE CONGO RIVER  
TREATY.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked the honourable Member for Manchester, What course he intends to pursue in reference to the Motion which stands in his name relative to the Treaty with the King of Portugal in regard to the Congo and adjacent Territories?

MR. JACOB BRIGHT, in reply, said, that it was his intention to proceed with the Motion which he had on the Paper as soon as he could get an opportunity. He had balloted frequently, and had failed. He might mention that the Prime Minister had given a distinct pledge upon this question, and the right hon. Gentleman was not accustomed to break his pledges. He assumed, therefore, and had the fullest right to assume, that it was impossible for this Treaty to be ratified until the House had had an opportunity of expressing an opinion upon it.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. E.  
M. ARCHDALE, J.P., AND MR. M'CLINTOCK, J.P.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is now in a position to announce the decision of the Lord Chancellor with respect to the conduct of Mr. Edward M. Archdale, J.P., on the occasion of the riot at Dromore, and of Mr. M'Clintock, J.P., County Grand Master, in reference to the Orange counter demonstration at Londonderry?

MR. TREVELYAN: This matter is still under the consideration of the Lord Chancellor.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Lord Chancellor has arrived at any conclusion in connection with the case of Robert M'Clintock, J.P., D.L., who signed the documents calling the Orangemen to assemble at Derry on the 17th March, and at Tark in January; and, if Mr. M'Clintock still retains the Commission of the Peace?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Lord Chancellor informs me that he has not had time to arrive at a decision in this case yet. Mr. M'Clintock is still in the Commission of the Peace.

*The Marquess of Hartington*

PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND)  
ACT, 1882—SEIZURE OF A HORSE FOR  
TAXES LEVIED UNDER THE ACT.

MR. O'BRIEN asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is the fact that, on 26th March, Sergeant Cavanagh, of Whitechurch station, county Cork, acting on a warrant to distrain for 11s. 7½d., tax levied under the Crimes Act, seized one of a pair of valuable horses, engaged in ploughing, on the farm of Mr. John Daly, at Glencoum; whether Mr. Daly pointed out that there were on the farm at the time 24 head of cattle, beside sheep, colts, and pigs, and that the seizure of one of his team at the plough at the present season would seriously interfere with the working of his farm; whether the policeman nevertheless persisted in seizing for a debt of 11s. 7½d. an animal valued at £40; whether it is true, as stated by Cavanagh, that "his instructions were to take the horse;" if so, who gave the instructions, and under what legal authority; and, whether, if an action be taken against the policeman for over-distress, he will be defended at the public expense?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER): Sir, it is the fact that, on the 26th March, Sergeant Cavanagh, acting on a warrant to distrain for a sum amounting, with costs, to 11s. 7½d., leviable under the Crimes Act, seized one of a pair of horses engaged in ploughing on the farm of John Daly. The sergeant went for the money on the 21st March, when Daly informed him he had no money; but that, on the next day he called, he would give the money or value. The sergeant went again on the 26th March, and demanded the amount. Daly said he had no money. The sergeant replied he should be obliged to execute the warrant, and seize one of the horses. Daly said this would interfere with his farm work. He told the sergeant that he might take a sheep or heifer. This was all he stated, but he did not point out any such animal; and, on the sergeant replying that he did not show him any sheep or heifer, Daly then said he might take a wild colt. The sergeant declined this offer, as he could not catch or bring away an unmanageable wild colt; and, after reading the warrant, and telling Daly he could easily pay if he liked, seized



the horse, which was value for about £30, and it was subsequently sold, and, it is believed, bought in for Daly, and the surplus proceeds were tendered to him. The sergeant did not say his instructions were to seize the horse, and he had no such instructions. If an action be taken against the policeman the usual course will be taken of defending the officer, if it appears he acted in the discharge of his duty.

MR. O'BRIEN: Does the hon. and learned Gentleman mean to say that a colt and a pair of horses were, the only objects of value worth 11s. 7½d. to be found on the premises of a rich farmer?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER): I am speaking on the information supplied to me, which I am informed is correct.

MR. O'BRIEN: The hon. and learned Gentleman has omitted to answer a very important portion of my Question, which is, whether, if an action be taken against the policeman for over-distress, he will be defended at the public expense?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER) was understood to reply in the affirmative.

MR. O'BRIEN: I beg to give Notice that on the first opportunity I shall call attention to this subject.

#### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—FOOD ADULTERATION.

MR. DUCKHAM asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether he has seen the following Report of a Committee of the New York Senate, appointed to inquire into the adulteration of dairy products, as published in *The Standard* of the 24th instant:—

"Of thirty samples of butter two-thirds were only remotely traceable to milk. The refuse fat of pigs and bullocks was the chief and most savoury ingredient, but often spoiled greases were used which had been deodorized by nitric and sulphuric acids of a strength sufficient to rot a workman's cowhide boots, to cause the finger nails to fall off, and induce various lingering diseases. The material was also found to contain ingredients which are fatal to infants. The doctors, upon oath, declared that the consumption of this compound had a distinct bearing upon the death rate. The Committee advises the total prohibition of the manufacture of oleomargarine;"

and, seeing that an enormous quantity of oleomargarine and cheese is brought into this Country from the United States, whether he will cause an inquiry to be

instituted as to the correctness of that Report, in order that the public may be assured that such deleterious food is not sold to them?

MR. DODSON: Sir, we have applied to the Foreign Office to obtain information from the American Government on this subject.

#### MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL—THE THAMES PILOTS.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE asked the President of the Board of Trade, If, at any Conference for the purpose of considering the various provisions of the Merchant Shipping Bill, he is willing that the Thames pilots, whose interests are affected by the measure, should be represented?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, that he had already seen a deputation of pilots—and the deputation included in its number some representatives of the Thames pilots—and it was then understood that they would prepare and forward to him a scheme of compensation, in case their interests were injuriously affected by the Bill. He promised to give that proposal careful consideration, and as soon as he had received it, if it were their wish to have a further interview, he should be very glad to have arrangements made for it before this part of the Bill was dealt with in Committee.

MR. GORST asked, whether it is true, as was assumed in the Question, that there was going to be a conference between the right hon. Gentleman and the shipowners with reference to the Merchant Shipping Bill; and, if so, whether he would take some means to enable the seamen to have their views represented?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he could not give a positive answer to that Question at present; but he might say that proposals for certain Amendments in the Bill had been under the consideration of the Board of Trade, and had been by them communicated to some of the leading shipowners; and if the shipowners were desirous to see him and the Solicitor General with reference to any changes which they suggested might be made in the Bill, he should be glad to give them an interview. He should also be glad to give an interview to any persons qualified to represent the seamen on this subject.

## EGYPT (RE-ORGANIZATION).

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Sir, a Question of which I have given Notice has been so altered and cut down that I can scarcely recognize it, and, by whomsoever it was done, it is an unwarrantable liberty, for the chief point of the Question has been entirely eliminated. That point is, whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd, though he removed a number of officers on the alleged ground of reorganization and economy, introduced, on the other hand, a number of his own nominees; whether the Inspector General, Baker Pasha, receives £1,500 a-year; whether three deputy Inspectors General are not now receiving £1,000 a-year each; whether three additional Inspectors are not appointed at £700 a-year; whether the commandant in Cairo is not receiving £600 a-year; whether Lieutenant Colonel Walsh, late of the 44th Foot, is not getting another £1,000, and numerous other officers receiving proportionately high salaries? I wish to say that, by whatever authority—[*Cries of "Order!"*—this is a matter of personal privilege—I wish to intimate to you as Deputy Speaker, and would say it to the Speaker if he were in his place, that by whatever authority this alteration was made in my Question without any communication with me, or any authority from me, it was a piece of liberty which I resent. The Question, as asked, was as follows:—Whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd has, on the alleged ground of reorganisation and economy, dispensed with the services of several officials connected with the police in Egypt; whether Major Barrow, Captain Fenwick, and Lieutenant Rhodes are Commissioned Officers on full pay, and whether there is any precedent for full pay Officers being employed in such manner under the command of a person no longer holding a commission; and, whether Sub-Inspector Gibbons will be allowed to count his service in Egypt towards promotion in the Constabulary in Ireland?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, I can, of course, only answer the Question on the Paper. Her Majesty's Government have no information with regard to the details of the Departmental changes in the Ministry to which Mr. Clifford Lloyd belongs. The officers named by the hon. Member are on the

active list; but while temporarily lent to the Egyptian Government for Constabulary duties, they are not receiving any pay from Her Majesty's Government. There are many precedents, I am informed, for officers being similarly employed. It is not within my province to reply to the third part of the hon. Member's Question, as the subject of it is purely Irish.

## LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. ADAM MITCHELL, CROWN PROSECUTOR FOR THE KING'S CO.

MR. MOLLOY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been drawn to the following language alleged to have been used at a meeting of the Birr Union of the 8th March by Mr. Adam Mitchell, one of the guardians, in reference to *The Midland Tribune*, a Nationalist journal, tendering for a contract, together with another paper written in the Conservative and Orange interest, to which latter Paper the contract was eventually given—

"Mr. Mitchell said he felt very strongly that Mr. Wright should get the contract, because he has discharged his duties up to this with satisfaction. He thought it unfair and unjust to give it to parties who do not hesitate to use the strongest language towards members of this Board, and who vilify everything honest and respectable. He would go further and say that that Paper has pointed out gentlemen of this Board for assassination;"

if this same Mr. Mitchell is a Justice of the Peace, Sessional Crown Prosecutor for the King's County, and a member of the Orange Society; and, if the Irish Government will continue him in the Commission of the Peace and as the Sessional Crown Prosecutor?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that Mr. Mitchell did think that the contract should be given to the paper edited by Mr. Wright, inasmuch as he had given satisfaction in fulfilling the contract since the Birr Union was established, and because he believed that a saving would be effected thereby. He used language unfavourable to another newspaper, believing that he was justified by the facts. Mr. Mitchell is not a Justice of the Peace. He states that he is not, and never has been, a member of the Orange Society. He has acted as Sessional Crown Solicitor for the King's County for 17 years, during which time

he has discharged his duties very zealously and efficiently. The Attorney General for Ireland does not propose to remove him. I may state that I would be extremely slow to interfere with the manner in which debates are conducted in elected local bodies by elected members.

MR. MOLLOY: I wish to ask, whether this gentleman, as Crown Solicitor of the King's County, used the language attributed to him?

MR. TREVELYAN: I do not know whether this is a proper way of ascertaining that, because there is no official reporter present on these occasions; but Mr. Mitchell does not seem unwilling to allow that the words quoted were used by him.

MR. MOLLOY: Will the right hon. Gentleman ask this gentleman whether, as Crown Solicitor for the King's County, he used these words?

MR. TREVELYAN: I have asked him, and he admits having used them.

MR. HEALY: Might I ask why this man, having alleged that a particular paper incited to assassination, did not, as Sessional Crown Prosecutor, institute a prosecution against it?

MR. TREVELYAN said, that he had no power, neither was it his duty to do so.

MR. MOLLOY gave Notice that he would call attention to the matter on the Estimates.

#### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE KING'S COUNTY MAGISTRATES.

MR. MOLLOY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it be a fact that the

"King's County possesses ninety-two magistrates, of whom eighty-six are Protestants. Of the six Catholics, one resides in London, another in Dublin, and a third in Maryboro'. With regard to the three Catholics resident within the county, two of them are gentlemen of notoriously Conservative tendencies. One of them figured as a signatory to the protest against the dismissal of Lord Rossmore, and is at present a Member of the King's County Constitutional Association;"

and, what steps he proposes to take for the appointment of justices of the peace representing the creed of the vast majority of the people?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Government, considering the matter to be of much importance, recently consented to a Return, giving, so far as could be

ascertained in the absence of official records, the aggregate number of the magistrates in each county belonging to the several religious denominations. The hon. Member will see, by a reference to that Return, that his figures are not quite accurate. The number of Roman Catholic magistrates in the King's County appears by that Return to be 11. The Government did not consider it right to make personal inquiries as to the religious professions of individuals; and I have, therefore, no means of saying whether or not the personal details which the hon. Member quotes are correct. The Lord Chancellor informs me that the present Lieutenant of the county, who has only recently been appointed, has evinced the strongest desire to redress all inequality in the representation in the several denominations on the Bench. He has made four recommendations for the Commission of the Peace already, all of which have been adopted, and two of the gentlemen so appointed are Roman Catholics.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — SHOREDITCH AND EGHAM BOARD SCHOOLS — CASES OF EXCESSIVE PUNISHMENT AND OVERWORK.

LORD ALGERNON PERCY asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether his attention has been called to the evidence given before the Shoreditch Board of Guardians, on the 19th of March, in the case of a boy "Wiles," aged 10, when two doctors reported the boy to be insane, and the child's mother attributed his insanity to over pressure at school, and stated also that the child had complained that a pupil teacher had beaten him on the head with a rule; to the evidence given by Mr. George Andrews, surgeon, at the coroner's inquest held on the death of a girl named Rachel Gibbons at Egham, on the 17th of March, and the verdict of the jury that "deceased died from inflammation of the brain by over work at school and lessons at home;" and, whether he has caused any inquiries to be made into the above cases, and will state the result of those inquiries?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, the first case involves a serious charge against a teacher of the London School Board, and I understand it is now undergoing investigation; the second has been referred to Her Majesty's Inspector, whose



Report will, no doubt, be received in a day or two. I shall be very glad to submit both Reports to the noble Lord as soon as I receive them.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: Will the Papers be presented to the House?

Mr. MUNDELLA: I shall be glad to present the Papers on the subject.

#### INLAND REVENUE OFFICERS—THE OUT-DOOR DEPARTMENT.

Mr. PULESTON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, by the provisions of the General Order of 17th January, 1884, issued by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, a number of Division Officers in the out-door department are now in receipt of smaller salaries than other Officers who are their juniors in rank and service; and, if so, whether the Commissioners of Inland Revenue contemplate taking any action in the matter?

Mr. COURTNEY: Sir, this inequality has arisen in a few cases, but to a very small extent; and it can only exist for a brief period. The Inland Revenue Board do not think it necessary to take any action in consequence of it.

#### PORTUGAL—THE CONGO RIVER TREATY.

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is able now to renew the assurance given to the House on 3rd April 1883, that the Treaty with the King of Portugal relative to the Congo River—

“Shall be made known to Parliament in such a way, and with the intervention of such an interval, that Parliament shall be enabled to exercise its judgment upon it?”

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I am afraid that the hon. Baronet labours possibly under some misapprehension. I am not aware of having at any time spoken of what is commonly understood as giving facilities on the part of the Government. I daresay that the words referred to—though I do not know—are correctly cited, or in substance correctly cited. I think, if I remember right, that when the formation of the Treaty was contemplated, it was observed in this House that the Treaty might be ratified before the House had any opportunity of considering its provisions; and I have no doubt that I answered, and I recollect well having answered, that ample opportunity would be given by allowing a considerable time between

the formation of the Treaty and its ratification. That is the position in which the matter stands; but I certainly never did undertake, and could not. I think, have undertaken, to give a Government night for the purpose of discussing this question, in total ignorance, as I should have been at the time, of what the calls upon the Government might be. There is, I believe, no practical difficulty at present in the case. There is no immediate pressure or necessity for the ratification of the Treaty, and I have no doubt that my hon. Friends and those who are interested will use their efforts to bring the matter under consideration of the House, and I should think it would be reasonable to expect that they would find an opportunity before the time comes, which need not be a very early time, for the ratification of the Treaty.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, that, as it was quite evident the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) had mistaken the meaning of the pledge which the Prime Minister gave, he would repeat the Question as to what course the hon. Gentleman intended to take in reference to his Motion on this subject?

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT, in reply, said, that he assumed that such an opportunity would be given; and, of course, the hon. Members who were interested in the discussion would exert themselves to get the opportunity.

Mr. RITCHIE asked, if the House were to understand that the Treaty would not be ratified until an opportunity had been afforded for its discussion?

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, he could only repeat that there was no intention of proceeding to an early ratification of the Treaty, and nothing should be done in the matter without the full knowledge of Parliament.

#### MADAGASCAR—PROTECTION OF BRITISH SUBJECTS AND COMMERCE.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the destruction of British trade to the extent of nearly £1,000,000 a-year, besides much loss of property, owing to the action of the French in Madagascar since June 1883, the Government intend to take any steps to protect the commerce and property of British subjects in Madagascar?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE : I informed the hon. Member, on the 18th of February last, that a British man-of-war had been ordered to proceed to the station, and the Consular Staff in Madagascar had been strengthened, in order to afford to British subjects the protection to which they were entitled.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Mr. PELL asked, What action the Government intended to take with regard to the Resolution which was agreed to by the House on Friday night respecting Local Taxation?

Mr. CHEETHAM asked, whether, having regard not more to the result of Friday's Division than to the views of hon. Members representing county constituencies on his side of the House, the Government would be prepared to consider the expediency of giving precedence, after the Representation of the People and the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bills had been disposed of, to the measure dealing with the whole question of local government and local taxation, which they had been given to understand was ready for introduction?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he had had no communication from the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) on this subject; but he had received that afternoon from his noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) a communication to the effect that the hon. Member had forwarded him a note. [Mr. PELL: I posted it on Saturday afternoon.] He was not finding any fault, and was only explaining why it was not possible for him to communicate with his Colleagues upon the matter. The subject was one of great importance, and had been distinctly referred to in the Queen's Speech. Therefore, if the hon. Gentleman would postpone his Question, he thought he should be able to answer it in a manner befitting the importance of the occasion.

Mr. PELL said, he wished to explain that he distinctly gave Notice on Saturday morning that he would put this Question to the Government. His Notice was received with a smile by the noble Marquess and the Secretary of State for the Home Department. He took it in good part; but thought that the Government would have answered the Question.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Pell) was quite correct. If there was any blame, it rested with him; but the Question did not appear on the Notice Paper, and he did not receive the hon. Member's note until late on Saturday evening, not in time to enable him to communicate with his right hon. Friend.

Mr. PELL gave Notice that he would repeat the Question to-morrow.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he wished to ask the noble Marquess, whether the House were to understand that the important question of local taxation, on which the Government sustained a serious defeat on Friday night, was not considered by the Government sufficiently important to occupy their deliberations at Saturday's Cabinet Council?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he was afraid he should not be entitled to state what took place at a meeting of the Cabinet.

#### CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)— RUMOURED ORDERS FOR CLOSING CATTLE MARKETS.

Mr. STORER asked, Whether it was true, as reported, that the Orders were issued, or were about to be issued, closing markets for cattle and store stock for a further period?

Mr. DODSON, in reply, said, he was happy to say that he was able to relieve the apprehensions of the hon. Gentleman, who appeared to have fallen a victim to an unfounded rumour.

#### PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS— THE OFFICE OF SPEAKER TO THIS HOUSE.

Mr. DILLWYN gave Notice that he would to-morrow ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he would take such steps as appeared to be desirable by which some Member of the House might be chosen by the House to occupy the Chair in the event of the absence from illness or other cause of the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he was sure there would be general regret that the Deputy Speaker should have been called upon to fulfil actively the duties of the Chair at serious inconvenience to himself, and that the House were much obliged to him for the ready manner in which, notwithstanding that inconvenience, he

had yielded to the demands of Public Business. The Government would think it their duty to ask the House not to prolong the Sitting to a very late hour. With regard to the debate on the Representation of the People Bill to-morrow, two hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House, who had priority for their Motions, had kindly agreed to waive their privilege, and there were other Members who had also agreed not to press their Motions. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) had a Motion on the Paper, and he wished to make a public appeal to him, to allow the debate to be resumed on Tuesday, as that was manifestly the general wish of the House.

MR. PARNELL: My hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) is not in his place, and all I can say is that I shall see him and do my best to persuade him to comply with the wishes of the right hon. Gentleman in this respect. With regard to the Business to-night, I should be glad to know whether the right hon. Gentleman proposes to agree to an adjournment of the debate on the Representation of the People Bill sufficiently early to enable the Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin) Bill to be reached before the adjournment of the House? The Bill is unblocked, and consequently escapes the half-past 12 o'clock Rule.

MR. GIBSON: It will take two hours' discussion at least.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he hoped that if the Bill to which the hon. Member (Mr. Parnell) referred was unblocked now, it would remain in that happy condition, and that there would be an opportunity of taking the debate on some future night. But as he believed some time would be required for the discussion of the Bill, it would not be possible to break off the debate on the Representation of the People Bill at such an hour as would enable the former Bill to be taken without making it an imperfect night.

### MOTIONS.

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#### DEATH OF H.R.H. THE DUKE OF ALBANY — VOTE OF CONDOLENCE.

##### MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, before the Orders of the Day are reached, and in

conformity with the loyal and immemorial usage of this House, I rise to make the Motion of which Notice has been given in my name. The intelligence which reached this country on Friday afternoon, of the sudden and absolutely unexpected death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Albany, when it was made known, gave a sharp and painful shock to the whole feeling of the nation. Her Majesty the Queen is well aware, from experience, that the joys and sorrows of the Royal Family are the joys and sorrows of the country; and so well is that understood and established, that it could hardly be said that there was a formal necessity for an expression of feeling by this House in order to give an assurance of it. But we should ill do justice, I am sure, to the sentiments which every Member of this House entertains in his own breast, were we to omit to carry to the Throne an assurance of the expression of our warm sympathy and our deep concern on the announcement of a calamity, with respect to which, undoubtedly, the suddenness has been a very great aggravation of the blow. We cannot look upon the case of His Royal Highness the Duke of Albany as that of a person who carries no mark except that of high descent and lofty station. The Duke of Albany has been taken from us and from his family at a period which, perhaps, most of all appeals to the natural sentiment of the human heart. When those are removed from this mortal scene who have reached advanced age, even though a sentiment of regret may gather round them, yet it is felt, at any rate, that their work is done. When, in extremely early life, it is the will of Providence to cut the thread of that life before the bud has in any degree opened into flower, deep regret is felt; but, at the same time, no one can measure the loss experienced. But in the case of the Duke of Albany, he had reached an age sufficient to indicate to the country that it had in him a Prince in every way worthy of the highest associations of his station, and possessed of every capacity and every desire to do good service to his country. The Duke of Albany's mental gifts were indeed of no common order, and they had been carefully cultivated from his youth upwards by the assiduous care of his parents, and cultivated, also, and latterly with yet greater effect, by his

*Mr. Gladstone*



own mental determination. He was a person in whose case it could not be said that the possession of a Princedom was likely to be a barren and idle distinction. His whole idea of his position was in its association with public duty and with public service, and both the gifts which it had pleased Providence to bestow upon him and the cultivation which had been incessantly applied to them gave the richest and most certain promise that, if it had been happily permitted to us to have witnessed a prolonged career in his case, that career would have been marked in every point of its progress by acts as well as by words, which would have given him an honourable place in the history of his country. Sir, the Duke of Albany, both from his rich endowments, and likewise from the cultivation of those endowments, recalls in no small degree the memory of his illustrious Father; and I think that those who have made themselves acquainted with the sentiments of the Duke of Albany upon the various occasions upon which he has appeared before portions of his fellow-countrymen, for the purpose of putting forward some great public object, will have been pleased to trace, both in the general turn of mind and even in the form of expression—in the whole shape and manner of proceeding—that the Father was in a certain sense revived in the Son. Sir, under these circumstances, it will be felt that the words of the Address to be presented by the House of Commons will carry with them an unusual force and meaning. The primary object of that Address, of course, is Her Majesty the Queen, whose motherly feelings have received, upon this occasion, so severe a shock, and who is thrown back by this sudden loss upon the recollection of others not less, and in one sense even more, crushing. But there is also another Person who is entitled to claim a large share of our sympathy, though, according to the usage of our Constitution, we approach her only through the Sovereign—I mean the Duchess of Albany. The Duke of Albany had, within a period comparatively recent, assumed the position of the head of a family; and it is well-known to the world that, in the choice he made, he exhibited that sound judgment and that careful discernment which are so important in the case of every marriage,

but most of all in the case of the marriage of persons of high social distinction. The short experience which this country has had of the Duchess of Albany has sustained the opinion and judgment which had already been formed by those most intimately concerned on the ground of their previous knowledge, and has amply shown that she was well qualified both to fill her high position as a British Princess and likewise to fulfil the duties of a Wife and Mother—the wife of a man of the high character and distinguished gifts of the Duke of Albany. Upon her, indeed, the blow has fallen with unusual severity. It is very little we can do by this Address, either for Her Majesty or for the Duchess of Albany, for the purpose of mitigating such an affliction. They look, without doubt, to higher consolation than any that human heart or human kindness can administer, to be their true support in such a grievous contingency. But yet there is something, Sir, in the sympathy and concern of a people—there is something in a loyal tribute such as we now propose to carry to the foot of the Throne, and convey to Her Majesty and the Duchess of Albany, with the authority which the Houses of Parliament can give to any expression of their sentiment. That alleviation—at least, such as it is—it will be the desire of every Member of this House to administer, with only regret that it cannot be more effective. But whatever can be done by genuineness, and earnestness, and warmth of sentiment, springing out of the deep, the old, and, I may say, affectionate loyalty to the Throne, will, I am sure, be done on this occasion, and may a little, if not greatly, avail in the hour of a sad and crushing calamity. I beg, Sir, to move—

“That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to express the deep concern of this House at the great loss which Her Majesty has sustained by the death of His Royal Highness Prince Leopold George Duncan Albert, Duke of Albany, Fourth Son of Her Majesty the Queen, and to condole with Her Majesty on this melancholy occasion; to assure Her Majesty that this House will ever feel the warmest interest in whatever concerns Her Majesty’s domestic Relations; and to declare the ardent wishes of this House for the happiness of Her Majesty and of Her Family. That this House do condole with Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany, on the great loss which she has sustained by the Death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Albany.”

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I am sure, Sir, that the whole House is rejoiced to think that the right hon. Gentleman has been able to be present with us this evening, and that it is through the voice of our Leader, and of the great ornament of the House, that the feelings of the House are conveyed on this sad occasion. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman has, in his appreciative sketch of the character of him whom we lament, done no more than justice to the great qualities which were as yet not thoroughly developed, but which were being rapidly developed in the Prince whom we have lost. Those who were acquainted with His Royal Highness had always great hopes of his future, and those who have noticed from time to time with how much learning, with how much ability, earnestness, strength, and power of expression he has thrown himself into the various classes of questions in which he has taken an interest, and the appearances which he has made upon public occasions, must have felt that we had in him one for whom, indeed, much was to have been hoped and expected. Nor is this all. We also know that His Royal Highness, though he might have found, in very delicate health, an excuse for shrinking from work and public life, was one who was bent upon making a mark for himself; and he would, I am sure, have made a great and notable mark upon the position and history of this country. But though there are various topics which suggest themselves at such a moment as this with regard to the Prince whom we have lost, I feel sure that the one great feeling which dominates all others in the mind of the House and of the country is the feeling of sympathy with those who are the two chief mourners in this calamity—the widowed Mother and the widowed Wife. Sir, upon such occasions as the present we feel towards the Queen rather in her private than in her public character—if, indeed, it be possible to separate the two in a character so singularly blended and so marked as is that of Her Majesty for the association of public duty with private affection. She has an affectionate, sensitive, and sympathetic nature; yet she has never allowed her own sorrows either to deter her from the fulfilment of her public duties, or to kill the sentiment of sympathy with others. She is emphatically

one of those whom sorrow has not made selfish. We feel that, with one who is herself so forward in sympathy, it is no idle act to condole, for we know, by what she feels for others, how she appreciates that which others feel for her. One word more, perhaps, I may be permitted to say. The life of His Royal Highness the Duke of Albany, who has been taken from us, has been one which has been marked by much of suffering, and by many near approaches to the end which has at last come upon him. That gave him a greater interest, perhaps, in the eyes of all who saw, or knew, and watched him; and certainly must have done so in the hearts of those who were nearly related to him. From time to time we were in suspense lest the blow was about to fall; yet time after time he was restored to us, and, rejoicing in the thought that he had in her whom he had taken as his Consort a worthy and affectionate helpmate, we had just begun to think that his health was established, and that there was before him a happy, a peaceful, and a useful life, when suddenly the prospect which contained our hopes has been so rudely shattered. But in our sorrow we are glad to know that she who has come among us as the Bride of one of England's most distinguished sons will feel that the sympathies of England are extended to her, England's adopted Daughter. I beg, Sir, to second the Resolution which the Prime Minister has proposed.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Resolved, Nemine Contradicente*, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to express the deep concern of this House at the great loss which Her Majesty has sustained by the death of His Royal Highness Prince Leopold George Duncan Albert, Duke of Albany, Fourth Son of Her Majesty the Queen, and to condole with Her Majesty on this melancholy occasion:

To assure Her Majesty that this House will ever feel the warmest interest in whatever concerns Her Majesty's domestic Relations; and to declare the ardent wishes of this House for the happiness of Her Majesty and of Her Family.

To be presented by Privy Councillors.

*Resolved, Nemine Contradicente*, That this House do condole with Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany, on the great loss which she has sustained by the Death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Albany.

*Ordered*, That a Message of Condolence be sent to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany, and that the Marquess of Stafford and the Earl of March do attend Her Royal Highness with the said Message.—(Mr. Gladstone.)

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

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REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE  
BILL.—[BILL 119.](Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr.  
Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[THIRD NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [24th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House declines to proceed further with a measure, having for its object the addition of two million voters to the electoral body of the United Kingdom, until it has before it the entire scheme contemplated by the Government for the amendment of the Representation of the People;"—(Lord John Manners,)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate resumed.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, it appears to me that the question before us is not the principle of this Bill, but a question of time—whether the measure should be passed this Session or not, and whether it should be passed with or without, before or after, a Dissolution of the present Parliament. It appears to me that the real object of the Amendment of the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners) is to render a Dissolution the more probable; and if that be his object I think it is skilfully framed. It says we ought to have the scheme of redistribution on the Table of the House before proceeding to re-arrange the franchise. What does that mean? I think it means an appeal to every interest that would be likely to be affected by the present measure—small boroughs, for example, and dissatisfied Representatives of large towns, with a view to delay the passing of the Bill. Again, if a scheme of redistribution were introduced now, we can easily imagine what an opportunity it would afford for much discussion as to what would be the just share of Members which England, Scotland, and Ireland ought respectively to have. I do not imagine that the noble Lord and his Friends suppose that the

Amendment will succeed in its object immediately; but I can understand that they hope that the prominence that may be given to local questions by the discussion of this Amendment may do something towards hastening a Dissolution; and they may hope that, by their action upon this stage of the Bill, they may make it easier for the House of Lords to take such a course with regard to the Bill as might force the Government to dissolve. For my own part, I hope that, should such action be taken by the House of Lords, the Government will very seriously consider whether it will not be their duty to give that House another opportunity of considering the Bill. ["Hear, hear!"] I rather imagine that hon. Gentlemen opposite wish for a Dissolution. They screw themselves up to that desire, and hon. Members from Ireland below the Gangway opposite may wish for a Dissolution also, for I strongly suspect that they have some sort of fancy that they have reached the high tide of their prosperity, and that it would be well to have a Dissolution before the ebb tide sets in. The great body of the Conservative Party, in fact, are, I think, looking forward to such a result. There are special foreign difficulties at the present time. This we do not deny; but whatever may be our opinions on this side as to the way in which they have been met by the Government, we think it is probable that they would not have been more successfully contended with by Gentlemen who sit opposite. I do not intend to mix up any foreign question with the discussion of the Franchise Bill; but it is not unfair to say that Gentlemen opposite may have a feeling that it is an ill-wind that blows good to no one, and that those difficulties may, if an appeal is made to the country, make it more likely that they, the Conservative Party, would get what they, no doubt, patriotically desire—namely, the disposal of the destinies of the country. When the Conservatives lay stress on the feelings of disappointment which may be rife in the small boroughs where disfranchisement is feared, and on the fact that some farmers do not look forward with joyful expectation to the addition of their labourers to the lists of voters, it is, perhaps, reasonable that they should hope for success. I do not, however, believe that they would obtain it. When

[Third Night.]



an Election comes on, many questions are asked which are not so much asked in Parliament, and there may be questions as to who are the Leaders of the Conservative Party; to what goals are they leading the Conservative Party; above all, what are the principles of the Conservative Party? But I am quite certain that whatever else may be the result of a Dissolution, if there are any farmers who are desirous of staving off the time when their labourers will be given the franchise, and will share with them the right of voting, they will be disappointed; and they may rest assured that the return of the Conservatives to power would not long postpone that time. Everyone who regards the temper of the times and looks back at the history of Electoral Reform must feel that if the Conservative Party defeated this Reform Bill and came into power, and thereby got hold of this Reform Question, the same course would be taken as before, and they would themselves bring in a Household Franchise Bill for the agricultural labourers. Judging from the past, there may be an attempt, as there was upon the Borough Franchise Bill, to bring in some fancy distinctions and side clauses; but if they were brought in, they would be disagreed with, and there would, as before, be a Franchise Bill pure and simple. But in that case, no doubt, hon. Gentlemen opposite would have the control of the consequent Redistribution Bill; and, judging from their past efforts in redistribution, I think that would be a calamity much to be regretted. Anything I may say will not alter the views of hon. Members who believe that the carriage of the Amendment will bring about a Dissolution; and I am so convinced that this is the real object of the noble Lord that I cannot bring myself to think it worth while to take up much of the time of the House by answering the arguments in favour of his Amendment. Those arguments appear to be mainly two, and both of them depend on the supposed disadvantages of a Dissolution after the passing of the Franchise Bill, and before the Bill for the redistribution of seats is brought in. It is quite true that if there was an Election after the passing of this Bill, and before redistribution, we should have some of the county constituencies as large as some boroughs. We should

have the Divisions of Lancashire and the Ridings of Yorkshire competing with Liverpool, Manchester, or Glasgow. No doubt that would be inconvenient; but what is inconvenience compared with injustice? It would be rather inconvenient to the wire-pullers and the candidates; but, after all, it is better for the constituents that they should get their right to vote in company with a very large number than that they should not get it at all. One of the most curious arguments is, that these new voters will be injured in that it is not right to give them votes without accompanying the reform with a redistribution of seats. Well, of course, the anomaly of the present representation will be increased; but it is better that these voters should have votes even among a vast number than that they should have no votes at all. But beyond that I think that argument is rather unfair, as it assumes the truth of a suggestion put forward by the opponents of the measure that the Franchise Bill may not be followed by a Redistribution Bill. Apart from the assurances of the present Government, I believe that any Government would, in the next Session after the passing of a Franchise Bill such as this, feel themselves compelled to deal with the question of redistribution. The other argument that has been used is a complete change of front. It is said—what right have these new voters to have any influence over the proportionate number of Members, when the redistribution takes place? I say, why not? I hope the Government will bring in a Redistribution Bill, which, by its justice, will commend itself to the House and the country, and which will be passed. No doubt it will have many difficult questions to solve; and, if these cannot be settled without a fresh Election, it is much better that these 2,000,000 voters, who have been hitherto excluded for many years, should have their share in the settlement of this redistribution question. I will not dwell further upon the arguments in favour of the Amendment, the real meaning of which is the desire of hon. Gentlemen opposite to have this question of Reform and Redistribution left in the hands of the Conservative Party; and I do not blame hon. Members opposite for desiring to produce that result; but they can hardly expect hon. Members on this—the

Liberal—side of the House to join in such an endeavour. There is, however, another question, which though not raised in the Amendment has been raised in the course of the debate, and that has reference to the inclusion of Ireland. I am not sure that what I am going to say on that point will meet with much approval in any quarter of the House. I think it was a most difficult question to decide whether Ireland should be included, and that it was one not to be decided off-hand; but for myself, so far as I am concerned, after giving the subject my own careful consideration, I came decidedly to the opinion that Ireland ought to be included. But I do not, and cannot, deny that there are to some extent pausable arguments against it. The first, of course, is the one pointing at the condition of the great majority of the householders who will get votes under the Bill. They are, certainly, many of them, badly housed and badly off; but that is no reason for their exclusion. As to the Irish agricultural labourers and the small cottier farmers in the West, they, of all Her Majesty's subjects, are undoubtedly the worst off and the least represented of any classes, and, putting these two facts together, I much doubt whether they would have been so badly off if they had been better represented in this House. But their miserable condition is no argument against their inclusion in this Bill. Then, again, they are declared to be uneducated. Although the Irish peasants now are not so well educated as the English, I believe they are as well educated as the English artisans were in 1867; and if the English artisan at that time was entitled to a vote, the Irish peasant is also entitled to the franchise. Then there is another argument used, that of the exceptional legislation at present existing with regard to Ireland; but I do not see much force in that. It is true that we have special crimes in Ireland that require special laws. There are secret societies to contend with, assassination plots to meet, and intimidation to put down; but these are not by the people of Ireland, but by individuals. That is not a reason for depriving the Irish people of their electoral rights. At any rate, if you say political rights cannot be given to the Irish people because of the condition of the country, you should go further, and

establish a state of siege. There is, no doubt, a Party in Ireland which is in favour of disunion and separation from England, who do not conceal their hatred of England, and who, with more or less violence, declare against English rule and English government. I do not wish to say anything offensive; but I think it will be admitted that it would be foolish to say that that Party is not represented in this House. It is asked, "Why should we increase the power of that Party in Parliament?" But that is no reason why Ireland should be excluded from this Bill. That argument, if it means anything, means this, that the Irish householder is not fit to have a vote because he may be an anti-Unionist, a Home Ruler, or a Separationist. For my part, I do not think it is just to exclude him on that ground. There is no one more desirous and determined than I am to maintain the Act of Union; but it is, after all, only an Act of Parliament, and it is not an unconstitutional action for any hon. Member, or any number of Irish Members, to endeavour to get rid of it; and, for that reason, I do not think the argument is a good ground for the exclusion of Ireland from the Bill. I feel certain it would be inexpedient, most impolitic, and most unwise if we do not allow these feelings in Ireland Constitutional expression; for if we do not, we must expect to have them expressed unconstitutionally. I, for my part, would rather meet the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and any following which he might chance to get in this House, in any attempt he may make to change the written law, than to have to support a Government in preventing him or his Successors in establishing, in spite of the Government, his unwritten law in Ireland. I am not at all sure that the hon. Member for the City of Cork will increase his followers by means of this Bill; but, however that may be, I feel certain that a very large majority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom will be opposed to the dissolution of the Union, and I am also certain that the Irish Government will be in the future, as it has always been in the past, strong enough to put down any illegal action. But, although the result would be the same, let us look at the difference in the two cases—the case in which Ireland is included, and the case

in which it is not; in one case, we should have debates in this House, and, in the other, the necessary employment of force. Well, now, there are those who fear not merely that the hon. Member for the City of Cork would not only become, as it has been stated on the other side of the House, the "Grand Elector" for Ireland, if Ireland were included in the Bill, but that by the strength of Party spirit in this country and in this House, and by the constant changes in the power of Parties, he would also become the arbiter of the destinies of the Parliament of the United Kingdom—that he would so make his support useful, that he would be able to get really almost what he wanted by controlling the action of the different Parties. I do not fear that result. I believe that Party men in this House are too patriotic. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Oh, oh!] Well, the noble Lord does not appear to believe in the patriotism of Party men in this House. He may, perhaps, believe in this, that if they are not patriotic enough to avoid such a contingency, there is a sufficient power behind Parties—namely, the power of public opinion—to make them cease from acting in such a manner. The householders of Great Britain would make very short work of any Government who allowed the dictates of a small minority to sway them against the interests of the country. But I am afraid of something very different, and what it is is this, that if these attempts be made, it will become most damaging, too damaging, for any Party to have the aid of the Irish vote, even for a good object, and it will become very difficult to pursue the course of Irish reform and progress. There is one other powerful and overwhelming argument for the inclusion of Ireland, and that is, I know not how we can struggle for the maintenance of the Union, if we do not make this inclusion. The very idea of union is based upon union upon terms of equality in individual and political rights; and, therefore, if we refuse this inclusion, we must drop the idea of union, and we must either assent to separation, or we must absolutely and openly resort to subjection. Well, then, having very carefully weighed this question, I have come to the conclusion, as strongly as it is possible for me to do, that the Government have done right in including Ire-

land; and I must add these few words, that if it be clear that the balance of opinion is in favour of this course being taken, then to my mind, it is also clear that it must be adhered to; and, again, I confess that I have come to the conclusion that it would be the duty of the Government to resist and reject Amendments having for their object the exclusion of Ireland, from whatever quarter of the House they may come, even at the risk of losing the Bill, or their own power, or compelling the Dissolution of Parliament. Now, I suppose there will be some hon. Gentlemen who might think that I have omitted one question of great importance in the consideration of this Irish matter, and that is, they would say that this Franchise Bill, if carried out, would cause great discouragement to the Party in favour of the Union, and would, in fact, practically mean disfranchisement to them, because it would so overpower them. I do not wish to lose sight of that matter; but I do not myself believe that their position will be made worse than it is now. I am, however, quite prepared to admit—and here I must particularly ask the attention of the House for a moment—that, as the case stands at present, this overpowering of the minority in a large portion of the constituencies of Ireland is a serious matter, and one that ought to be very carefully considered by the Government in framing their plans in regard to the redistribution of seats. What are the facts? The statement of the hon. Member for the City of Cork is, that he has the control over the representation of three Provinces in Ireland, and of one or two counties in the Province of Ulster. There was no proof of that at the last General Election, though, considering recent elections that have taken place, there is, perhaps, some ground for that boast. Even granting that, we have this other fact, that throughout Ireland, in the South and in the West, there is a large number, a very large number, of voters who in no way share the opinions of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and who most earnestly desire to be represented. Now, this brings up the minority question which is before the attention of the public in a way in which I think it comes before us in no other part of the United Kingdom. The minority ought not to



have more than its fair share of representation; but it ought to have something approaching to a fair share in the representation. I can only say that I will not now discuss the question how this state of things is to be met; but I think it is the duty of the Government to consider it. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War said the other night that, after all, the minority in Ireland must look to the majority in England and Scotland to support them. I am bound to say, however, that that is not an argument that carries conviction to my mind. I entirely admit, however, on this minority question, as upon the general franchise question, that Ireland should not be treated exceptionally; but I repeat that all the arguments in favour of due consideration of minorities are much increased by the consideration of the case of Ireland, and are brought out in great prominence. We must remember that the constituencies in Ireland are so like one another that there is very little of that variety which is found in England and Scotland. Again, I think, we cannot deny that the minority in Ireland is more influenced, or, perhaps I may say without offence, more cowed, by the feeling of the majority than that in England or in Scotland. These are reasons why that matter of the representation of the minority ought to be thoroughly considered; nor can we, I think, altogether forget this fact, that, after all, the real question which divides Parties in Ireland is the question of the Union with this country. That is the real question between the Unionists, those who wish to be connected with England, and those who do not; and while I would not refuse to Ireland her fair share in the representation, or to her householders their fair share, because they may hold views on this most important Union Question differing from mine, yet I do say that the fact that this minority are in favour of the connection with England is no reason why they should be prevented from getting their fair share in the representation. I am afraid I must touch on another Irish matter, and that is not merely the redistribution in Ireland, but the apportionment of votes to Ireland—that is to say, the share which Ireland ought to have as compared with England and Scotland. I confess I am sorry to have to say a word about this

question; but my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister—I am so glad to see him here to-night—will excuse my saying that I feel it to be almost necessary, after the statements he made, and also after what was said by my right hon. Friend the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright). I should have been quite content if the effect of the statement of my right hon. Friend had merely been that fair consideration should be given to the claims of Ireland when the Government had to consider the question of redistribution; but I must say that I cannot be committed to the doctrine either that the present numbers of the Members of the House must be increased, or that the number of Members from Ireland must not be diminished, whatever may be the change in circumstances. My right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham quoted the Act of Union with reference to this particular question. He seemed to think there was a one-sidedness with regard to this Act in one particular Article, which Article was to be as a law of the Medes and Persians; but no other Article was to have the same effect. That argument does not carry much weight with me. The Acts of Union with Scotland and Ireland treated the question of the apportionment of Members in precisely the same manner and on the same grounds. The Irish Act, giving 100 Members to Ireland, corresponds almost entirely with the Scotch Act of Union, which gave 45 Members to that country; and in neither of those Acts—or, at any rate, in the particular Articles of those Acts referring to this question—is there any attempt to bind future Parliaments. Yet there are certain Articles which bind future Parliaments. There are, for instance, the Articles with regard to the Church in both countries. Those Articles are almost precisely similar in their wording; but do not let hon. Members suppose that I think those Articles ought to have prevented the passing of the Irish Church Act; nor let it be supposed that, in my view, any advocate of the Scottish Church would have much faith in its security if he thought its continuance depended on the Act of Union. Any Act of Parliament must be capable of modification according to circumstances, if those circumstances have become sufficiently changed to require such modification. This applies, as it seems to me,

in every case. Scotland has been increasing with greater jumps in the last than it has in several former decades, and it is impossible for anyone to say that it will not go on increasing in similar proportion. Ireland during the same period has been decreasing, both in population and in wealth; but it is said that the number of Members given to Ireland must remain the same. In the year 1707, the number of Members for England and Wales was 513; 45 Members were given to Scotland by the Act of Union, making 558; and 100 were added in 1800 to Ireland by the Act of Union, thus making 658 Members. At the present moment the number is 652; but the vacant seats might be filled up at any moment almost. There has been a very strong feeling, during the whole of this century, that the number of Members of this House should not be increased. The Reform Bill of 1832 gave eight additional Members to Scotland and five to Ireland; the Reform Bills of 1867 and 1868 gave seven Members to Scotland. This made an addition of 20 Members to these two countries, and the whole of them were taken from England. I do not say that that was not fair enough at the time; but I do say that I do not consider that that is the condition necessary for all ages in the future; and the fact is worth bearing in mind when we hear it said that there should be a fair proportion kept up between the three countries. The Act of Union is a dangerous illustration for those who say that the Irish representation ought necessarily to remain as it is at present, because it is impossible to forget the principle upon which the apportionment was then made. Speeches which were then made prove that this principle was that the Members should be apportioned in the Three Kingdoms upon a combination of population and taxation. I do not suppose that our Scotch Friends would object to that rule of taxation rather than that of population, for I imagine they would rather gain by it. But, on the other hand, Irish Members would object to it, because it would reduce their representation far lower than anything I have imagined possible; and at once I will tell them I should support them in their objection because it is contrary to my ideas as regards representation, and contrary to the ideas held by a large majority

of the Liberal Party, to look at taxes in preference to human beings. Perhaps, however, I may be allowed to state my opinion that if there are any hon. Members opposite who think they could get a better redistribution from the Conservative than from the Liberal Party, that has not been the doctrine of the Conservative Party hitherto. My right hon. Friend the President of the Poor Law Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), in a very important speech which he delivered during the Recess, said he thought the registers would be the best guide; and he prophesied that figures would show that Ireland ought to have a share in the entire representation of the United Kingdom which it has not at present. When, therefore, some figures were produced by the Prime Minister in bringing this Bill in, I not unnaturally considered these figures, and found that they arrived at a result which would make a very great change. I myself, however, admit that not only numbers should be taken as a fair test, but I would also take into consideration the number of voters rather than the number of votes. But from this point of view it must not be forgotten that, while England and Scotland have been increasing by vast strides in population, as well as in wealth, Ireland has been decreasing in both. Questions have been asked as to what is likely to be the case in the middle of next year, when it is supposed that the Redistribution Bill may be under discussion in Parliament. As far as I can discover from careful examination of the Statistical Returns, Ireland ought then to have 91 Members, instead of 105; Scotland 71, instead of 60; and England and Wales 496, instead of 493. There is only one other figure which I think it necessary to trouble the House with, and that has reference to the number of families as shown in the last Census Returns. I allude to this, because the principle of the present Bill seems to me to be family voting—that is, that the heads of families are to have the voting power. Taking it on this principle, Ireland would lose 17 Members, Scotland would gain 11, and England 6 Members. With these facts before us, can you be surprised that we decline to pledge ourselves to the propositions, either that the numbers of this House must be increased or that the numbers of the Irish



Members must not be reduced? How will any Redistribution Bill work? In the first place, some boroughs must necessarily be disfranchised, and their seats given to the counties and the large towns; and, above all, a number of Irish boroughs will have to be disfranchised. Some hon. Members say that when we have disfranchised certain Irish boroughs, we must give the seats so obtained to Irish counties or towns, notwithstanding the fact that there may be many English or Scotch counties and large towns which are much more clearly under-represented. I cannot accede to that proposition. Such a proposition may be supported as a concession to Irish Members; but to my mind such a concession would be a very dangerous precedent, especially when we bear in mind the views and the plans of Irish Members. I have already said that I would not refuse Irishmen a vote because they may wish to separate from us; but, on the other hand, neither would I give them more than their share of representation on that account. The utmost that any Irishmen have a right to demand is, that they should be treated on terms of the most perfect equality with the inhabitants of the rest of the United Kingdom; while we, on our part, ought to treat them without fear and without favour. This Bill has been rather cleverly called by the hon. Member for Rutland (Mr. J. W. Lowther), in his very able speech, which shows that in his person we have secured a real accession to the debating power of the House, "a Centrifugal Bill;" and, perhaps, the most plausible argument that has been put forward on behalf of giving Ireland more than her fair share of Representatives is that she is so far away. The theory that the further a place is from London the more Representatives it ought to have may have been a good one in times gone by, but it does not apply now. When the roads of England were scarcely worthy the name, and when it took weeks to get from the South-West of Ireland to Liverpool—as at the time of the Union—the argument might have been a good one that the Representatives should be increased in proportion to the distance from London; but it would be an absurdity in the present day, with our swift steamboats and our railways. The reason, Mr. Disraeli used to say,

why so many places had two Representatives was, that if one were killed on the road, his Colleague might be able to reach London. But what is the state of things in this respect in the present day? We see the hon. Members who represent the Cornish or Scotch constituencies quite as frequently as we do those from any other part of Great Britain; and, certainly, the fact that Ireland is some distance from London does not in the slightest degree prevent our hearing of Irish grievances. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister made a special remark in reference to London. It is altogether beyond doubt that, in any redistribution scheme worthy of the name, the Metropolis must get a large increase of representation. Everybody admits that. I do not, however, suppose that London will get anything like its fair share. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Why not?] The right hon. Gentleman says "Why not?" I am glad to hear him make that remark. There is no real reason why London should not obtain its fair share of representation; but I do not think it will, because it can only get that fair share from other constituencies, and they will fight very hard for their seats. Yet, there is nothing in the condition of London that makes it just or reasonable that it should not have its fair share of representation. London is not only the largest City in the world, but it is the most orderly and most easily-governed City in the world, and it is the most law-abiding City, and therefore I fail to see why it should be treated exceptionally in this matter. Why should London be treated differently from the Metropolis of every other country, whether we take those of Germany, France, or Italy? In respect of education and general intelligence, London is not inferior to the other large towns in England. [Mr. LABOUCHERE: No, no!] The hon. Member for Northampton cries "No!" but, in my humble judgment, the charge of want of intelligence cannot be brought against the majority of the inhabitants of London, although it may apply, perhaps, to certain newspapers which are published in it. The contribution of London to the taxes is notoriously far above the average of other English towns. But London is not only the richest City in the world—it contains many thousands of the poorest of the



Queen's subjects. I see no reason why its riches or its poverty should stand in the way of London obtaining its fair share of representation. Indeed, in its poverty, I see a strong reason why it should receive its fair share; because, if it had been better represented, the question of the relief of that poverty might have received better attention at the hands of this House. Indeed, it is more difficult to obtain expressions of public opinion and to get the action of popular opinion in London than in any other part of the United Kingdom; but it must not be damaged by any notion that there is anything in its condition to make it just or reasonable that it should be treated unfairly in the matter. In conclusion, I might appeal to those who, like myself, are very earnest in this Reform matter, but who, like me, may not entirely approve the hints which have been thrown out with regard to redistribution. I will support the Government in its policy of the separation of the two questions of the extension of the franchise and of redistribution, and I shall not be tempted by any amount of argument with regard to redistribution to endanger the Bill. I care so much for the Bill that I will not support, but will do my best to oppose, any Amendment which will endanger it; and I apply that to the clauses of the Bill, as well as to the redistribution question, although there are one or two which I would rather have seen differently framed. I regret that plurality of votes for property is maintained, and that county votes in boroughs are to be retained; but, if the Government feel that, to make any alteration in those respects, will endanger the Bill, I accept their view; and, after all, those are details which are not to be weighed for one moment with the great principle of the Bill, either in theory or in practice. It is true that by the help of these clauses, a few men may keep more votes than they ought to have; but by the Bill 2,000,000 of voters, who ought to have had the vote long ago, will have it now. I will not for a moment disparage the magnitude of this measure. There are some who honestly fear what may follow, and there are others who may have hopes that, by the help of this progress in popular government, they may be able to promote movements for which I have no sympathy, and to pass measures

which I should do my best to oppose. This is not the time, nor the occasion, to trouble the House with the reasons why, on the one hand, I do not share those fears, or why, on the other hand, I think it probable that those hopes may be disappointed. But let me make one remark applying it to all Members of the House. Pride in our institutions is not a monopoly of the Conservative Party. There is, to my mind, a true Conservatism which is one of the principles of true Liberalism. But, depend upon it, that true Conservatism, no more than true Liberalism, would be endangered by the further development of that principle of self-government which has been one great cause why England is what she is. The doctrine of numbers pervades and must pervade the representative system. That was made clear by the Act of 1867. On the passing of this measure, not property, not interests, but numbers—human beings—will be acknowledged even more clearly than by the Act of 1867 to be the basis of popular power; and in the belief that that basis is the most sound and the most safe that we can obtain, I thank the Government for this Bill, and I will do what I can to secure its passing.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: Sir, the House has listened, of course, with a great deal of interest, to the speech of my right hon. Friend who has just resumed his seat (Mr. W. E. Forster). He has done that which was not done by the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) on the last occasion of this debate—namely, he has referred to the Amendment of my noble Friend behind me (Lord John Manners), and has told the House what the object of that Amendment was. He said the object of the Amendment was to hasten a Dissolution. Now, I apprehend the object of this Amendment is, that which was aimed at in 1866, to induce the Government to give to the House a complete scheme. But my right hon. Friend went on to say that he recommended the Government, in the event of the Lords throwing out the Bill this Session, to give the Lords a second chance. That was a sentiment which was cheered on the other side of the House. It was quite evident why it was cheered. It was because it would give a great number of hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House an opportunity of occupying

themselves in another Session of Parliament—an opportunity which they probably would not have if there was a Dissolution. But my right hon. Friend said that he was convinced that the object of the Amendment also was, if it succeeded, to place the handling of the representation of the people and the manipulation of the redistribution of seats in the hands of the Conservative Party. Why, of course, it stands to reason that, if the Conservative Party succeed in giving expression to the general feeling of the country in turning out the Government, they would naturally have the opportunity of manipulating the representation by the Bill, if they thought it necessary. Then the right hon. Gentleman referred to Ireland. He is, in my opinion, a man of most robust faith. He has given us a dissertation on the state of Ireland, and he said—"I do think that the Union cannot be maintained unless this Bill is passed and includes Ireland." Now, I am sure the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to say that he is one of the most expert political tight-rope dancers I ever saw in my life. He has made that statement; but I cannot help feeling that his speech must have been very displeasing to the Government. I imagine that the Government, in the midst of their many defeats, in the midst of their military disasters, and in the midst of the political discredit in which they are, must be pretty well sick of the consolation of their candid Friends. What do we find? There is my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose Burghs (Mr. Baxter), the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, and there are others on the Liberal side of the House, who are candid Friends of the Government. In fact, to me, coming back to the House as I do, after a brief absence, it appears that all the clever men are everywhere but on the Treasury Bench, and all the corners on the other side of the House are occupied by refugees, who have fled the Government in disgust, and yet, one after the other, they have given us a series of the most compromising reflections upon this mutilated piece of machinery of State Government which is called the Government Reform Bill. I have observed that there is no surer test, no more certain indication of the crumbling-up of a Government, than when they are

assailed by the repeated candid assurances of their *quondam* Colleagues and allies. Of course, putting aside the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who has just addressed the House—which was not particularly lively—I think this debate has worn a rather languid aspect. It is perfectly true that the hon. Gentleman the Parliamentary Secretary of the Local Government Board (Mr. George Russell) said, on the last night of the debate, that it was high time for him to strike a livelier chord. I respect the abilities of my hon. Friend; but when he talked of striking a livelier chord, the chord must either have snapped in his fingers, or else he forgot the tune, for it was curious to observe how indifferent the House was to the merits of a Bill which had been clearly introduced, not in the high patriotic spirit mentioned by the Prime Minister, but for the purpose exclusively of giving a Party manipulation to the electoral franchise. Now, when I make use of the expression "languid," of course I must exclude the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. The right hon. Gentleman spoke in most unmeasured terms on the last night of our debate, and with a license that would have been more suitable for a platform at Wolverhampton—[An hon. MEMBER: Birmingham.]—than for the arena of the House of Commons. I refer to Wolverhampton, because the speech which we heard here was almost a repetition of a speech which he made at Wolverhampton. He proceeded to make a speech the most mischievous, the most inflammatory, and, if I may use the expression of my noble Friend (Lord George Hamilton) on Thursday evening, the most ill-conditioned that perhaps ever was delivered from the Treasury Bench by a Cabinet Minister. Why, from his handling of the Reform Bill—and, recollect, he went off on a side issue, and never referred to the Amendment of my noble Friend—one would have supposed that we were on the eve of a revolutionary epoch, for the right hon. Gentleman, in very vindictive terms—and it ought to be remembered that he had as Colleagues the noble Marquess and the right hon. Gentleman, whom I am glad to see in his place again, in that Government of Compromise—made the most direct appeals that I ever heard to the very worst passions that can be engendered by

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ignorance, by poverty, or by a sense of injustice. No doubt, his words are ringing still in the uncomfortable ears of the Treasury Bench; but, in my opinion, they ought to be placarded all over the country in order, to show the people the man who is the Colleague of right hon. Gentlemen opposite. I will give an extract from the right hon. Gentleman's speech with regard to the delay in bringing in a Reform Bill—

“What has happened in consequence of the agricultural labourers not having a voice? They have been robbed of their lands, they have been robbed of their rights in the commons, they have been robbed of their open spaces. These proceedings are going on still. The agricultural labourers are still being robbed. We cannot go into a single country lane”—

I wish the House to note the maliciousness of what follows—

“In which you will not find that the land-owners on each side of the road have already enclosed lands which for centuries have belonged to the people. But that is not all. It is not merely with reference to the land that this injurious operation is going on. It is going on also with respect to the endowments of the poor.”

I maintain that this is a direct appeal to mob violence. I maintain that this is a direct holding out of a bribe to the most ignorant classes of this country—[“No, no!”]—not the most enlightened, at all events—as an inducement to support the most Radical section of the Government when they receive the franchise. There is another point to which I would call the attention of the House, and that is the eager disposition of the right hon. Gentleman, as a Member of the Cabinet, to charge his political opponents with having committed robbery, or something worse. We all know that there are charges which he has made with regard to the mercantile classes of this country. If that is the language to which they are treated in dealing with this question, we shall know how to meet it. But, of course, we know perfectly well that, in this Government of Compromise, these extraordinary statements of the right hon. Gentleman will be duly watered down in the proper course by his less ardent Colleagues. A remark was made on Thursday by a supporter of the Government which was worthy of notice. It was that the present Government came into power for two objects. One was to reverse the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, and the other was to pass this Reform Bill. This is not the

time to deal with the reversal of Lord Beaconsfield's policy. It is enough to contemplate the ridiculous position in which the Government have placed themselves in their endeavours to reverse that policy. But as regards Reform, if they were elected to bring in a Reform Bill, and they have delayed, as my noble Friend the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) has pointed out, to introduce their Bill till 1884, why have the supporters of the Government been so listlessly indifferent? Why, I can see that they hate it. The right hon. Gentleman who spoke before me had hardly a good word to say for it. [“Oh, oh!”] The real truth is, that “the best House of Commons in this century,” as it has been called by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, cannot reconcile itself to this measure. Why is that? Why, because it is evident that the attention of the country and of Parliament is absorbed by the current events of the day. We are all eager for some sound, useful, domestic legislation other than this Bill. We are all anxious for such legislation. The Government had a lesson on Friday night—a lesson which I hope they will not forget. If they do forget it, I trust that the Opposition will be careful to impress it upon them. That lesson shows the sense of the House in favour of some sound useful legislation. I recollect that a Question was recently addressed to the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department upon the Lunacy Laws. There cannot be any Question more proper to be addressed to the Government in their present dilapidated condition. The right hon. Gentleman, in his reply, on that occasion, made one of the most sensational speeches that we have had from him this Session. Now, what is the reason of all this? Why is it that this Bill cannot engage the attention of the House? We all know the truth is, this Bill has been thrown upon that Table—has been thrown in our faces—as a compromise with the Radical section of the Government, and in order to redeem a hasty pledge which everybody on this and many moderate Liberals on that side would have been very glad to get rid of. [“Oh, oh!”] I speak for myself; but I am certain that I speak the opinions of a great many on this side of the House, when I say that nobody would



be opposed to a fair and equitable measure for the good of the country, if it were proved to be necessary. [*Laughter.*] I refer, of course, to Reform. But what have we in this measure? It is nothing less than an attempt to assign to 2,000,000 of people, amongst whom are many of the most ignorant—[“No, no!”]—certainly, the most inexperienced, in this country, the immediate and the absolute control of the vast machinery of the State. What is the reason of that? The Prime Minister gave us the reason on introducing the Bill. He said that the object of the Bill was to rally, in one solid compact mass, all classes of the community around the ancient Throne. That is very beautiful and very decorative language; but it is entirely different from the language we heard from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade. His was an appeal to mob violence. Rallying around the ancient Throne never occurred to the right hon. Gentleman. All I can say is, that if the ancient Throne stands in need of those crude and ill-digested schemes of our advanced Friends, its foundations are certainly not as secure as the Constitutional feeling of this country would wish to see them. I do not think much can very well be said about this Bill. It is so thoroughly incomplete in all its parts; and the right hon. Gentleman the hon. Member for Bradford, in his speech, which, as I have said, was not of the liveliest kind, produced the impression that he was sensible of the paucity of arguments in favour of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham, in answering the speech of the noble Lord who moved the Amendment, said my noble Friend had not said a word to show whether he was in favour of the extension of the county franchise or not. Is that to be wondered at? Is there anything extraordinary in that? [*Laughter.*] Why, the Prime Minister, on whose countenance I am glad to see a smile, spoke for two hours in introducing the measure, and did not condescend to give one single good reason to prove the necessity for its introduction. Personally, I object to the Bill, because it involves great and mysterious changes; and, except on the part of a convocation in a county town, composed of a few scientific Radicals, who are as devoid of judgment as of common sense, there have been no knocking at the

doors of Parliament, as I have heard in years gone by, clamouring for some measure of this kind. There is nothing in my humble judgment to induce the present excellent House of Commons to sign a blank cheque for their future political extinction. It is true that the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) gave us a speech. The right hon. Gentleman always speaks with authority in this House; but his speech was a very disappointing one, compared with his speech in 1866, when he electrified Parliament by the arguments he used; and the reason he now gave was the absence of arguments, which was so great that he claimed to speak with “a little freedom.” My right hon. Friend generally does speak with a little freedom. He said he thought there was nobody against the Bill. There was, I think, a good deal of freedom in that expression. He also said that during the last few months there had been more unanimity on this question than there had been on any question for many years; but he abstained from proof, which was the very thing wanting. Of course, that is what the French call a *façon de parler*. In speaking with a little freedom, in the absence of arguments, the right hon. Gentleman brought in the “Old Woman of Warwickshire,” who had written to him, as if that had anything to do with the Amendment, and the Conservative Peer who had told him that it was a good Bill. It is not for me to question the propriety of the right hon. Gentleman’s aristocratic relations; but, as he said that the hon. Member for the City of Cork was not a fool, he mentioned a category to which, undoubtedly, the “Old Woman of Warwickshire” and the Conservative Peer belonged. And then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say that he took his stand on the Act of Union. Sixteen years ago the right hon. Gentleman called the Act of Union a rotten old piece of parchment; but it suited his purpose then so to describe it. It is a pleasure for me, who have known him for 35 years, to see him taking his stand upon anything. During the whole of his distinguished political career, his attention has been directed to knocking down everything; and it is refreshing to observe the right hon. Gentleman standing up for anything which, at all events, savours in some degree of one of the fundamental principles of the British

Constitution. But when the right hon. Gentleman took his stand, his well known finger of scorn was pointed with a good deal of emphasis to the Irish Benches. As he had said, the right hon. Gentleman said that the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork was no fool. Anyone must be a fool if he could not read between the lines of the part of the speech which the right hon. Gentleman addressed to the Irish Benches. It was meant to catch the Irish vote. But after four years of blundering, after suppression of the freedom of the Press, and the right of public meeting, after coercions without number, and the most inconceivable errors into which the Imperial Government have fallen in the administration of affairs in Ireland, it is too late to catch the Irish vote. It is too late to win back the sympathies of the Irish people after the truculent vagaries of Radical misrule. Why, they are too late in everything; they are too late everywhere; and I hope they will carry the principle of being too late to its logical conclusion, in becoming nothing more than the late Administration. Taxation and population were the bases of the arrangement under the Act of Union; but, at that time, Ireland had one-third of the population of the Three Kingdoms, and now only about one-seventh; and there are now in Ireland 21 constituencies with an average of 378 electors, or only one-third of the number in the borough I have the honour to represent. I am surprised at the right hon. Gentleman putting forward the "for ever" argument. All diplomatic Treaties pledge the parties to amity and peace "for ever," only to be broken at the first opportunity; and it will be so, I hope, in the case of the Kilmainham Treaty. But when it is argued that the Act of Union arrangement must be maintained, it is forgotten that statesmanship must be progressive. It must progress with the progress of events. The question of redistribution is of the greatest possible importance, and Parliament ought not to consider it separately. What was said by the noble Marquess opposite? He seemed to be the victim of uncertain opinions just at the time when the country would rejoice to see him take his stand with a bold and determined front; but he said that the demand of the Opposition respecting the redistribution of political power was a reasonable one, and he thought the House was

entitled to have the general lines of what was proposed by the Government in regard to redistribution. Nothing could be fairer than that, and all the Opposition asked was that what was conceded in 1866 should be conceded now—namely, that the Franchise and Redistribution Bills should be taken together. It is impossible for us to pledge ourselves to a half measure, when we ask to have the whole plan. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham said that the Earl of Derby had probably changed his opinions; but the House will recollect a speech made by the Earl of Derby, in 1866, so conclusive that it never was answered, showing the necessity of introducing measures of franchise and redistribution, and of treating them together. If there was any force in the argument of the noble Earl at that time, it must have 10 times more force now. It is true the Government have said that they intend to pass this Bill this Session; but I doubt very much whether they will be able to carry out that programme. I am not so sure that there are not Members of the Government who think it will be very difficult. The Secretary of State for the Home Department himself, and the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), gave us an idea that they thought it was not possible for the Government to pass this measure. The words of the Secretary of State for the Home Department were these—"I am sorry to say that it is absolutely impossible for the Government in its present condition to pass any Bill upon any subject." I admit that the right hon. Gentleman made use of that expression in one of his moods of uncertain temper; but, nevertheless, that was the expression he employed, with a good deal of force. I would wish the House of Commons to bear in mind the speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). His speech was full of the most sensible and pungent remarks. Appealing to the moderate Liberal Party, the right hon. Gentleman said—"I want to know will the Liberal Party be prepared to back the Prime Minister in the pledge given that English boroughs are to be disfranchised in order to maintain intact the existing distribution in Ireland?" I think there was great force and weight in that remark, coming, as it



did, from behind the Ministerial Benches opposite. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose (Mr. Baxter), who may be supposed to represent Scotch opinions and views on this subject, also made a speech—a speech of a candid Friend, of course, because he is not one of those who have left the Government in disgust, but his disgust is that he never was called upon to join it. Speaking as the Representative of the opinions of the Scotch Members, the right hon. Gentleman said that—“Until the Redistribution Bill was introduced they—the Scotch Members—felt themselves unpledged, and would take whatever course they thought best, and unless the Prime Minister was careful about his redistribution scheme, he might find himself in a minority.” I must say, however, I dissented from him when he said that he had witnessed the introduction for 30 years of measures of Reform, and that he thought this was the greatest and best of them all. I, like the right hon. Gentleman, have seen every Reform Bill since 1850 introduced into this House, and I must say it is really very curious and interesting to observe the circumstances of the birth and the early decease of all those Reform Bills. I have here a statement of the several measures introduced, with the Queen’s Speeches upon them, and it really affords us a lesson. It shows that there is nothing absolutely of very pressing importance to hasten the passing this measure now. We had Reform Bills in 1852, 1854, 1857, 1859, 1860, and 1866. On every one of these occasions the Prime Minister addressed Parliament on the subject through the Queen’s Speech. Lord John Russell, in 1852, said—

“This is the fitting time for calmly considering whether it may not be advisable to make such Amendments in the Act of the late Reign relating to the Representation of the Commons in Parliament.”

Out he went. Lord Aberdeen came in in 1854. Here was the Queen’s Speech—

“It will also be your duty to consider whether more complete Effect may not be given to the Principles of the Act of the last Reign, whereby Reforms were made in the Representation of the People in Parliament.”

You will observe that the word “calmly” was dropped in this case, because we were on the eve of the Crimean War. Out he went. Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister in 1857. In the Queen’s Speech he said—

“Your attention will be called to the Laws which regulate the Representation of the People in Parliament, with a view to consider what Amendments may be safely and beneficially made therein.”

Out he went. In 1859, Lord Derby was Prime Minister. Here was the Queen’s Speech—

“Your attention will be called to the State of the Laws which regulate the Representation of the People in Parliament, and I cannot doubt that you will give to this great Subject a degree of calm and impartial consideration,” &c.

Out he went. In 1860, Lord Palmerston again tried his hand. Here is the Queen’s Speech—

“Measures will be laid before you for amending the Laws which regulate the Representation of the People in Parliament.”

He was far too cunning to try it, and he remained in till his death. In 1866, Lord John Russell was Premier. Here is the Queen’s Speech—

“I have directed that Information should be procured. . . . When that Information is complete, the attention of Parliament will be called to the result thus obtained, with a view to such Improvements in the Laws which regulate the Rights of Voting in the election of Members of the House of Commons,” &c.

Out he went. In fact, with the single exception of the case of Lord Palmerston in 1860, who made a Queen’s Speech, saying that measures would be laid before Parliament and immediately dropped the subject, in every case these Reform Bills were dropped, and the Ministers went out, probably, a good deal in consequence of their having introduced them. Why should we not ask the Government to introduce a Redistribution Bill now? It was asked and was refused in 1866. I recollect the present Prime Minister was then the Leader of this House, and introduced the measure, which was an Enfranchisement Bill, without any reference to redistribution. Lord Grosvenor—the present Duke of Westminster—moved, on the second reading, an Amendment to the effect that it was inexpedient to discuss the Bill until the entire scheme was before the House. There was an eight nights’ debate on that, and the Government only rejected it by 6 votes. In consequence of the smallness of the majority, the Government did introduce a Redistribution Bill on the 7th of May. The debate was continued upon that Bill; but the Government was beaten—not upon the redistribution scheme, but upon a Motion



of Lord Dunkellin for substituting rateable for clear annual value, the Government being placed in a minority of 11. I must express my thanks to the House for the patience with which it has heard me. In the opinion of some hon. Gentlemen opposite this may be a great Bill. In my opinion, it is a most mischievous Bill; and I do hope that the House of Commons, as in 1866, will not give the Government a Party triumph at the sacrifice of principle. This Bill, believe me, never can satisfy the people of this country. We all know the ridiculous position in which, unfortunately, the Government is placed. This Bill is introduced with the intention to divert public attention from the terrible events that are going on. This Bill, in fact, is intended to throw dust in the face of that growing discontent which re-echoes its murmurs from county to county and from borough to borough in condemnation of the policy of the Government. All that we ask, all that any sensible man, I think, will be inclined to ask, is that, if it is necessary to introduce some rational scheme for the representation of the people, it should be based upon some plan of taxation and population combined. The Government refuse to assent to that. They give us half a measure, a mutilated measure—just as if the Radical Party in this country can off-hand, as they think, amend, improve, and reform a Constitution that has taken generations to build up. Recollect, Sir, we have in the British Constitution a most complicated piece of machinery—perhaps, the most complicated the world has ever seen. It was well said by one of the greatest writers—perhaps the greatest man who ever lived—

“Happy and well-governed are those States where the middle part is strong and the extremes weak.”

If you unduly strengthen the extremes, whether in the direction of an Aristocracy or a Democracy, you will, in my opinion, weaken the leading merits of our Constitution. I am in favour of any fair and equitable measure that may be judged to be necessary. I voted in 1867 for the Bill that was then before Parliament, and I am quite ready to grant political power now to those whose industry, whose intelligence, and whose character give them a legitimate stake in the country; but I shall vote for the

Amendment of my noble Friend because I believe the measure of the Government will subvert the existing order of things, and therefore it cannot add to the welfare, the happiness, or the prosperity of our country.

Mr. CRAIG SELLAR said, it was not his wish, even if he had the power, to follow the interesting and lively argument which they had just heard from the right hon. Baronet; but he was sure the House might be congratulated on the return, after a short absence, of the right hon. Baronet. He knew he was speaking the sentiment of very many on the Ministerial side of the House when he said they were delighted to hear from the Front Opposition Bench a speech so lively and interesting—a speech, in fact, more lively and interesting than any they had heard from that Bench for the last four years. But, lively and interesting as the speech was, it only seemed to him to be an additional testimony to the wisdom of the Government in introducing what the right hon. Baronet had called a “mutilated piece of machinery.” Had the Government introduced a measure dealing both with franchise and redistribution this Session, there would have been no chance of its passing. If he were to criticize the measure, he would say that, if anything, the Bill was overloaded. In a great Reform such as this the commencement ought to be comparatively small. He had thought all along, and he still thought, that if, instead of one complete and rounded measure, the Government had followed precedents, and had introduced three measures extending the franchise to England, to Scotland, and to Ireland, there would have been less chance of serious hostility or opposition, and that the cause of Reform would have been hastened rather than retarded. But he was bound to say that, considering the comprehensive character of the measure, and the uniformity which it proposed to introduce, it had the merit of being one of the most skilfully drafted Bills he ever saw. It was simple and well rounded, and he thought it would be found difficult to assail in Committee, because of the elaboration and care with which it had been prepared. The central idea of the Bill was the establishment of universal household suffrage. That was a good suffrage. It was only right and reasonable that

the man who, by his industry and energy, had acquired a household, and had become the head of a family, should not be deprived of the benefits of citizenship. But, more than that, universal household suffrage was a reasonable resting place. They had heard in the course of the debate indications of the idea that there was no finality in this question of Reform; but he was glad to hear from the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) that the basis of this Bill was so broad that it was good enough to satisfy at least a generation. There was no doubt that under this Bill there would be many districts where the houses were very poor, and where the people were very ignorant, and perhaps not over industrious. In future these houses would convey the franchise; but he was bound to say that every year, even in the poorest and most congested districts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the standard of comfort was rising, and would be helped by this measure. The franchise was a great educating agency. He believed the gift of the franchise raised a man's self-respect, and, what was more, it raised respect for him amongst those around him; and it would act through the United Kingdom as a stimulus to raise the humbler, the poorer, the less educated and experienced people in the path of civilization. That brought him to what he considered the most original and, perhaps, the most valuable provision of the Bill—the service franchise. The hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) spoke of this franchise, it seemed to him, in terms of depreciation. The hon. Gentleman stated that it would enfranchise a certain number of gamekeepers and a certain number of gardeners. Speaking for Scotland, he knew a good many more gardeners and gamekeepers in that country than the hon. Gentleman did, and he knew there was no class of men in Scotland who were more entitled to the franchise. This provision would have the effect of giving votes to the cream of the unenfranchised people of Scotland. Indeed, but for it he considered that the Bill for Scotland, and especially for the South of Scotland, would have been a comparatively useless measure. A county with which he was well acquainted, but would not name, and the present electorate of which numbered between 1,000 and 1,200, by the opera-

tion of this service franchise would have the number increased by 2,100, consisting of agricultural labourers, miners, and others, living in their employers' houses. The occupation of houses in lieu of wages was customary in the whole of the South of Scotland, and he hoped to hear from his hon. Friend the Member for Roxburgh (Mr. A. Elliot), who, it was an open secret, was mainly instrumental in bringing the necessity of this franchise before the Government, and from his hon. Friend the Member for Berwickshire (Mr. Marjoribanks), the condition of things in these counties. He was sure no Parliament and no Government would ever have any cause to regret that they abandoned the old groove in which the extension of the franchise used to run, and that, by means of this service franchise, they enfranchised the cream of the peasantry of Scotland. The provisions with regard to the extinction of faggot votes had been received—he would not say with enthusiasm in Scotland—but they had been accepted. There was no doubt that the system of faggot votes was the curse of the representation of Scotland, and had been since 1832. They would have been glad to have seen a more root-and-branch reform of this system; and if they had had a separate Bill for Scotland, he believed they would have been able to introduce such a reform. But they were a practical people. They knew that the Bill dealt with the United Kingdom franchises of the kind of the 40s. freeholder, and that those franchises were not to be extinguished in England and Ireland, and they accepted it, though they regretted the rather meagre provisions they were to have for the extinction of fictitious voting in Scotland. He could say with the utmost confidence that throughout the whole of Scotland the people welcomed this Bill, and considered it to be the greatest Reform Bill of the century, and they hoped that before the end of the Session it might be safely berthed in the quiet haven of the Statute Book. But they did not accept with equal satisfaction the statement of the Prime Minister as to the probable redistribution of seats. With the most of that statement, however, Scotch Members sitting with him did agree. He was pleased to hear there was no intention of introducing any system of electoral districts; that there

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would be no displacement of the old Constitutional traditions of the country with regard to the franchise; and also that it was considered necessary to retain the distinction between the town and county. There could be no doubt that the interests and associations of urban constituencies were not always similar—indeed, that they were sometimes antagonistic to the associations and pursuits of rural constituencies. Of that they had a marked illustration in the recent debates on the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill; and it seemed to him that it would be more than a misfortune if the distinction between urban and rural constituencies was not retained. He was also glad to hear the Prime Minister say that he did not consider it necessary that closely concentrated populations should have the same amount of representation as wider and more scattered districts; and, above all, the people of Scotland and their Representatives were glad to hear that there was to be a substantial increase of the Representatives for Scotland. But it was with regard to the provisions that were to be made for that increase that their path began to diverge from that of the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman was definite and precise as to the nature of the disease; but when he spoke of the remedy he was less definite—indeed, he was almost vague. He mentioned two alternative remedies. The first was that the small boroughs of the South of England should yield seats to make up the representation in Scotland. But there were only 40 of these small boroughs, and he should have thought that most of them, at least, would be required to satisfy the wants of London and all the great unenfranchised towns of England and the counties that would want further representation. Indeed, he should have thought that if they were to sweep away the whole of the small boroughs in England, there would hardly be material enough to satisfy the requirements of the unrepresented districts of that country. The Scotch Representatives could not forget how the Bill of 1831 was lost. General Gascoigne's Instruction to the Committee to the effect that the representation of England and Wales ought not to be diminished was fatal to the Bill; and Scottish Members believed that the spirit of that Instruction might exist in

this House in 1884. They hardly thought it was possible that England, with all her generosity, could sacrifice a single seat for Scotland; and they were satisfied that if they trusted to the smaller boroughs of England for additional seats for Scotland, that they should be trusting to a broken reed. The other alternative of the Prime Minister was one which, certainly, appeared more hopeful, but which he thought, from the words of the right hon. Gentleman, he was not very sanguine of himself. It was that a limited addition should be made to the number of Members of the House. Was it likely that the House would assent to an addition to its numbers; or that such a proposal would be listened to out-of-doors? He was aware that there was "no magic, no cabalistic charm," as Mr. Disraeli said, in the numerals 658; it was purely a question of convenience what the number of Members of the House should be. In Scotland they should be only too glad to take their additional Members from this source; but they believed that the House would not readily assent to such a proposal—at least, until it had tried every other source. Now, was there any other source? He must look at this as a Scotch Member, and the answer brought him to the point at which his path diverged from that of the Prime Minister. There was another source, and that was the over-abundance of the representation of Ireland. The Prime Minister stated that he would not reduce the proportional share of representation accorded by law to Ireland. What was the history of the allotment of Members to Ireland? At the Union, the Irish Parliament proposed, and Mr. Pitt accepted, taxation and population as a joint basis, and on that joint basis the number was fixed at 100. At that time the population of Ireland was 4,200,000. In 1832 the population had increased to nearly 8,000,000. The taxation at the Union was £3,000,000, and it had increased in 1832 to £4,000,000. In 1832 seats were added to the five largest cities—Limerick, Galway, Belfast, Waterford, and Dublin; but in 1880 the corrupt boroughs of Sligo and Cashel were disfranchised. These seats, however, were not distributed, and the number remained at 105, that number being fixed when the population was 8,000,000, and being still retained now with a population of 5,000,000. In 1832



one Irish Member represented 73,000 people; to-day each Irish Member represented 46,000; while each English Member represented 54,000, and each Scotch Member 64,000 people, or 18,000 more than each Irish Member. On the score of population, there was really no justice in keeping the law of 1832 intact. Taking the question of taxation, the total amount of taxation of the United Kingdom was £73,000,000, or about £110,000 per Member. England contributed £58,000,000, or £118,000 for each Member; Scotland, £8,000,000, or £133,000 for each Member; and Ireland, £6,600,000, or only £64,000 for each Member, being only half of what was represented by a Scotch Member. According to population, England should have 494 Members, Scotland 71, and Ireland 93. According to taxation, England should have 526 Members, Scotland 72, and Ireland 60; but taking the mean of population and taxation, which was the best criterion, England would have 510, Scotland 71, and Ireland 77. There were many other ways of looking at the question; but the best argument was provided by an examination of the figures bearing on the subject. Looking at the comparative prosperity and comparative decay in the three countries, in England the population decreased between 1871 and 1881 in 30 counties and in 30 boroughs; in Scotland, in the same period, there was a decrease in 13 counties and in one borough; but in Ireland there was a decrease in every county but two, and in more than half the boroughs. In England the number of inhabited houses increased more than 250,000 between 1871 and 1881; in Wales they had increased by 15,000; in Scotland the increase in inhabited houses was known to be very considerable, though the figures could not be accurately ascertained; while in Ireland the decrease was as remarkable as the increase in the other countries, the number having decreased in every county except Dublin; and although in boroughs there was a slight increase over head, there was a decrease in 16 out of 32 boroughs. Would it be a natural thing to give the larger share of government to the country which contributed largely to the Exchequer and received little from it, or to the country which contributed little and received largely? Ireland

contributed every year to the Exchequer £8,000,000 sterling, and received back £7,000,000; Scotland contributed £9,000,000, and received back £2,600,000. Scotland, therefore, contributed £1,000,000 more and received £4,500,000 less, and was thus £5,500,000 to the good. From any point of view, Scotland was entitled to additional Representatives, and Ireland to less. After all, the strongest argument against the Prime Minister's proposition was the weakness of the defence. The arguments in support of that proposition were not addressed to reason, but to compassion. They were arguments *ad misericordiam*. The right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had taken his stand on the Act of Union; but the 4th Article of the Act of Union stated how the 100 Irish Members were to be allotted. There were to be two for each county, two for the City of Dublin, one for the University of Trinity College, and one for each of the 30 most considerable cities, towns, and boroughs. If they took their stand on the sanctity of the Act of Union, the counties of Carlow and Louth, with a population under 100,000, would retain four Members, while the boroughs of Portarlington, Mallow, Downpatrick, Dungannon, Bandon, Kinsale, Inniskillen, and Youghal, with 35,000 all told, would have eight Members. The right hon. Gentleman said the Treaty of Union had no doubt been infringed; but these infringements were with the consent of the weaker party. But suppose the population of Ireland, which was now 5,000,000, were reduced to 2,000,000, which, probably, was the amount of population that, from an agricultural point of view, Ireland was capable of maintaining, would they still adhere to the 105 Members? That argument was addressed rather to the heart than to the head. There was no justice in the proposal that the number of Members from Ireland should not be reduced. It had been dictated by the over-abundant generosity of the Prime Minister; but they must be just before they were generous. When generosity to one part of the country inflicted, or threatened to inflict, injustice on another part, its Representatives could not hold their peace. The Chief Secretary said that the people of Ireland had a very keen sense of justice and injustice in their own affairs. But so had the people

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of Scotland. The argument he had been submitting had nothing to do with the proposal to extend uniform franchise to England, Ireland, and Scotland. He believed that in Scotland the Liberal Party were unanimous in thinking that it was just and proper of the Government to make this proposal. If the extension did not apply to Ireland, Irish Members would have a real grievance—a grievance which would excite sympathy on his side of the House; but while they approved of this proposal, they must enter their caveat against the other proposal of the Prime Minister. He (Mr. Craig Sellar) held himself free to act exactly as he thought right when the question of redistribution came forward next year. He could not support, and had no intention of supporting, the Amendment to the second reading of this Bill. He went further, and would ask hon. Gentlemen opposite if they were acting with their usual prudence in giving an embittered resistance to this measure? A Bill of this character was inevitable, and had been made inevitable by the action of the Conservative Party in 1867. If in this or the other House they threw out the Bill, would they advance the interests of moderation and Conservatism? The Bill was, no doubt, far-reaching; but it was a Conservative Bill. The statement of the Prime Minister indicated a thorough-going scheme of redistribution, safeguarded by propositions which commended themselves to moderate and practical men. If they threw out the Bill, was there not a danger of throwing out what was moderate and practical with it? At the present moment the country was quiet, because it had confidence in Her Majesty's Government, and confidence that they would pass this Bill. If the Bill were thrown out, would the country remain quiet? It would not. He said that in no menacing spirit—he said it as an indisputable fact. The tranquillity of the country would give way to agitation, and the agitation would not be for a measure which commended itself to moderate men, but for something very different; and they might depend upon it, it would be the “something very different,” and not this reasonable measure, which would ultimately find its way into the Statute Book.

MR. SIDNEY HERBERT said, that he had been struck by the words of the

Prime Minister in introducing this Bill, where he had talked of giving a slight sketch of a Redistribution Bill, when the whole House and the whole country was in a state of excitement to hear what the scheme of redistribution was to be. Then the Prime Minister had told them that what he was going to sketch out was only to be taken as his own view. Judging from the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman's Colleagues, he thought that the Prime Minister was right in making that reservation if he was to say anything at all on the subject. It was all the more necessary that they should have before them a scheme which expressed not only the view of the Prime Minister, but of the joint stock company which formed the Cabinet. The Prime Minister had told them that he proposed to take away their Representatives from the small boroughs in the South of England, but that the number of Irish Members was not to be diminished. He would like to ask Her Majesty's Government—if there had been a Member of it present—in what way the conduct of the Irish during the last four years merited the boon it was now proposed to give to Ireland? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had talked of justice to Ireland; that had been sufficiently answered. Then he had referred to the Act of Union; but in referring now to that Act of Union, not only was the right hon. Gentleman proving himself inconsistent, but he was giving a strong argument to the Irish Members when they asked for the repeal of the Union. What had really given birth to the proposition, contrary as it was to the welfare of the United Kingdom, was the dire necessity on the part of the Government to conciliate the Irish vote; but, judging from the conduct of the Irish Representatives in that House, he doubted whether the Government would gain much by the offer of their bribe. The only result would be the return of a stronger phalanx of Irish Members to wring still more from the Government, from whom they had already wrung so much. It was the duty of everyone who valued the integrity of the United Kingdom to resist such a proposal as had been made. Then the Prime Minister had said that he took his stand on the broad principle that as many capable citizens as possible should

*Mr. Craig Sellar*

be admitted to the franchise; but he had given them no standard of capacity. It might include universal suffrage, or the admission of women to the franchise, or of soldiers and sailors, or of domestic servants; in fact, it gave no limit whatever. Then the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. George Russell) had given them a most interesting speech, in which he had referred more particularly to the agricultural labourers. For his own part, while he did not deny that the agricultural labourers possessed all the qualities which had been attributed to them, especially tenacity of opinion, he was bound to say, with regard to their political knowledge, that he thought it was somewhat limited. He remembered being on a canvass on one occasion and asking an agricultural labourer was he going to vote for him? The labourer said he was not, as he was going to vote for Mr. Gladstone, and from the next observation he made he showed he believed Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone were in the same Cabinet. If it had been intended that that class should receive a proper share of representation, he should not have looked with so much apprehension on the proposition; but to give them the power of outvoting all other classes was more likely to prove a curse than a blessing both to them and to the country. The feeling in France among the lower classes of that country just before the outbreak of the Franco-German War was so strong and so warlike that no Ruler could with safety to his Throne have resisted it. The lower they went down in the social scale the greater tendency they would find to excitement of that sort; and it was most desirable that a preponderance of political power should not be placed in the hands of the lower and more excitable classes. Again, the agricultural interest, if that Bill passed before they had a proper scheme of redistribution, would be swamped in many parts of the country, and particularly in counties like Northumberland, Durham, and portions of Yorkshire, where there existed a very large mining population. They knew from past experience that the Party sitting on the opposite side of the House had not that regard for the agricultural interest in these matters to which it was entitled; and when they reflected on the enormous magnitude and importance of

that interest, its just claims would be seen to be well worth fighting for. For these reasons he should support the Amendment, maintaining that there was no reason why that Bill should be made an exception to the rule which required redistribution to be coupled with enfranchisement, and that it was calculated more than any former measure of the same sort vitally to alter the character of the national representation.

MR. CHARLES RUSSELL said, that the considerations for and against the Amendment of the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners) had been repeated with almost tedious reiteration, and he would not trouble the House with more than a passing observation on the general question; but, as regarded Ireland in relation to the Bill, he thought there were special considerations affecting the question which had not, in view of their great importance, yet been brought with sufficient fulness before the attention of the House. He would admit, on the general question, that there were plausible reasons in favour of uniting the Franchise Bill with a complete scheme of redistribution—reasons sufficient to catch the votes of those who were anxious to satisfy themselves that they should vote against the Franchise Bill. But he denied they were satisfactory or convincing reasons to those who believed that the broadening of the representative basis on which the Constitution stood would be a gain on the whole, although the measure of that gain might be greater or less, according to the manner of redistribution. Precedent was against the inclusion of a scheme of redistribution in a Franchise Bill. Convenience was opposed to it on this occasion, and either the present or the next Parliament might safely be trusted to deal upon just and right principles with that question. There had run through all the speeches in support of the Amendment one staple argument, and it was in relation to the inclusion of Ireland in the Bill, and to the prospect or promise held out by the Prime Minister that the present number of Representatives from Ireland should not be lessened. He desired to consider this part of the question in some detail. It was to him astounding that hon. Members, especially hon. Members on the Opposition side, could not see that to introduce a Franchise Bill and not to



include Ireland was a political impossibility, and would be a grave political mistake, if possible. He was surprised hon. Members opposite did not see that such a course would strengthen, immeasurably, the position of those who maintained that, although these countries were a United Kingdom in name, they were not a United Kingdom in reality. The argument took another form, and the impossibility of excluding Ireland was made a reason for postponing the Franchise Bill altogether. On that hypothesis the measure was to be regarded as just and statesmanlike; but was it to be said that large numbers of people in England, Scotland, and Wales, who, on that argument, were entitled to the franchise, should not get it, because some persons considered it would be impolitic to grant equal rights to Ireland? But he desired to put the case of Ireland on much higher grounds. He affirmed that, even if no Franchise Bill were introduced for England, Ireland had a case for special consideration. In, he thought, three Queen's Speeches during the present Parliament, certainly in two, a Franchise Bill was promised for Ireland by the Government of the day, and it had not yet been passed. Was it right, or wise, or statesmanlike, that that promise should remain unfulfilled? He would explain the differences between England and Ireland. In England the borough franchise—speaking only of the principal franchise—was exercised in respect of any rated occupied house, or any separate dwelling in a house. In Ireland it was in respect of a house over £4 rateable value, which was equivalent to £5 or £6 rental, and that rental was equivalent to an £8 or £9 rental in England. In counties in England a rated occupation of a tenement of £12 or upwards gave the right to vote—he was still confining himself to the main qualification—but the valuation in England approximated closely to the rental value. In Ireland it was nominally the same valuation; but, practically, there was a great difference, for the valuation of £12 in Ireland was equivalent to a rental value of £18 or £20. It was remarkable that, while the educational standard in the counties in Ireland was about equal to that in the Irish boroughs, the educational standard of English counties was considerably below that in the boroughs. The best way

to show the different practical results of the existing franchise in England and Ireland respectively was to give a few concrete instances. He was about quoting from a pamphlet, recently issued, on Irish statistics, by Mr. Costello, and he would contrast some of the English and Irish boroughs and counties. Tiverton, which returned two Members, had 1,405 voters, its population being 10,462. The population of Dundalk exceeded that of Tiverton, and yet it had only 414 voters—that was to say, they had equal populations, and yet the English borough had 1,400 voters, while the Irish borough had only 400. He (Mr. Russell) was taking the figures at the time of the last Census. Take Galway Borough and the borough of Boston, which latter, with a population of 300 less, had nearly three times as many electors. The figures were—Boston, 3,043 voters; Galway, 1,024. He could multiply similar instances. With regard to the counties. Take, for instance, the North Riding of Yorkshire, and compare it with Galway. The population of Galway County was 222,000, which population had only 4,800 voters. In the North Riding of Yorkshire, which had the same population as Galway, there were 20,212 voters. Donegal had a population of 205,000, which was about the same, rather less, perhaps, than West Kent; and while the English county had 157,000 voters, Donegal had only 45,000. These were startling results. Then there was the mud-cabin argument, which was ventilated in Dublin by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith). It was simply Mr. Lowe's argument about small dwellings, with a new face. As a matter of fact, the Registrar General's Return showed that, dividing the dwellings in Ireland into four classes, and putting mud cabins in the fourth class, they were only about 6 per cent of that class. The percentage of these mud cabins, too, was greatest in certain counties, the general position of whose inhabitants was not the lowest in the country. He referred particularly to the County Limerick, where the percentage was 15, and to Kerry, where the percentage was as high as 17; but they found in these two counties that low and inferior dwellings were not allied with degradation or immorality of the inhabitants, nor were they coincident with a low educational standard.

In dwellings which were pointed at as of mud, and as having only a few windows, it was to be noted that lowness of physical condition existed with purity of domestic and social life. He came now to the argument that Ireland would be exceptionally treated if she were left her present quota of Members. That argument was not well-founded if they adopted the basis given by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster)—namely, that the Members should be proportionate to population. He objected entirely to calculations being based upon the probability of the population in Ireland going on decreasing. Why had it been a decreasing population? No doubt hon. Members in the House, who had had charge of the destinies of Ireland, could answer the question to their own satisfaction. He had every reason to hope that the population of Ireland would not continue a decreasing population. He believed a greatly increased, if properly distributed, population over the country might be maintained. Now, excluding the Metropolitan district, his opinion was that England, on the whole, was over-represented. The Metropolitan district contained a population of 3,600,000, and had 22 Members. If it had its full quota of Members, at the same ratio as the rest of the country—namely, about 55,000 of population per Member—it ought to have 68 Members. What hon. Member had yet said that the London Metropolitan district should get 68 Members? No one said so. The most that was suggested that she should get was 40 or 50 Members. How stood it, then, excluding the Metropolitan district, with the rest of the country? England had 420 Members; she should have 390 Members. Wales had 30 Members; she should have 25 Members. Scotland had 60 Members; she should have 70 Members. And Ireland, excluding the two University Members, had 101 Members; it should have 97 Members, and, adding the two University Members, she would have 99 Members. He was arguing on the ground that the Metropolitan district should not get 68 Members; and, not getting that number, Ireland would be entitled, out of the number which that Metropolitan district would not secure, to at least 4; so that, adding these 4 to the 99, she would

have her present quota of 103, Sligo and Cashel being disfranchised. Therefore, he would say from these figures it was demonstrable that, on her population, Ireland was entitled to her present quota of Representatives. But the claim of Ireland rested on grounds much broader and much more important than these. It was said that the bulk of the people of Ireland were discontented, and that the effect of the change made by the Bill would be to sweep away and swamp the Loyal Party; while it would enable the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) to come back to the House of Commons with an increased phalanx of followers of a non-satisfactory character. There was no part of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Robert Peel) that he (Mr. Charles Russell) enjoyed more than that part in which he adverted to the speeches of two right hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House—the Members for Ripon and Bradford. These two right hon. Gentlemen seemed to hold in commission the office of the “candid friend” of the Government. This much he would say of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford—that if a speech that savoured of want of generosity towards Ireland had to be delivered, he ought to leave it to someone else. He listened with interest, too, to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon, partly because of his great knowledge of affairs and his great ability, and still more because of the uncertainty that always attended his utterances. There was something inviting in listening to a man and not knowing for certain on which side he would speak or vote. The right hon. Gentleman generally gave his vote to the Government, and his speech to the Opposition; and the Government, he believed, would be quite willing to dispense with both vote and speech. On the point of redistribution as it affected Ireland, both these right hon. Gentlemen were very strong; but what, after all, was the meaning of this argument about the disaffected and the disloyal? Was it that a large mass of the Irish people were dissatisfied with the present state of things? If so, it was quite true; and he would say that the large mass of the Irish people ought to be dissatisfied with much that existed in Ireland. The truth of this matter was that the

Irish people were divided into three classes. There was an extreme Party, who were a small minority, who wished for no change, because a change would destroy their status and importance. There was another extreme Party with extreme views, and who pursued those views by means of which he could not approve. But between these two extreme Parties there stood the great mass of the Irish people, dissatisfied, and justly dissatisfied, with many things that required to be redressed, not unwilling, but anxious, that these should be redressed by Parliament, and not opposed to maintaining the English connection so long as it was apparent to them that they were not sacrificing the good of their country, and the peace of their country, to that connection; but who thought also that Ireland's voice ought to be potent in managing Irish affairs. But then it would be said the so-called Loyal Party would be swamped. Well, he would say little about the Loyal Party. The Loyal Party was mostly composed of the landlord party in Ireland. In their present position, he would say little about them. Many of that Party were at present suffering for the sins of their fathers; and their history was now being written, but imperfectly written, in the records of the Land Commission. This, however, he would affirm of the Loyal Party—and no one who had read Irish history would deny it—that the so-called loyal minority had not been an aid, but a hindrance, to any solid union between England and Ireland. They had been loyal indeed; but this loyalty had had a close relation to their own status and their own interest. But then, again, it would be said that this measure would have the effect of returning an increased phalanx of Members to support the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and a phalanx of an unsatisfactory kind. Unsatisfactory to whom? Since when had it become a Constitutional doctrine that men should return Representatives satisfactory to any but themselves? Were English constituencies to return Members satisfactory to Ireland and Scotland, and Scotch constituencies to return Members satisfactory to England and Ireland? The very essence of Parliamentary institutions was that the people should return Members representing their own views; and surely the day

was past when any persons in that House, and statesmen of any Party, would desire to have hidden from them the real state of things in Ireland. Was there, then, on this Franchise and Redistribution Bill, to be a *hocus-pocus*, so that the real views of the Irish people should not be made known through the ordinary channel of representation and by Constitutional means? But was it certain, after all, that the hon. Member for the City of Cork would be more powerful with his increased phalanx? Every Party admitted—and he (Mr. Charles Russell) supposed what everybody admitted must be true—that, whether this Bill was passed or not, the hon. Member for the City of Cork would come back with an increased phalanx of supporters. That being admitted, he would ask every reasoning politician whether the hon. Member would be more powerful with 100 Members with a great grievance redressed, or with 50, 60, or 70 Members with a great grievance unredressed? Well, admitting that the worst would happen as to the Members sent by Ireland if this Bill were extended to Ireland, surely it would be true statesmanship and a wise policy for men of every Party to encourage the belief in the efficiency of Constitutional agitation in Ireland, and the hope that redress was possible from that House. He would ask this question—Was it desired by any Party in that House that the fulcrum of Irish politics should be in America? There were only two methods of redress in a free State—revolution and reform. A distinguished statesman belonging to the Party opposite said that, in Ireland, the first of these remedies was impossible, for a great and powerful country, England, was united with one, Ireland, comparatively weak. “Therefore,” said Mr. Disraeli—for he was the politician—

“The first being impossible in Ireland, it was the business of England to do by reform what the country itself, under different circumstances, would do by revolution.”

These words were uttered many years ago; but they were as true to-day as ever they were. He would say, finally, that the condition of Ireland was exceptional, and that wisdom and justice alike demanded that, on this question of redistribution, she should receive not only just but generous treatment. Why? First, because hon. Members from Ireland,



men holding even his views, did not represent opinions that were popular in that House; next, because they addressed themselves to questions not fully understood by even the most painstaking in that House; but, above all, because they (the Irish Members), always in a minority, had not behind them, backing them up and giving weight and substance to their contention, that influence which English and Scotch Members had of a great public opinion which that House always recognized as a force in that House. He need not say that they had the public opinion of Ireland to back them up; but that was an opinion which rarely arrested the attention of the House—which rarely had any influence there, except when accompanied by agitation—aye, even lawless agitation! For these special reasons, he would say that, on this question of redistribution, any Government should be slow to lessen the number of Irish Representatives. What was the position in Ireland that day? Englishmen governed in England, Scotchmen governed in Scotland, but Irishmen did not govern in Ireland. An Englishman Lord Lieutenant, an English Chief Secretary, and, by way of variation, a Scotchman Under Secretary; and they governed by means of stipendiary magistrates, who were accountable to them, and not to the people. Even on the Boards of Ireland, which were mainly administrative, the leading posts were filled by Englishmen and Scotchmen. How would Englishmen or Scotchmen like it if Irishmen ruled in England or in Scotland? It was true—strictly true—to say that there was no country on the face of the earth—except it might be Egypt—in which, at this time, the people of the country had so little control in the government of their country as the Irish people. But more; the Government of Ireland was a Government by Governors who were not, and who did not consider themselves, responsible to the people whom they governed. He was not to be understood as attacking persons, but principles. The Governors of Ireland were responsible, and considered themselves responsible, to that House, in which Irish opinion was, under ordinary conditions, little felt, and in which Irish Representatives, even if united, had no controlling voice. These were some of the reasons why the

Irish people were gravely—justly—dissatisfied with the existing state of things in their country. They were also some of the reasons why, upon these questions of franchise and redistribution, statesmen of all Parties should treat Ireland with at least even-handed justice. The Irish problem had taxed, and taxed in vain and for years, the statesmanship of England. It seemed still far from its satisfactory solution, yet its solution was more important for the prosperity of the Empire than any other question, home or foreign. How and when its solution would come no man could tell. But one might at least say, with certain confidence, that one important factor in the solution of the problem would be weakened if, at this juncture, either from perversity, or perplexity, or distrust, Parliament dealt otherwise than with justice and with generosity on these questions of franchise and redistribution with the Irish people.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down had based his whole speech upon the actual fact that Ireland was a part of the United Kingdom, and every one of his sentences and arguments had sprung from that admission and that fact. Yet when the hon. and learned Gentleman came to deal with the Irish people and their Government, he complained that they were governed solely by Englishmen, who were not responsible to the Irish people, but to the House of Commons. But the House of Commons represented the United Kingdom; and as the whole argument of the hon. and learned Gentleman was based on the fact that Ireland was part and parcel of the United Kingdom, the governors of Ireland were responsible in the House to the Irish people. As to the Bill before the House, it had one great merit, and that was that there was no doubt about its meaning; and that was the point upon which the Prime Minister prided himself when he made his statement on the introduction of the Bill. The Prime Minister had said the Bill was complete in one vital respect—it was absolutely complete as to its area. They had not, however, only to deal with the Bill as introduced; but they had to deal with the matter, as the Prime Minister had said in his introductory speech, negatively as well as affirmatively, and in doing so he found a series

of matters, any one of which would show how far from complete the Bill really was. The Bill—to borrow a word employed by the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) in one of his Lancashire addresses—was “smitten” with incompleteness. He was not at present going through all those matters to which the Prime Minister had alluded; but there was one particular point to which he must refer, because it had been dwelt upon with so much force and energy by the hon. and learned Gentleman who had just sat down. It was the question of Ireland. Ireland was, no doubt, the part of the United Kingdom in which the Bill would have by far the largest effect; and since the measure was one which vitally affected Ireland more than England or Scotland, they were entitled to ask, before they granted this lowering of the franchise, for a distinct answer from the Government as to how many Members Ireland was to have. In connection with that point, he would also like to ask whether the statement of the Prime Minister was made upon the authority and with the concurrence of his Cabinet? The statement made by the Prime Minister as to his authority was to the effect that he had not the least objection to make a little sketch of his own views; and although he could not commit his Colleagues absolutely, yet he would not submit them to the House if he believed they were vitally in conflict with the views of the Cabinet. That, however, in his opinion, was not saying much. Then the noble Marquess, too, had felt this same difficulty. The noble Marquess said that the declaration of the Prime Minister was made with the consent and concurrence of his Colleagues, and this view was generally accepted and concurred in by the other Members of the Cabinet, although he did not say that it embodied everything they might wish to be carried into execution. He thought they were entitled—and the noble Marquess would see there was an element of reason in the demand—to ask the Government to make a distinct statement as to what were their views upon this particular point; because upon the question whether Ireland was to have 105 Members or not they were still at a loss to know how the matter stood. The Prime Minister had, it was true, said that the smaller boroughs, of which there were so many in the

South of England, must give way to Scotland and the North of England. But it also appeared that the small boroughs of England were to be disfranchised in order to give Members to Scotland, and also to keep the number of Members for Ireland as they were now. But the noble Marquess had rather modified the statement of the Prime Minister in that connection. The House was, therefore, entitled to have a distinct declaration on the part of the Government whether it was intended that Ireland should retain the 105 Members which she now sent to that House. In the course of debate hon. Members had stated that the number of 100 Members was fixed by Mr. Pitt. The fact was that it was fixed by the Irish Parliament; or, at any rate, it was mainly owing to the action of the Irish Parliament itself that Mr. Pitt eventually fixed upon 100, which number was accepted. It was not settled according to population alone, or by the money which Ireland contributed to the common purse. Both elements were taken into consideration. The contribution of Ireland was one-seventh of the contribution of Great Britain, and the population was two-fifths; and, taking the two together, the number was fixed at about one-fifth of the number of Members sent by the constituencies of Great Britain. Five Members were added to the 100 in 1832, for the constituencies of Belfast, Limerick, Waterford, and Galway. But those additional Members were given not directly in respect of contribution or of population; but because of the interests which had grown up in those boroughs, and of the trades and manufactures which had sprung up in them. He had listened attentively to the speech of the hon. and learned Member who had just sat down, who had argued in favour of the numbers standing as they did now. But if they went by population, they found 5,000,000 in Ireland, as against 30,000,000 in Great Britain. In respect of contributions, they found £58,000,000 from England, £8,000,000 from Scotland, and only £6,000,000 from Ireland; so that by no possible combination of the two elements could Ireland claim the same number of Members as she had at the time of the Union. But the hon. and learned Member had argued that if they were to take population, there was London to be con-



sidered, which would be entitled to 68 Representatives. Well, if that line was to be taken, Lancashire would be entitled to about 65 Members; but he did not suppose that she would have that number allotted to her. Then the hon. and learned Member said that London must be struck out of the calculation. Thus the only reason he could urge in favour of his argument depended upon the exclusion of London from consideration. They were, therefore, entitled to a clear answer from the Government on that point. No one had spoken more strongly against Ireland still having 105 Members than the right hon. Member for Montrose (Mr. Baxter), or than the hon. Member for the Haddington Burghs (Mr. Craig-Sellar). There was another much respected and honoured Member of the Liberal Party, and a former Member of that House, who had spoken in the same sense. Mr. McLaren had recently described the proposal as a most extraordinary and dangerous one, which ought to be strenuously resisted. He hoped the Government would take all those facts into consideration, and that they might have from them a distinct and authoritative declaration as to whether they meant to keep 105 Members for Ireland or not. He would now deal with another point. The Bill said that there was to be one uniform household franchise established in all counties and boroughs throughout the United Kingdom; and the Conservative Party were told that if they were opposed to that Bill they were opposed to all Reform; and that as they would have to give way they had better do so with a good grace, and accept the Bill as it stood now. The Prime Minister placed the Bill simply on the ground that it let in an enormous number to the franchise who had it not at the present moment; and the right hon. Gentleman had told the House that to the present constituency of 3,000,000, 2,000,000 were to be added—twice as many as were added in 1867, and four times as many as were enfranchised in 1832; and he went on to say that that was something worth doing. No doubt it was, if you proved that those 2,000,000 ought to have votes. The Prime Minister said the Bill was worth fighting for, simply because it added those 2,000,000. Then the right hon. Member for Birmingham took exactly the same view.

That right hon. Gentleman said that they were going to call up to the highest functions of citizenship 2,000,000 of men, and that it was just and expedient to do so. No doubt it was if those men ought to have the franchise. He supposed they were all agreed that the franchise was not to be looked on as an abstract right. The very framework of the Bill was against that idea. The only abstract right he (Sir R. Assheton Cross) knew that an Englishman, or the inhabitant of any country, possessed, was that he should be well governed, and remain as free as possible. He had not an abstract right to govern; but an abstract right to be well governed. The Bill was intended to establish a uniform household franchise. But it only did so in name and not in fact, and it would create greater anomalies than already existed. The hon. and learned Member who had just sat down gave instances of that in Ireland, and had complained—justly and properly complained—that there was really a higher franchise in Ireland than there was in England. The county franchise was £12 in each country; but in England that sum much more nearly represented the real rent than in Ireland. In fact, in Ireland, it might be taken that there was really an £18 franchise, and not a £12. After this Bill passed there would be still greater differences between one part of the country and another. In many parts of the country there would be men who were voters, and yet who were inferior in social status and in intelligence to others who had not got a vote in towns. Therefore, the demand for another Reform Bill would come, and the representation of the towns would be lowered to the standard of the counties. He had never been against the extension of the franchise as extension. There was no practical distinction between the great suburbs of great towns and the towns themselves. It was absolutely necessary, in common justice, that those persons should be enfranchised. In his own county (Lancashire) there were 45 places having more than 10,000 inhabitants each, and they did not possess the franchise. They ought, undoubtedly, to have the franchise by some arrangement of grouping or otherwise. If they went from England to Ireland the anomaly would be greater. No one could pretend that the inhabitants of the Irish



cabins were in anything like the same social scale, so intelligent, or so well educated, as the men who had the franchise in the English boroughs. Therefore, by the proposed uniformity they clearly let in a lower class, and what was called uniformity became an utter sham and unreality. The noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) had said the other day that the agricultural interest would be well represented under this Bill, because the agricultural labourer would represent it; and that if the farmer and the landlord suffered from the way in which the labourer exercised the franchise that was their own fault, because they ought to have educated him long ago. Taking the North-Eastern Division of the county of Lancashire, which the noble Marquess represented in everything except politics, he found that the population in Parliamentary boroughs was 178,730, while the population outside the Parliamentary boroughs was 238,355. From that body they had to get the agricultural interest, which was to be so fairly represented according to the noble Marquess. Out of the 238,355 people there were living in eight towns of from 10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants no fewer than 147,000. Those were really borough constituencies for all practical purposes. If the Bill passed in its naked form where was their agricultural interest? The result was that they had only left as a really rural population about 70,000 persons; so that unless they had a Redistribution Bill which took the boroughs out of the rural population, the 70,000 would be swamped by the 147,000 in towns. Was it not an absurdity to call such an arrangement as that one calculated to represent the agricultural interest? The Government were on the horns of a dilemma as to Ireland. If the Bill was to go on, he agreed that it would be very difficult not to extend it to Ireland, although not to the same extent. But he, unhesitatingly stated that whatever might be the state of Ireland, the moment they presented this Bill their Coercion Laws should be given up. He did not believe that in the history of the world there was ever a nation where the Government said to the people—"We offer you a freer Constitution than you now possess; but we shall keep the exceptional fetters with which you are bound still on." If they kept these

fetters on the Irish they could not find fault with the latter if they used the power with which it was now proposed to endow them for the purpose of striking off those fetters. If, as the Chief Secretary and other Members of the Government told them, they could not govern Ireland without these penal clauses, then they ought not to extend the franchise in that country. It had been said—"Let these irreconcilables come into Parliament that we may hear their arguments." But if their object in coming was to make Parliamentary government ridiculous, if their avowed object was to bring about a separation from this country, then those who were determined to maintain the integrity of the Empire could not too soon put down their foot and say—"We do not want separation, and therefore we do not want to hear your arguments." The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) had said that the only remedy for the state of things in Ireland was to give the minority a fair share of political power. But the House had heard nothing upon that point from the Members of Her Majesty's Government. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had remarked the other day, in reference to the representation of minorities, that the system was absurd, ridiculous, and irritating. The noble Marquess himself said it was desirable that the franchise and redistribution should be dealt with in one Parliament, and he also admitted it was desirable that they should, if possible, be dealt with in one Session. The only way to do this would be by a general desire to co-operate. At all events, a whole Session should be given up to dealing with this great question of Reform. Probably, if they had had only this one Government measure with redistribution at the end, they might have been able before the close of the Session to make a considerable advance towards the desired object. He thought that Lord Derby's speech had never been answered. His Lordship, then Lord Stanley, said in 1866—

"What we really want is some guarantee that the body which deals with the question of enfranchisement shall be in a position also to deal with the question of the redistribution of seats."—(3 *Hansard*, [182] 1169.)

A Dissolution might take place, and then there would be no redistribution of seats. The result would be this

anomaly. There would be an appeal to the country under a provisional Constitution. Some time ago they heard about the question of registration, and it was stated that a Registration Bill was to be brought forward. Had the Government never contemplated what would occur if a Dissolution took place before such a measure was passed? To have a Dissolution on such a franchise as was proposed without redistribution and without a better system of registration would lead to frauds which it would be impossible to check in placing voters on the register. What they really wanted was some guarantee that the same body which dealt with the franchise should be in a position also to deal with the question of the redistribution of seats. Both of these subjects ought to be dealt with in one Parliament, and certainly not in two. It had been said that if a large body of Members in that House determined to ignore Reform there would be an agitation in the country. That was not a fair way to put the matter. They on that side of the House were not against Reform. ["Oh, oh!"] He could honestly say for himself that he had never made a speech against it; but he would not vote for a Bill which did not tell its own story; which pretended to be complete and was incomplete; which affected to be a reality and was really only a sham. If they were to go to the country they would tell the people the truth, and the whole truth. They would say they wanted to see the scheme of Reform in its full extent to which the country was to be committed; and that when it was brought forward they would be prepared to make the best reform which was possible for the interest not of one class only, but for the interest of all the classes of this great community, and the welfare of this enormous Empire.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Sir, the speech of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) was a serious and a weighty one, such as might be expected from a statesman with such a deep sense of responsibility. The speech of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel) was the very reverse. It was flighty; it was amusing; it was illogical. Every Gentleman on this side of the House must be glad again to hear the voice of the right hon. Baronet, and

to admire his style, which has great charms that conceal a multitude of offences in substance. From his speeches at Huntingdon we were led to believe that the right hon. Baronet would take his seat beside the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), and play second fiddle in that little band of militant Conservatives below the Gangway. But, to our surprise, the right hon. Gentleman has taken his seat on the Front Opposition Bench, among staid and respectable ex-officials. Speaking from that place, his speech does not appear to be altogether appropriate; and the occupants of that Bench appear to be rather frightened at the right hon. Baronet's excesses, and to regard him in a manner which recalls the homely simile of a bull in a china shop. The right hon. Baronet did not add much to the arguments that have been used; but he indulged in what have been called the fallacies of vituperative personality, which were directed against my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade, who appears to occupy the proud and enviable position of a lightning conductor to the Government, and to attract to himself and divert from his Colleagues all the vulgar abuse which is in the air. But, in 1866, the right hon. Baronet sat on the Liberal side of the House, and a reference to *Hansard* shows that he voted against an Amendment analogous to this, although in Committee upon the Bill he voted for the Amendment, which had the effect of turning out the Government. The right hon. Baronet says that this Bill will enfranchise 2,000,000 of the most ignorant part of the population—a description which was cheered by the hon. Member for Mid Lincoln (Mr. Chaplin)—although many of the new voters are identical in condition with many who now have the vote; and it will not be forgotten that the remark and the cheer came from that side of the House. The Government are charged with pandering to the Irish vote; but in the same breath we are told that coercion and the truculent vagaries of the Government will risk that vote, so that the two charges destroy each other. It is curious to trace the similarity in form and substance between the Opposition speeches in 1866 and in the course of the present debate. In 1866, being hostile to the

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Bill, and not wishing to meet it with a direct negative, the Opposition produced an Amendment which differed from the present only in this—that it had a Preamble, now wanting, and that Preamble declared that the Opposition were prepared to consider any proper measure of Reform. Are the Opposition more hostile to Reform now than they were then? Precisely the same things were said then as now. The Franchise Bill was declared to be inopportune; it was incomplete; it was not required; there was danger in deferring redistribution, and the existing constituencies would be swamped. In 1866 these assertions were novel enough to produce a certain number of Liberal defections, so that the Government had a majority of only six. The Government felt itself bound to produce its scheme of redistribution; and immediately the zeal of the Opposition for redistribution disappeared, they commenced an intrigue to defeat it, and to throw out the Bill. That intrigue succeeded, and the Bill and the Government were at the same time defeated. The sequel was that the Government of Lord Derby came into Office, and found themselves under the necessity of introducing a measure of Reform far more Democratic than the one which they had thrown out in the previous year. But while their Bill was more Democratic, it contained the most narrow scheme of redistribution ever introduced into the House. Lord Derby felt it impossible to carry a wide scheme of redistribution and a Franchise Bill at the same time. That was their excuse for proposing such a redistribution as not only left the existing anomalies untouched, but, in fact, increased them, and made them more conspicuous. It is quite clear that, on the one hand, if a real scheme of redistribution—one likely to be lasting—is introduced at the same time as the Franchise Bill it cannot be passed, because it would accumulate against it the Members for the threatened boroughs, and the passing of such a measure would be rendered impossible. On the other hand, if a measure of redistribution is introduced at the same time as a Franchise Bill, on such a basis as would afford a possibility of its passing, it would be certain to be an inefficient measure, which would not be a settlement of the question. On these grounds I think the Government have,

on the present occasion, acted wisely in not mixing up the two questions in the present Bill, but in dealing, in the first instance, with the franchise. It is said that if the Government attempt to deal only with the franchise now they will not be able to carry a Redistribution Bill until after the Dissolution of Parliament; so that the two questions would have to be dealt with by different Parliaments—one elected by the present constituencies under the present franchise, and the other under an extended franchise. If that were so, it would not be the fault of the present Government, whose deliberate intention is, if possible, to deal with the question of redistribution next Session. Every motive of self-interest would certainly impel them in that direction, because no one can for a moment doubt that, as long as a Redistribution Bill is hanging over the heads of certain boroughs in the country, it will certainly not be in the interests of the Liberal Party that the question should remain unsettled. So long as redistribution is hanging over those boroughs it is pretty certain that the Members representing the threatened boroughs will have a bias in favour of the Party opposite. Therefore, it is distinctly the interest of Her Majesty's Government that the question of redistribution should be finally settled before a Dissolution takes place. It will not, under these circumstances, be the fault of the present Government if redistribution is not settled next year. But suppose, through the action of the Party opposite, that redistribution should not be settled next year, and that something should occur which would render it necessary to appeal to the constituencies. In such a case, after all, a Parliament elected under an extended franchise must be ultimately the arbiter. It will determine our Government and our laws, and even if we carry a Redistribution Bill in the present Parliament, and that Redistribution Bill is not considered sufficient, but is a very small one, it will still be open for a new Parliament to deal with the question again and extend the redistribution. Therefore, I say, that even supposing that the question should stand over until a new Parliament, I own that I do not, for my part, think that any injury would result to the Constitution. It may be convenient, and it may be far better, that the two



questions should be dealt with by the same Parliament; but I do not see that evil would result to the Constitution from the course being adopted which I have pointed out. I will repeat that it is the deliberate intention of the present Government to deal with the question of redistribution, if they possibly can, during the present Parliament, and in the next Session; and it will not be their fault if they do not succeed in doing so. The question of Ireland in regard to this Bill is a very much more serious one, and I may have to deal with it at greater length. I am glad to observe that none of the hon. Members who have spoken on the Opposition side of the House have contended that Ireland should be dealt with in the Bill now under consideration. Some of the hon. Members who have spoken in opposition to the Bill admitted that if the franchise is to be extended it must be extended in Ireland as well as in England; and although outside the House, before Parliament met this year, it was seriously contended by various persons who represented the Tory Party that Ireland should be excluded from the Franchise Bill, I have not heard a single speaker on the other side of the House who has ventured to make that proposition during the present debate. I therefore take it for granted that if the Franchise Bill is to be passed it must be extended to Ireland as well as to England. What has been said is this—hon. Members opposite have used the case of Ireland as an argument against any extension of the franchise at all; and they say it would be dangerous to the Loyal Party in Ireland if any such course be adopted. It has been frequently argued that the extension of the franchise in Ireland will extinguish the Loyal Party in that country. I think the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) went to a further extremity than any other speaker on this point. He charged the Government with a deliberate intention of extinguishing at once and for ever the voice of the Loyal Party in Ulster; and he went so far as to say that the Bill would enfranchise barbarism. It has been also urged in many quarters that the Bill should not be allowed to pass into law without some means being devised for protecting the Loyal Party in Ireland. I would venture to ask the House, is it true that

this loyal minority will be completely extinguished if this Bill passes? I do not believe that that will be the case. I speak in the presence of a good many Irish Members, and I have paid some attention to the subject myself, and my deliberate conviction is that it will not extinguish the loyal minority, but that the Loyal Party will maintain its representation, even under an extended franchise, in proportion to its real force in the country. Let me take matters at the worst; let me suppose that the Loyal Party in Ireland is confined to the Protestants in Ireland, with a small sprinkling of the Catholics, which, however, would be hardly worthy of computation. What are the real facts of the case? The Protestants of Ireland are said to comprise one-fourth of the whole population; they are not spread thinly over the whole of Ireland, but are mainly concentrated in the Province of Ulster, and the Province of Ulster contains one-third of the entire population of Ireland. If I except three counties in Ulster in which the Catholics preponderate—Cavan, Monaghan, and Donegal—so large is the number of Protestants that the remaining counties of that Province actually contain one-fourth of the whole population of Ireland, and it would show a majority of Protestants to the extent of 60 per cent. I believe that it is absolutely certain in those districts of Ireland the Protestants, if they are united, will carry all the elections. [“No, no!”] If any right hon. Gentleman opposite is in doubt upon that point I hope he will contradict me; but I think it is perfectly certain that in that part of Ulster, in which the Protestants are in a majority of 60 per cent, they will carry all the elections. If, therefore, the representation be evenly distributed over Ulster, which is not the case at the present time, although it is not far from it, the Protestants of Ireland will secure a number of Members equal to one-fourth of the whole representation.

MR. GIBSON: No, no; that is out of the question.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I have made some inquiries from Irish Members upon the subject, and I do not believe it is out of the question. The right hon. and learned Gentleman will not dispute the fact that, leaving out the counties of Cavan, Monaghan, and Donegal, the

Protestants in the remaining counties are in a majority of 60 per cent. There are one or two counties where they are on an equality with the Catholics; but, considering that the Protestant Party have nine-tenths of the wealth and all the influence of the Province, I think it is certain that they would carry the elections in all those counties, and therefore they would secure one-fourth of the representation of Ireland. That is exactly the proportion to which their total numbers in Ireland entitle them. But now let me consider what would be the case if a scheme were adopted such as that which has been suggested for securing the representation of the loyal minority in Ireland, on the assumption I have made that the loyal minority is represented by the Protestant Party, which I hope is not altogether the case, although I assume for the purpose of argument that they are, and would only secure one-fourth of the representation. But if the minority is to be represented, the Catholic minority in Ulster would claim a proportional representation in Ireland; and with a view to secure the representation of the loyal minority we could not do otherwise than adopt the same principle in regard to England. Then the House must recollect that there is a large minority in England of Irish Catholics. I have endeavoured to ascertain the number of that Irish Catholic minority, and I find from the Census Returns that there are living in England 800,000 Irish Catholics who were born in Ireland, and there are almost as many more Irish Catholics living in England who were not born in Ireland, but were born in England of Irish parents. Adding these two together in England and Scotland, they amount to no less than 1,500,000 Irish Catholics now living in England, and who, on any principle of proportional representation, would be entitled to be represented and to have the power of sending Members to Parliament. By uniting these together under any scheme of proportional representation that minority would be able to secure a representation in proportion to that which their numbers entitle them to of about 30 Members. It appears to me, therefore, that the Loyal Party in Ireland have more to lose than to gain by any such scheme as that. ["No, no!"] I say, yes; they would certainly not lose

anything like 30 votes. If proportional representation is followed, they would not be entitled, in any case, to more than 30 Members; and in England, on the other hand, there would be 30 Members returned by the Irish Catholic Party. I need hardly remind the House that the Irish Catholics in England are quite as extreme and equally as Irish as the Irish themselves. ["No, no!"] Hon. Members say "No;" but I venture to assert that the Irish Catholics in our manufacturing districts have shown themselves, in the course of the last three or four years, to be in entire sympathy with the extreme Party in Ireland; and I believe if they had the power of combining or grouping themselves together for the purpose of returning Members, they would return men who would sit and vote with the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). Therefore, I contend that it is beyond contradiction that any scheme of this kind would be most unfavourable to the Loyal Party in Ireland, and it would give a larger representation to the extreme Irish Party in this House than are now represented. But are we really right in assuming that the extension of the franchise in Ireland would have the effect of returning an increased number of Members belonging to the Irish Party? Is it true that all the new voters would vote absolutely in the same manner as the present voters in the rural districts in Ireland? I think that is an assumption we are not justified in making. One of the principal features in the present condition of Ireland is that the constituencies consist merely of one class—namely, the tenant farmers. The effect of the extension of the franchise would be to add a large class of agricultural labourers; and I cannot but think that after a time questions would arise of difference between those two classes of persons. As it is, there have been questions raised between them, showing that they have separate and distinct interests; and the tenant farmers have, I believe, not shown any alacrity in carrying out the provisions of the Land Act in favour of their labourers. No doubt the labourers will claim privileges under any amendment of the Land Act which would put them at once in hostility with the tenant farmers, because such privileges cannot be obtained except at the expense of the

tenant farmers. Therefore, it is inevitable that there will be a diversity of interests between these two classes of persons; and my belief is that the effect of giving the franchise to the agricultural labourers of Ireland would have a steadying effect upon the tenant farmers themselves, and that we may see before very long a difference of opinion between the tenant farmers and the labourers of Ireland. That difference is already beginning to show itself; and I may quote the different policies propounded by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and by Mr. Davitt, as an illustration of that difference. I cannot but hope, therefore, that differences of this kind may in the future have a very important effect upon the elections in Ireland. But this much I will say—that if we desire that these differences should exist, and if we hope that some effect may result from them upon the Irish elections, the best thing we can do is to include Ireland in the Franchise Bill. I am glad that my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) emphasized that opinion, that the only principle you can apply to Ireland is a principle of equity, and that that principle must be applied in all the various questions that are certain to arise under the Franchise Bill. If you do anything to create a sense of injustice and wrong among large classes of the people in reference to the franchise, it is quite certain that you will do your best to unite all classes in Ireland against the Government, and against the Legislature of this country. I do not deny that the question of redistribution of seats in Ireland is a very important, or a very difficult question; but this I will say—that if in England and Scotland we were to adopt the plan of equal electoral districts, based upon numbers, it would be extremely difficult not to apply the same principle also to Ireland. Treating Ireland as an integral portion of the United Kingdom, there would be a strong argument in favour of a reduction of its numbers; but if, on the other hand, you do not adopt that principle—and no part of the statement of my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister received more general accord than that in which he repudiated the principle of electoral districts based upon equal areas of population—if we

are not to concede to populous districts and to a concentrated population the full number of Members to which they might be entitled on the basis of population—if that principle be not adopted, and its repudiation was certainly received with general accord by the House, the views of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell) is a right one—that you must give Ireland the benefit of the principle as well as England. The necessary complement of any such principle would be that the rural portions of England and the outlying districts—such as Wales, and the Southern and Eastern Counties—would all be somewhat over-represented in proportion to population, as compared with London and the other big towns. Therefore, it may well be that Ireland, being a poor country, not having a concentrated population, but being only a thinly-populated country, will have a right to claim that the same principle shall be accorded to her, and that her numbers shall be apportioned to her on the same principle as the Members for Wales and the outlying districts of England. I will not go further into that argument. I have only alluded to it to show that the whole question admits but of one treatment; and that if, in regard to populous districts, you are going to lay down the principle that concentrated populations in London and in the manufacturing districts are not to have their full measure of representation according to numbers, it may well be a question whether the same principle should not be extended even to Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) actually ventured to say that the agricultural interest in England would be entirely obliterated and extinguished in this country. ["Hear, hear!"] Notwithstanding the cheers of hon. Members opposite, I say there was never a more absurd statement made in this House. Has it ever been contended that the manufacturing interest of this country was extinguished by giving votes to the labouring class? And yet, according to the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire, if we give votes to the labourers in the rural districts, we shall extinguish the agricultural interest. ["No, no!"] That seems to me to be the logical result of his observa-

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tions. Now, the agricultural labourers will have a very large proportion of the votes to be created under the Bill—I think about one-half of the new votes will be given to them. [“No, no!”] That is my computation—that of the total number of votes in the counties under the Bill, nearly one-half will be given to the agricultural labourers. I do not say that that will be so in some counties, like Lancashire, because in Lancashire there is a large urban population.

MR. J. LOWTHER: What would be the case in Cumberland?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I am not able to speak as to what the effect would be in Cumberland; but in most of the agricultural counties of England the agricultural labourers will comprise nearly, if not more than, one-half of the new voters. Why should the addition of that number in the agricultural districts destroy the agricultural interest? The labourers will be as much interested in any question affecting the true interests of agriculture as any other class connected with agriculture. What would be extinguished is the hope fostered by the right hon. Gentleman, that if at some time the Tory Government is restored to power there will be a return to protective duties. [“Question!”] Hon. Members opposite cry “Question.” I repeat, that the effect of giving votes to the agricultural labourers would extinguish at once and for ever any hope of returning to protective duties. [MR. J. LOWTHER: Why?] Beyond all question the agricultural labourers will never be induced to vote for a return to Protection. I fully admit that the questions to which I have just adverted are irrelevant to the main issue before the House; but my remarks have been addressed to the Amendment, which is altogether irrelevant to the question of extending the franchise. The real question before the House is, whether the franchise should be extended to the counties? For my part, I frankly admit that I am not one of those Members of the Liberal Party who desire at an early period to re-open the question of Reform. I was one of those who hoped that the settlement effected in 1867 might be a permanent one—at all events, for a generation. Looking at the immense work before Parliament, much of which still remains

undone, I was not myself desirous that we should spend the best part of two Sessions in again considering Reform. But as time went on, after 1867, it became more and more clear that that Act was not a settlement, and could not be defended on any grounds of justice, logic, or expediency. The very magnitude of the franchise then conceded, which was far beyond the intentions or expectations of its authors, inasmuch as they thought they had got hold of a great principle in personal payment of rates which would limit the number of votes, but which turned out to be non-existent—I say the very magnitude of the extension of the franchise then conceded has operated to prevent the settlement from being a permanent one. As time went on, it became more and more clear that the question must be re-opened. There were two great classes of the community left out of the settlement of 1867, and during the last few years they have been clamouring for admission—I mean the miners of England and the agricultural labourers. As far as I recollect, those two classes did not demand votes in 1867; and it is only within the last few years that they have demanded the franchise. There was another consideration which weighed with me personally, even more than that to which I have alluded, and that is the present condition of the agricultural labourers of this country. I think it is impossible to regard the condition of the agricultural labourers of the country, and especially of the rural districts of the West and East and middle of England without very great concern. I believe they are the only class in the country of whom it can be distinctly said that, within the last few years, their condition has not only not improved, but has somewhat gone back—[“No, no!”] Hon. Members say “No, no;” but I venture to repeat the assertion on authority which cannot be gainsaid. What is the reason of this non-progression or deterioration of the large class of agricultural labourers? I believe it is not far to seek. The fact is, that for many years past there has been a constant drain of the best men from the rural districts into the manufacturing towns, and those who have remained behind are not equal to those who have left. There has been a constant drain from the rural districts

of all the most intelligent, able, and competent men engaged in agricultural operations; and, as a rule, those who have been left behind have been inferior in point of ability and intelligence. Some hon. Members have said "No;" but I could quote to them many passages from the Report of the Commission on Agriculture, and the evidence given before that Commission. I will, however, content myself with only one passage, although I can assure the House that there are many others of equal force. Mr. Doyle, who investigated the condition of agriculture in all the Midland Counties, from Gloucestershire up to Warwickshire and Northamptonshire, says—

"The labourers, generally speaking, are at present not the younger and more active and intelligent class of men one hears and reads of. A great number of the labourers on farms now are old men, or men of weakly constitutions. The truth is that the younger men are drawn off by other sorts of industry—the result is that the farmers generally tell you, and I think with considerable truth, that none but the refuse, as they put it, of the labouring population is left with them."

I can quote 50 passages to the same effect from the evidence given before the Royal Commission as to the state of the agricultural labourers in the Southern and Eastern districts of the country. A remarkable article was published not long ago by Dr. Jessop, a Norfolk clergyman, who had spent many years of his life in that county. This is what he says, after an experience of 35 years of the agricultural labourers—

"There has been, and there is, a constant drain of the best men from the villages to the towns; and physically and morally a steady deterioration in our labourers has been, and is, going on. This is undeniable. It is deplorable; it is menacing."

It appears to me that this is not at all unlikely to be the case. What are the inducements to the labouring man to remain in the purely agricultural districts? He can never hope to become the owner of any portion of the land; he can never hope even to become possessed of his home; he must always be in a state of dependence, and cannot hope to become independent. In many parts of the country the number of large farms have increased, and all the small holdings have disappeared. All the steps by which an agricultural labourer could hope to rise to a higher status have been taken away. What, then, is the

inducement to these men to remain in the rural parishes? The House will see that it is very small indeed; and the result has been that a constant drain has been taking place from the rural districts of the best men; and those who are left behind are, on the average, not so good as those who have gone. It appears to me that this is a very serious question, and I commend it to the attention of the House. After all, the agricultural labourers are the backbone of the labour of this country, and the reserve of the labour market for the manufacturing districts. It is, therefore, a serious thing to know that the condition of the agricultural labourer is so bad. What is the remedy? I do not propose to consider at any length what the remedy is; but what I do say is, that the very first thing we ought to do for them is to give them an opportunity of stating their own view in this House. It seems to me of the utmost importance that we should give to the agricultural labourers the opportunity of stating their case; and, with this object, the very first and most important step to be taken is to raise the status of the whole class by giving them the rights and duties of citizenship, not merely in regard to their local duties, but in the Parliament of the country. It is for this reason I feel convinced that it is wise and expedient on the part of this House to pass this measure speedily; and I feel further convinced that a measure such as this, giving a widely comprehensive, but yet moderate extension of the franchise, is one of the wisest measures the House could pass, and would be permanently beneficial to the interests of the country at large.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
"That the Debate be now adjourned."—  
(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.*)

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL :  
Before the Motion for Adjournment is put, I wish to make one remark in the nature of an appeal to the noble Marquess the Leader of the House, and it is to this effect—I think the noble Marquess and the House generally are anxious to conclude the debate before the Easter holidays; but the probability of that arrangement being arrived at will become exceedingly remote if the debate is to follow the course it has followed for the last three nights. I will not say

[*Third Night.*]



a word about the positive inhumanity of the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works in detaining the House to an intolerable length, when he was aware that the Prime Minister had intimated a desire, with a view, Sir Arthur Otway, to your convenience, that the House should adjourn at an early hour. I will not allude further to that matter; but I wish to point out this in respect to the Motion for Adjournment—that the whole, or nearly all the debate, has been entirely monopolized by the two Front Benches, and the right hon. Gentlemen who occupy those Benches generally appear to be under the impression that except, at the dinner hour, the intervention of any private or independent Member is an unwarrantable intrusion which is not to be tolerated. I think we have the right to appeal to the noble Marquess to protect the rights of private Members in this matter. He must know that everything that has fallen from the First Commissioner of Works has been said over and over again, both by himself and the Prime Minister, and the time of the House has, therefore, been uselessly taken up by the right hon. Gentleman. The First Commissioner of Works followed the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), who also spoke at great length, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel), who followed the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), have also taken part in the debate to-night. It appears to be the belief of right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Benches that it is their privilege, not only to monopolize the right of speaking, but always to speak at a length not less than an hour and a-quarter, or an hour and a-half. Under these circumstances, I think I ought to make an appeal to the noble Marquess, so that if the debate is not concluded at the time the two Front Benches have arranged to conclude it, I may anticipate any charge of Obstruction and waste of time that may be made against private Members who feel themselves called upon to take part in the debate.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: I wish to express my deep regret that up to the present time Members, such as the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), have been unable to participate in the

discussion. The adjournment of the debate was moved on one night by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), on another by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster), and now, on the third, it has been moved by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). On Thursday night and to-night, not a single English private Member sitting in this quarter of the House has taken part in the debate, although the interests of many of them will be materially affected by the Bill. I certainly think it would be a great advantage to the discussion if men like the hon. Member for Stoke were allowed to take some part in the debate.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: Before the noble Marquess replies to the question of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), I should like to put another to him on another subject. I wish to ask him to be good enough to explain how it happened that no Member of the Government was in his place on the Front Bench between the hours of 9 and 10 this evening during the very interesting speech delivered by my hon. Friend the Member for Wilton (Mr. Sidney Herbert), and also during part of the able speech delivered by the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell)? My experience of the House enables me to say that such a state of things is not only without precedent, but it is also, in some sense, disrespectful to the House. I may add that long after 10 o'clock there was no Member of the Cabinet on the Front Bench. In my recollection, it has always been the custom for the Government to be present during a debate of this importance; and I really hope that the noble Marquess, having regard to the antecedents of the House, will take care that there is not a recurrence of this very undesirable circumstance.

MR. SEXTON: I do not rise for the purpose of making any complaint on the part of the Members of the House with whom I have the honour to act in regard to the management of the debate. We have not chosen, so far, to intervene in the debate, or to express our opinions on the great questions before the House, or the course which the



debate has taken. For reasons of our own, we have deliberately refrained from addressing the House; and in regard to the future, when it occurs to us to address the House we shall know how to secure a hearing. I think there is some force in the observation of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) that this debate has been conducted, so far, in a manner which has not been favourable to the rights of English private Members, considering that they are so much interested in the question. The opinions of the two Front Benches are well known, and the course of the debate should have been directed to an endeavour to discover the opinions of the independent Members; whereas we have had the not very edifying spectacle of seeing the debate confined to the two Front Benches, and to those "corner-men," who have been humorously described in the debate as "refugees." I hope the noble Marquess the Leader of the House will give to the appeal or note of warning of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock the attention which it deserves; and that before the Government endeavour to precipitate the conclusion of the debate they will make an arrangement to secure a fair, full, and attentive hearing for the general body of independent Members of the House.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: When the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) rose, I thought he was going to reply for the Front Opposition Bench to the charge that had been made against the two Front Benches of monopolizing the debate. That charge, so far as it has any validity at all, applies more to the Front Bench opposite than to the Bench on which I have the honour to sit. I was not present myself at the time alluded to by the right hon. and learned Gentleman; for, as the experience of the right hon. and learned Gentleman must teach him, it is quite impossible to attend during the whole of the debate without having some interval for refreshment. As to the part which has been taken by the Government in this debate, I conceive that it has been somewhat smaller than is even usual in a debate of such importance. On the first evening the only Member of the Government who ad-

ressed the House was myself. On the second evening my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. George Russell) spoke before the dinner hour, but at no great length. The only other Member of the Government who spoke on that evening was my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), whose contribution to the debate cannot be called immaterial, seeing that it has afforded abundant material for criticism to hon. Members opposite. On the present occasion my right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works has been the only Member of the Government who has addressed the House. I quite admit that it is inconvenient and extremely undesirable that in a debate of this kind an undue share should be monopolized by any particular quarter of the House; but I have found that the Government are sometimes exposed to a totally different charge from the present, and that when they do not take part in a debate they are charged with observing a policy of silence. It is difficult for a Government to take an even course between these two extremes; and all I can say is that it will be the endeavour of myself and my Friends to shape our course so as not to render ourselves liable either to the one charge or the other. As to any arrangements that may be made on the other side of the House, I need hardly say we have no control whatever over them; and I would ask the noble Lord to appeal to his own Friends, with whom he assured us the other day he is on terms of the most intimate cordiality. All I can say is that, as far as we ourselves are concerned, I hope that we have not spoken at undue length.

MR. CHAPLIN: I think it was high time that the rights of private Members should be vindicated, because it would appear from the remarks of my noble Friend that there has been on this occasion an arrangement, not only as to who should speak, but as to the time when the debate should terminate. Probably the two Front Benches may find themselves mistaken in that matter. Upon the question of adjournment I wish to ask the noble Marquess if he proposes to take any further Business to-night? I understand that the object of adjourning the debate is to liberate the Deputy Speaker from the Chair. I find, how-

ever, that there is a Bill down on the Paper as the second Order, in which great interest is taken; and, as far as I am able to gather, there will be no opposition to the next stage—namely, that the Speaker should leave the Chair, if an undertaking is given by the noble Marquess that the Bill shall not be proceeded with in Committee until after the second reading of the Representation of the People Bill. If there is a general understanding in the House to that effect, I hope there will be no objection on the part of the Government to take this stage of the Bill, which would only keep the Deputy Speaker in the Chair for a few minutes.

MR. KENNY: In reference to the second Order of the Day, it is not proposed by any hon. Gentleman sitting on this side of the House to object to the Motion that the Speaker do now leave the Chair, on the understanding that the consideration of the Bill in Committee is not proceeded with until after Easter, and that we have a guarantee from the noble Marquess that it will not be taken on the day the House re-assembles.

MR. LEAMY: I wish to mention that several hon. Members have left the House under the impression that no other Business would be taken, and I am afraid they will be taken by surprise if they find that this Bill has been allowed to go into Committee. Indeed, it was understood that the House would have been adjourned at a much earlier hour than this. I do not think, under these circumstances, that any further Business ought to be taken.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not know whether I am in Order; but, in answer to the Question which has been addressed to me, I should like to say that I should have been very glad, if it had been possible, to follow the arrangement suggested by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), and to take another stage of the next Bill on the Paper. I am also much indebted to the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny) for the expression of opinion which he has just given. At the same time, I think an arrangement suddenly proposed, at a time when many hon. Members are absent, might be liable to misunderstanding and imputations of breach of faith. I believe it was understood, after the statement of

the Prime Minister, that it was not proposed to proceed with any other Business after the Representation of the People Bill to-night. Under those circumstances, a large number of Members are not present who might take objection to the arrangement now proposed. I therefore think it would be better, however much we might desire to do otherwise, to ask the House not to proceed with any further Business.

*Motion agreed to.*

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In accordance with the announcement made by my right hon. Friend this afternoon, and on account of the state of your health, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn. I am sure the House is very much indebted to you for having come down to-night at great personal inconvenience.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I am sure, Sir, that that feeling is shared by the whole House.

*Question put, and agreed to.*

*Debate further adjourned till Tomorrow.*

House adjourned at a quarter after Twelve o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday, 1st April, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS.—*Second Reading*—*Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment (43); City of Norwich (Mousehold Heath) Provisional Order \* (35); Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order \* (36); Isle of Man Harbours (47); Dublin Museum of Science and Art \* (38).*

*Report*—Intestates Estates \* (46).

### FRESHWATER FISHERIES ACT AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 43.)

*(The Earl of Dalhousie.)*

#### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, explained that its object was to extend the powers of Boards of Conservators in fishery districts, for the better

protection of fresh water fish. The meshes of nets were frequently so small that immature trout and young salmon were destroyed in the operation of catching larger fish, and the Bill was intended to prevent this. It enabled Fishery Boards to make bye-laws for determining the mesh of nets, and the instruments to be used in fishing; it also extended Section 6 of the Fresh Water Fisheries Act, 1878, thereby enabling a Board to be formed for the protection of coarse fish. Clause 3 extended the powers of water bailiffs from the districts marked out by the Fresh Water Fisheries Act, 1868, and the Salmon Fisheries Acts, 1861 to 1873, to the districts intended to be protected by the Bill. It was not to extend to Scotland or Ireland, or to the counties of Norfolk or Suffolk.

*Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."*  
—(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

THE EARL OF MALMESBURY was understood to say, that the Bill would affect many private rights, and would prevent small fish being caught for bait. He did not wish to oppose the second reading of the Bill; but he now gave Notice that it was his intention to propose some limitations in Committee, so as to secure the rights and privileges of those who possessed several fisheries.

*Motion agreed to*; Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Friday* next.

#### ISLE OF MAN HARBOURS BILL.

(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

(NO. 47.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

LORD SUDELEY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the object of the Bill was to amend the Acts of 1872 and 1874, as some of the provisions in those Acts had been found impossible to be carried out. Under the Act of 1874 harbour dues might, with the approval of the Board of Trade, be imposed on all vessels using the harbours of the Island. It had been found impossible to impose these dues, as it would seriously interfere with the trade of vessels calling at the ports of the Island on their way from England to Ireland. If these vessels were charged

with dues on their tonnage it would not be worth their while to call, as the amount of freight was often very small, and the result would be that a large amount of shipping would be kept away altogether from the Island. To remedy this it was proposed by Section 5 of the Bill that when tonnage dues were imposed they should be charged on the cargo landed, and not on the registered tonnage of the vessel. In Section 3 power was taken to levy tolls on docks, piers, or quays. A costly iron pier was lately erected at Ramsay, and was used for landing passengers and as a promenade. A local Act was passed authorizing its construction and contemplating the tolls; but it had been found advisable to have the insular legislation confirmed by Parliament. There were also clauses relating to ferries. The Bill was warmly supported by the local Legislature, and a Resolution approving it was carried without a dissentient voice.

*Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."*  
—(*The Lord Sudeley.*)

*Motion agreed to*; Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE LONDON SCHOOL BOARD.

##### MOTION FOR A PAPER.

EARL DE LA WARR asked the Lord President of the Council, Whether a copy of the Report from the School Management Committee of the London School Board in February last can be laid upon the Table of the House; also a copy of the Memorial forwarded to the Education Department relative to the examination of young children in schools.

*Moved for—*

"Copy of the Memorial forwarded to the Education Department relative to the examination of young children in schools; with the answer of the Education Department thereto."—(*The Earl De La Warr.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL): My Lords, the Memorial to the Education Department can and will be laid upon the Table, together with the answer which the Department has made. With respect to their Report from the School Management Committee the case is different. I have no doubt that the noble Earl is



entitled, as a ratepayer, to see it if he pleases, though, if there is any difficulty about it, I shall be glad to assist him in the matter; but it would not be usual to make these Reports Parliamentary Papers.

*Motion agreed to.*

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—  
INTRODUCTION OF BILLS INTO  
THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD WAVENEY inquired of Her Majesty's Government, Whether, in consideration of the present system of transacting the Public Business, it might not be expedient to introduce such Bills as did not interfere with the Privileges of the House of Commons or touch the imposition of taxation, more frequently in the first instance into the House of Lords? The noble Lord said, he asked this Question because he found in Her Majesty's Speech a large number of Government Bills mentioned, and he supposed that the Government intended to proceed with them during the Session, and carry them through Parliament. They had now arrived at the end of the second month of the Session, and, with the exception of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, they had had no measure of any importance introduced for their consideration in that House. He thought that there were a good many questions brought forward in Her Majesty's Speech which they might fairly claim to have had brought under their consideration in the first instance. The result of the present system was that the Empire was deprived of a part of its legislative force. He did not lay claim to any spirit of prophecy; but no one could shut his eyes to the fact that there was a movement going on around them of unknown forces in unforeseen directions, and he thought that their Lordships would do well not to overlook the tendency of the public mind.

EARL GRANVILLE, in reply, said, he feared that the answer he was about to give would hardly be satisfactory to his noble Friend, although he quite sympathized with the object of the noble Lord's Question. The fact was that for 25 years, whenever he had been in Office, he had had to answer the same sort of Question at least once, and generally twice in the Session. He never

omitted any opportunity of impressing upon his Colleagues the question of whether some particular measure might not be introduced into their Lordships' House. He did not believe that there was any disinclination on the part of his Colleagues to take that course; but, somehow or other, there was always a reason given why it was more advantageous that a particular Bill should be introduced into the other House. He did not think that this was attributable to any prejudice on the part of the present Administration, for he remembered that some 30 years ago Lord Aberdeen, in answering that identical Question, had said that he had heard that Question asked in the House of Lords 50 years before. That being so, he thought there must be some idea that important measures were not so well received when they came down from their Lordships' House as when they were specially introduced into the other House in the first instance.

THE NEW EDUCATION CODE—  
ARTICLE 107 B.

MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

EARL DE LA WARR, in rising to call attention to the Education Code, which is laid on the Table of the House till Wednesday next; and to move—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct that after the word 'Examination' in Article 107 B. of the new Code of Regulations issued by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education the following words be added 'but infants till they have attained the age of five years shall be exempted from examination in reading, writing, counting, and needlework,'"

said, that he must apologize for the short Notice of that Motion, he having only within the last few days become aware of the fact that the time which the document to which he was about to refer lay upon the Table of the House had nearly expired. He wished to ask their Lordships' attention to some few points connected with it. It appeared that the Privy Council derived their authority to issue a document like that upon the Table from the Elementary Education Act of 1870. It was clear that the avowed object of that Act was to give what was usually understood by the term "elementary education," and in the regulations issued by the

*Lord Carlingford*

Education Department of the Privy Council in the Code elementary education was defined to be instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and needlework. That seemed to be very well. But what did they find further? There were what were called optional subjects. They were singing, English, geography, elementary science, history, algebra, Euclid, and mensuration, mechanics, chemistry, physics, animal physiology, botany, principles of agriculture, Latin, French, and domestic economy. But not content with that it was also added—

“Any other subjects, other than those mentioned in this Article, may, if sanctioned by the Department, be taken as a specific subject, provided that a graduated scheme of teaching it be submitted to and approved by the Inspectors.”

He was at a loss to know how schools in which all those subjects were taught could come under the class of elementary schools, as intended by the Elementary Education Act of 1870. It was true those higher subjects were called optional; but if they were to be taught at all, the school must be provided with a class of teachers who were competent to give the instruction. It really amounted to this—that the education given in those schools was sufficient to prepare for any profession—he could not suppose that the Elementary Education Act was intended for that—schools, let it be remembered, which ratepayers were compelled to support, and in which there were children whose parents were receiving an income, in some cases, as they were informed, of £400 or £500 a-year. Then there was another evil attending that discretionary power vested in the Education Department of the Privy Council. The regulations which were issued periodically were perpetually changing. The Lord President, or the Vice President of the Privy Council, might hold entirely different views about education from their Predecessors in Office, and changes were made. Thus they found the Code of 1882 required less than the Code of 1884—teachers and children were overworked, and serious consequences were the result. The Code of 1882 required that a child should have attended 250 times before being presented for examination by the Inspector; but the Code of 1884 required only that the name of a child should have been on the register for 22 weeks in the year before it was presented for examination. The attend-

ances in the 22 weeks might have been comparatively few, and to enable the child to pass the examination great pressure must probably have been used. And as regarded over-pressure and the system of cramming children, often to the injury of their health and that of their teachers, in order that they might pass the examination, there could be no doubt that the system which had been adopted of payment by passes lay at the root of the evil. The object was to gain as large a grant as possible by getting the largest number of children through the examination without reference to anything else. There were other matters connected with that subject to which, at a future time, he desired to ask their Lordships' attention. But there was the important question which he desired to bring before the House, whether the education which was then being carried on at so large a cost to the country, and was becoming a serious burden to local ratepayers, was an education that was based upon sound principles? The Return of the Education Department showed an expenditure for 1883 of £2,846,000 being an increase of £44,000 over 1882. He asked whether, with that enormous cost, they were acting upon principles which would benefit the moral and social condition of the people? The principle of the Education Act seemed to exclude that. The dread of religious education had led to the consequent exclusion, also, of moral education. The Inspectors of schools were forbidden “to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects” given in schools; and could moral teaching be separated from religious? An Inspector did not inquire whether a child even knew the Ten Commandments, or what the Bible was; and it was asserted that since the passing of the Education Act of 1870 many young persons, from ignorance of the Bible, had arrived at mature years unfit to be sworn in a Court of Justice. Previous to the Act of 1870 it was indispensable to the obtaining of a Government grant that the Bible should at least be read. He might quote the words of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, who stated that—

“In one large town of this country there were more than 12,000 children in Board schools who receive no week-day religious instruction of any kind.”

He left that question, then, with the



hope that it might meet with their Lordships' serious attention. On referring to Article 107, it would be found that all scholars—that was including infants—must be presented to the Inspectors for examination, and that this was carried out was shown by the Reports of School Boards. He believed he might mention the London Board, for the Reports of which he had that day asked. He found it stated—

"That the Committee were of opinion that the examination of infants in reading, writing, counting, and needlework should be discontinued until they have reached their fifth year."

And that—

"A large proportion of the time of infants between three and five be devoted to healthful recreation, lively occupations, games, and physical exercises."

A statement relative to this question was recently made, as reported in the public Press, by Dr. Forbes Winslow, whose name must be well known to their Lordships. He said—

"As one who had had many opportunities of observation, he was able to bear testimony to the direful effect of the over-pressure which was going on at the present moment in ruining the health of young children, and that the lunacy statistics were a sufficient evidence of the evils resulting from endeavours to force into the brain knowledge which it was incapable of holding."

The view of the question which he had stated seemed to be consistent with common sense, and he hoped the noble Lord opposite would not object to the Amendment in the Code which he now begged to move.

*Moved*, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that after the word 'Examination' in Article 107 B. of the new Code of Regulations issued by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education the following words be added 'but infants till they have attained the age of five years shall be exempted from examination in reading, writing, counting, and needlework.'"—(*The Earl De La Warr*.)

LORD NORTON said, the noble Earl had seized the last moments allowed for criticism of the annual re-edition of the Education Code. He pointed out that to-morrow was the last day on which this new edition of the Code would lie on the Table of the House, after which its fresh alterations would become law. There was not a single instance in which the annual edition had not included

alterations of a character to make that which was already complicated enough still more complicated from year to year. Each edition had been recommended to Parliament as intended to contain the last changes on the subject. He agreed generally with the criticisms made by the noble Earl. He had brought to notice, in his speech, one particular effect of the working of the present Code. Any reasonable man, he thought, would consider it a defect in this Code that it attached educational grants to the intellectual performances of children of three years old. There was no country in which such an absurdity was adopted. In Germany—a country which was always favourably compared with ours in educational matters—such a thing was not attempted. Infants of this tender age were left either to nurses or *crèches*, or infant asylums, or to little schools kept at private cost. A public receptacle for the care of children three years old was little more than a foundling hospital. It was taking babies away from the care of their mothers, and placing them at schools at the public expense under the pretence of giving them education. But this was only one of many bad features inseparable from a system of education based on a radically false principle—namely, that of providing for national education by the payment of the teachers by grants upon detailed results of performances in various kinds of instruction. He could hardly conceive a more ridiculous scheme for national education than ours, which proposed to give 1s. grant for every child taught needlework; 1s. for singing, or 6d. if taught by ear; 1d. for elementary subjects, among which the art of reading was enumerated as a subject; then passed on to higher grants for higher subjects still as elementary. These schools were supposed to be elementary, yet elementary subjects were paid for much lower than subjects not elementary. Thus, 2s. were given as a grant for what were called class subjects, and 4s. for specific subjects including science and foreign languages. Now, he wished to impress upon their Lordships that nowhere else in the world did a school grant system like that of England exist. He believed that the noble Viscount (Viscount Sherbrooke), whom he did not see in his place at that moment, was the author of this very quaint



system. The noble Viscount had taken, it would seem, a commercial view of the subject. The idea was a fear of value not being secured by uncertain tests of the teachers' work and of the teaching paid for. There was a wish to secure a *quid pro quo*—to ascertain that they should get their money's worth. But he should like to point out that the *quo* meant the expenditure of millions for the general education of the working classes; the *quid* was only specified performances by specified groups of children, which was anything but the national education wanted. The complaints which were now being made, not of over-education, but of over-pressure in bad education, sprang entirely and necessarily from the action of this false principle. It was an obstacle to all that was worthy of the name of education. The teacher had to make an income to pay his last year's bills by getting up some of the children to earn for him, as the phrase was, the highest grants, and the highest grants were attached to the highest subjects. For this, teachers and pupil-teachers were straining, and children were worked over hours, and were crammed instead of being educated. Those children who could not be so crammed, or backward scholars, were neglected as unprofitable earners of grants. Most irrelevant answers were made to these complaints—such as that there was no over-expenditure, that room was still wanted for more children, and that a few richer children wanted higher education, who were taking the poorer children's bread. But the question was not of too much education, but of the system of school-managers farming little children for grants on sham education and calling it a national system.

EARL STANHOPE said, he remembered, as a former member of the London School Board, that a number of children under five years of age were sent to school simply because their parents were away working, and these children mostly passed their time lying on the floor. The by-laws provided for the education of children between the ages of five and 13 years. That was quite right, though in some cases five might be somewhat too early; but the present proposal of individual examination of infants under five seemed to him to be extraordinary, and therefore he trusted some explanation would be given of it. He could see

no advantage of children under five years of age being presented to Her Majesty's Inspectors for examination. Such a course was not only objectionable and useless, but it was positively mischievous to the health and intellect of tiny infants.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, the discussion that had taken place was a striking illustration of the way in which certain noble Lords in that House travelled from the Notice of Motion under discussion. He had innocently come down prepared to deal merely with the question relating to infants under the age of five, and whether they ought or ought not to be examined. But two of the noble Lords had travelled over a number of questions that arose under the Code. It never occurred to him that these would be started. The noble Earl had raised the question whether there should or should not be a Code at all, or very nearly that, and, if any Code, what Code; whether payments by results were or were not good; whether all the world was right or the noble Lord. It was strange that the noble Lord had not discovered that the Code introduced by Lord Spencer and Mr. Mundella last year, and altered this year, as the result of experience, by the Circular of Mr. Mundella, was entirely in the noble Lord's direction. It was no doubt true that the Education Department were not able to go far on the same road with the noble Lord. With respect to the treatment of the younger infants, he was in hearty sympathy with the noble Lord, who was preaching on this subject to those who were already converted. His Motion was an anachronism. It might have applied to past Codes, but it did not to the present. The noble Earl did not appear to understand the effect of the existing Code. It gave no individual grant to children in infant schools, and it did not require the individual examination of infants under five.

EARL DE LA WARR remarked that the Code required that the infants should "present themselves for examination."

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) repeated that this did not mean individual examination. There was no obscurity on this point among those who administered the Code. It merely meant that the infants should attend, and that the Inspector should

have an opportunity of seeing them and ascertaining whether they had been properly attended to. That was a necessary provision, unless they were prepared to allow the teacher to work his own sweet will; but it was only a muster, and there was no attempt at individual examination. The Department and the Inspectors knew quite well what was meant, and that it did not imply an individual test. The payments in infant schools were fixed grants on attendance, and there was also a general merit grant earned by the teacher upon the general character of his school; but there was no unwholesome stimulus to earn a grant upon the results of the examination of these infants. Whether there was or was not an objection to the system of payment by results, it could not arise in the case of these infant schools. There was no such system in those schools. There were some 400,000 little children below the age of five in the schools of this country earning, no doubt, a very important contribution for the schools. He supposed the noble Earl did not wish there should be no inquiry or inspection as to whether those children were neglected. The inspection under the present Code was only of a general character, and he could hardly think the noble Earl could desire that those children should be absolutely ignored by Her Majesty's Inspectors, considering the large amount of public money paid in respect of them. The noble Earl might rest assured that the provisions of the new Code need afford him no anxiety on this particular point, and that there was no reason for any such change as that proposed in the Motion.

EARL DE LA WARR said, he believed it was evident that individual examinations had really taken place. What he asked was that such a practice should be discontinued.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, it was merely a matter of fact that nothing was to be earned by individual examinations. A particular Inspector might think it his duty to examine the children one by one; and there had been a habit among Inspectors—in the belief of the Education Department carried beyond the necessities of the case—to insist on that kind of individual examination, although it earned no individual grant. It was,

*Lord Carlingford*

however, by no means desired that that habit should be encouraged.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

House adjourned at quarter before Six o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday, 1st April, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PRIVATE BILL (*by Order*)—*Withdrawn*—Metropolitan and London, Tilbury, and Southend Railways.

PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—*First Reading*—Post Office Protection \* [161].

*Second Reading*—Electric Lighting Provisional Order \* [145]; Land Drainage Provisional Orders \* [137]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (Alton Barnes, &c.) \* [147]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) (Bovey-Tracey, &c.) \* [148]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 3) (Ashill, &c.) \* [149]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) (Belchalwell, &c.) \* [150]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 5) (Acton, &c.) \* [151]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 6) (Ashen, &c.) \* [152]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7) (Abberley, &c.) \* [153]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 8) (Abergwilly, &c.) \* [154]; Representation of the People \* [119] [Fourth Night], *debate further adjourned*; Trustee Churches (Ireland) \* [157]; Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment \* [155].

### INDISPOSITION OF MR. SPEAKER.

The House being met, the Clerk at the Table informed the House of the continued indisposition of Mr. SPEAKER, and of his unavoidable absence from the House this day:—

Whereupon Sir ARTHUR OTWAY, the Chairman of Ways and Means, proceeded to the Table as Deputy Speaker, and 40 Members being present, took the Chair pursuant to the Standing Order.

### QUESTIONS.

THE INLAND REVENUE OFFICE—PRO-MOTION OF OFFICERS.

Mr. HEALY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the father of

the officer of Shaftesbury second Ride, Weymouth Collection, who was recently specially promoted over the heads of others in the Inland Revenue, was ever a Collector in that Department; is the father of the officer of Higham Ride, Northampton Collection, who was recently specially promoted over the heads of others, attached to the head office, Somerset House; on what grounds was this officer specially promoted over some 230 others; what are his special merits; could none of the 230 over whom he was placed be found capable of performing the work in which he is now engaged; would he lay a copy of the letter specially recommending him upon the Table of the House; what percentage of Collectors and Inspectors have specially recommended officers for special promotion within the last twelve months; and, is he aware that the present system of special promotion has given rise to much dissatisfaction in the Service?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the Shaftesbury officer referred to in the hon. Member's Question was not specially promoted; but he is the son of a former Collector. The Higham officer, also referred to, is the son of a clerk in one of the subordinate departments at Somerset House; he was specially promoted because specially recommended by his superior officer, and because he was considered, on the best available evidence, more competent than others to do the higher work. The confidential Reports upon which such promotions are founded cannot be published. Five per cent of the Collectors and Inspectors have made special recommendations in the last 12 months. No doubt there is some dissatisfaction in this, as in other cases of promotion by merit, among those who are passed over; but the principle is essential for the Public Service.

#### THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND —MEDICAL DEGREES.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in reference to the following extract from the Ordinances of the Queen's Colleges (page 317)—

"No Professor shall be entitled to claim the fees of any Class of Students, except so long as that Class shall be required by the Council to attend his instruction; and it shall be the duty of the Council to revise and amend the Regulations prescribing Courses of Study from time

to time, whenever they deem it conducive to the interests of education and of the Students so to do, irrespective of considerations affecting the incomes of Professors."

Whether medical students who intend presenting themselves for the degree of M.D. at the Royal University are, in the third year of their Course, compelled to pay for a Course of Lectures in Practical Anatomy to prosecute their dissections; has the practice only been a few years in existence; and, could he state when it began, and will it be continued?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have received Reports which go to show that there are no improper charges made; but if there are, they will be examined, and reported on, together with other matters which will come within the scope of the inquiry which the Government propose to institute. If I were to answer all the bearings of the Question, the answer would carry me to a great length.

MR. HEALY: Are these illegal and improper charges still to be made; and can the right hon. Gentleman say how soon the inquiry will take place?

MR. TREVELYAN: I will make a statement as to the inquiry on Thursday.

#### LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND) — THE CORK DISTRICT LUNATIC ASYLUM —DISPOSAL OF DECEASED PATIENTS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the Inspector of Anatomy for Cork resides in Dublin, and if, such being the case, he can efficiently discharge the duties of superintendence required by the third section of the Anatomy Act; whether the Board of Governors of the Cork District Lunatic Asylum are the proper custodians of the unclaimed bodies of deceased inmates of that institution; whether, such being the case, their permission is necessary, before removing their bodies to the dissecting room of the Queen's College, Cork, and if there is any distinction between the post mortem examination stated to be allowable in such cases, and the process of dissection admitted to be practised at present; and, are students in Cork Queen's College charged dissecting fees when it is admitted that bodies are supplied to the College free of charge?



MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Inspector of Anatomy for Munster is allowed to reside in Dublin. He is required to keep an office in Cork, and the arrangement is open to review should inconvenience arise. The other three Provinces of Ireland are under one Inspector, who also resides in Dublin. Before the arrangement as to the Munster Inspector was sanctioned, it was ascertained that there is but one Inspector for all Scotland, and there are two for England, both of whom reside in London. It is, therefore, clear that in no part of the country is continuous residence on the spot considered necessary for the discharge of the duties of these officers. I stated, in reply to a former Question, all that I feel myself called upon to say with regard to the powers and duties of the governors of lunatic asylums in this matter. I pointed out that the law does not require the publication of details as to dissections; and, in the interests of humanity and of medical science, any attempt to force publicity is greatly to be deprecated. With regard to the last paragraph of the Question, I think it must be perfectly clear to anyone that no School of Anatomy could be carried on without incidental expenses, and I am sure that there is no such school in the country which students can attend without paying fees. If any of the students at Cork think that any improper charge is made in their case they should address the College authorities. I am informed that nearly 150 students of Queen's College, Cork, presented an address to the Professor of Anatomy on Friday last, stating that they heard with regret that action had been taken to make the class regulations in anatomy and physiology the subject of Questions in Parliament, and so tend to create an erroneous impression in the public mind regarding the relations subsisting between the Professor and students in these departments. These relations, they say, have always been of the most cordial character, and any representation of them as otherwise must incur their unqualified repudiation. I am informed by high medical authority in Dublin that if these Questions are continued a feeling may be aroused among ignorant people which would render it impossible to carry on anatomical studies at Cork, and, perhaps, in any other part of Ireland.

MR HEALY: I beg to give Notice that after the right hon. Gentleman has needlessly read out the address presented to this Professor by the students—[“Order, order!”]—I will expose on a future day the process of intimidation—[*Loud cries of “Order, order!”*]—I am perfectly in Order. I always am in Order—I will expose on a future day the process of intimidation by which this address was obtained.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS IN THE MALLOW UNION—ALLEGED INTIMIDATION BY THE AGENT OF A LANDLORD.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that the bailiff of Sir Henry Wrixham Beecher went around to the tenants, who are leaseholders, and threatened that they would suffer, unless they voted for the candidate nominated by their landlord for the Poor Law guardianship of the Ruskeen Division of the Mallow Union; whether such conduct is legal; if illegal, what remedy exists for landlord intimidation at Poor Law elections, in view of the declaration of the Government that the Intimidation Clause of the Crimes Act is not applicable to such cases; and, whether, having regard to the repeated and unpunished violations of freedom of voting, in the case of Poor Law elections, the Government will, this Session, introduce their promised Bill to establish voting by ballot at such elections, or will give facilities for the passing of a Bill introduced by private Members with that object?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, it is not the case that Sir Henry Wrixham Beecher nominated a candidate for this election, or used any intimidation. His brother informs me that he was not even aware that there was a contest in the division. I should be very glad to introduce the Bill mentioned in the last paragraph, though it has no bearing on the case mentioned in this Question, about which the hon. Member was, I think, misinformed.

HIGHWAYS (SCOTLAND)—COUNTY ROAD TRUSTEES OF BERWICK-SHIRE, &c.

SIR MATTHEW WHITE RIDLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for

the Home Department, Whether the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into applications made by the County Road Trustees of Berwickshire, the Justices of the Peace for the county of Northumberland, and the Norham and Islandshire Highway Board, has yet been considered by the Secretary of State, and the determination approved by him; when it is probable that the determination will be presented to Parliament, in pursuance of the ninetieth section of "The Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Act, 1878;" and, whether, after the determination has been laid upon the Table, a Copy of the Report can be furnished to the three parties directly interested?

MR. HIBBERT: Sir, the Report referred to in the Question of the hon. Baronet has not yet been fully considered by the Secretary of State; but he expects to be able to present the determination approved of by him to Parliament before the House adjourns for the Easter Recess. In the case of the Glasgow and Carlisle Road Trust, the Report itself was not furnished to the parties directly interested. The Secretary of State must, therefore, reserve his decision as to whether he can furnish a copy of the Report until he has more fully considered the subject.

#### THE WINE DUTIES—SPANISH AND GERMAN SPIRIT.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, in negotiating with Spain in regard to a Commercial Treaty, he will bear in mind that at the present time thirteen millions of gallons of German spirits come into England from Spain under the disguise of wine, paying a much less duty than is charged on English spirits; and, whether any steps will be taken to prevent the admission of this so-called wine at one shilling duty, and of a higher strength, causing damage to the English distiller, and to the largest source of our revenue?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The hon. Member has apparently taken the whole importation of wine in cask—namely, about 13,000,000 gallons, to represent the importation of wine from Spain only, and he has then assumed that the whole quantity is German spirit under the disguise of wine. I may, however, state, to avoid misapprehen-

sion, that the total importation of wine from Spain is about 5,000,000 gallons; but there is no evidence as to the quantity fortified with any particular class of spirit. There are, at present, no commercial negotiations proceeding; but, in any that have taken place, care has always been taken to provide against the introduction of spirits under the guise of wine.

#### THE DUBLIN MURDER TRIALS—COMPENSATION TO MR. FIELD.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Collector General of Dublin has obtained a legal opinion as to his right to enforce payment of the Tax levied upon the people of Dublin for compensation awarded to Mr. Field under the Crimes Act; whether the Tax is now being collected along with the Consolidated Rate; whether that course is legal; and, whether, if the rated occupier refuses to pay the Tax, it can be recovered from him solely, or whether it should be recovered from every occupier of any part of the premises?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Collector General did not obtain a legal opinion, as no question could arise as to the validity of the warrant of the Lord Lieutenant under which he acted. The tax is being collected with the Consolidated Rate, and I am advised that there is no legal objection to its being so collected. I cannot go into the hypothetical query contained in the last paragraph. If any cases of refusal arise they will, no doubt, be considered on their merits.

#### EMIGRATION (IRELAND)—SLIGO BOARD OF GUARDIANS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there is any provision in the Law by virtue of which the Reverend Thomas Heany, Rector of Calry, county Sligo, is entitled to serve on the Emigration Committee of the Sligo Board of Guardians, taking part in their deliberations and acting as if a legally elected guardian? In putting this Question I would also ask whether the Rev. Mr. Heany is one of the persons who, as chaplain of Orange Lodges, signed a circular calling on the landlords of the country to give all vacant farms and situations to Protestants?

MR. GIBSON: And is this the rev. gentleman who denied that he ever did any such thing?

MR. SEXTON: He never denied.

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I think the hon. Gentleman should give Notice of that Question. The emigration from the Sligo Union is conducted by the Board of Guardians, who are responsible for all proceedings in relation to it. It appears that a Committee, consisting of a number of gentlemen, were appointed by the Board to take charge of the matter, and the Rev. Mr. Heany was one of them. Although there is no specific legal authority for the formation of such a Committee, the Local Government Board do not consider that they can object to the Guardians utilizing the information and help which such a body can afford.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to give Notice that I will ask the right hon. Gentleman on a future day whether he considers that a rev. gentleman who signed the circular referred to is a fit man to conduct the emigration of Catholics; and, in reference to the remark of the right hon. Gentleman, I beg to say that I did put the inquiry on the Question Paper; but for some reason beyond my comprehension it was struck out by the Clerk at the Table.

#### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—SLIGO UNION.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a complaint has been made to the Irish Local Government Board, that Mr. Thomas Simpson, of Cannatogher, county Sligo, a candidate in the recent election of Poor Law Guardian for the Drumcliffe West Division of the Sligo Union, did, after the distribution of voting papers to the persons entitled to vote in the said division, illegally take possession of and carry away the voting papers left with certain of such voters, and keep them for several hours in his possession; whether Mr. John McGovern, also a candidate in the said election, lodged with the returning officer, the clerk of the Sligo Union, before the declaration of the return, a protest embodying the above complaint; whether, nevertheless, the relieving officer declared Mr. Thomas Simpson duly elected; and, what course the Local Government Board will take in regard to the election?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Local Government Board informed me that a complaint has been made to them to the effect described in the Question, and that they will proceed to make such inquiries as may be necessary under the 23rd section of the Act of 6 & 7 Vict., with the view of determining whether or not Mr. Simpson is entitled to act as an elected Guardian.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—LAMBETH SCHOOL BOARD—ADDITIONAL SCHOOL ACCOMMODATION.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether his Department has consented to the erection of a School to contain 1,200 children, for which a site has been purchased, and which is now being cleared of houses to provide additional School accommodation for Blocks E. F. H. I. J. K. Lambeth, where the School Board authorities report that there are now 1,876 vacant places, and where the South Western Railway Company is on the point of pulling down houses in which it is estimated that 500 children reside; where the houses in the neighbourhood are already unhealthily crowded; and where there is no unoccupied land on which additional houses can be built?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, the Department in 1881 consented to the provision of a school for 1,200 children in Upper Kennington Lane to meet an admitted deficiency in three out of the six blocks mentioned. A site for the schools has been purchased, and the houses upon it are being cleared. The clearance by the South Western Railway will only affect a part of this district. It runs through blocks E, F, H, and does not touch I, J, and K. This school is to provide for H, I, and K. The School Board reports that the number of children living within the limits of deviation is 390. The plans of the proposed schools have not yet been approved by the Department, and it will have to be considered to what extent, if any, the size of the school should be diminished by the decrease of population. I have consented to receive a deputation of the managers of the voluntary schools upon the subject. The number of vacant places referred to in the question means the difference betwixt the average attendance and the accommodation; but the actual attend-



ance is often considerably above the average.

# EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — OVER-PRESSURE IN BOARD SCHOOLS.

LORD ALGERNON PERCY (for Mr. ECKROYD) asked the Vice President of the Council, If his attention has been directed to the death of Ellen Barker, aged eleven years, at Habergham, near Burnley, which is believed to have been caused by over pressure of school work; at the inquest, held on the 14th instant, the girl's mother stated that her daughter came home from the day-school on Monday afternoon the 10th. At 7 o'clock that evening she complained of pain in her head and illness. She grew worse until Wednesday, when the doctor was sent for; but she died before his arrival. Witness could not say whether overwork at school had caused her daughter's illness; she had only complained about her "home lessons;" the coroner said he had had several cases of that kind, where overwork at school had apparently brought on the illness. A juror remarked that children were too heavily worked at school; and another juror said that there was scarcely a house in the village in which complaint was not made of such overwork; the jury returned a verdict of "Death from natural causes, probably accelerated by overwork at school;" and, whether he will make further inquiry into all the circumstances of this case?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, Her Majesty's Inspector has made a full Report on the case of Mary Barker, of Habergham, of which the following is a summary in his own words:—

"Habergham, All Saints, N.S. (Gawthorpe, Lancashire). Mary (not Ellen) Barker died from a sharp attack of peritonitis, of which the first symptoms appeared in the evening of Tuesday, the 11th of March, and which ended fatally 24 hours later, in the evening of Wednesday, the 12th ult. The family doctor, who arrived after death, is definite on this point, and the parents agree in thinking the cause of death inflammation of the bowels. Two sisters were seven days later attacked with typhoid fever, said to be caused by smells from drains. The landlord is examining these drains, as I am told by his manager. The girls in question are now ill. Mary Barker was, apparently, in good ordinary state of health up to the night before her death, went to school, and worked in the mill as usual. There is nothing to lead to the belief that anything but the disease named caused or conduced to death, and the statement of the parents expressly excludes school work.

The school is in my own parish, is managed by Sir U. Kay-Shuttleworth and Colonel Dugdale, has always done extremely well, and is very popular. I have lived here for nearly five years, and the charge appears to be baseless. (Signed) F. A. S. Freeland, H.M.I."

# THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. HASLETT, J.P., BELFAST.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he can now state what course the Lord Chancellor has taken in the case of Mr. Haslett, J.P., of Belfast?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that it was the Lord Chancellor who was concerned in this matter. It was true that on a former occasion Mr. Haslett took part in adjudicating on a licensing case in which he should not have done; but there was no reason to believe that he showed any partiality, or that justice was not done in the case. In his capacity as magistrate he punished the woman very severely, and in his capacity as landlord he had her put out of the house on account of her misconduct. Under these circumstances, the conclusion of the Government was that the matter did not call for further proceedings.

MR. KENNY: Does the right hon. Gentleman mean that Mr. Haslett, having subjected himself to a fine of £100 and to a liability to be dismissed from the Commission of the Peace, is now to go scot free?

MR. TREVELYAN: This is what I would mean. The man acted inadvertently; but as Judge he showed severity, and as landlord of the public-house punished also.

MR. HEALY: A house of ill fame.

MR. TREVELYAN: The Government are quite satisfied that he acted without a knowledge of what he was doing.

MR. KENNY: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that the evidence before the magistrates showed that he was perfectly cognizant of the fact that he was adjudicating in his own case?

MR. HEALY: The policeman told him so three times.

[No reply.]

# BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—MR. OWEN, ARCHITECT TO THE BOARD.

MR. KENNY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, if Lord Crichton's Commission of Inquiry recommended that

Mr. Owen, Architect to the Irish Board of Works, should be called upon to resign; for what reason the recommendation in question has never been carried out; if Mr. Owen, while holding the position of Architect to the Board, was also Chairman to a Discount Company which became insolvent; and, whether he has likewise, in recent years, acted as Director of several commercial speculations which resulted in failure; if Mr. Owen, whilst an Architect to the Board, officially concerned with the business of dealing with applications for loans of public money to tenants and other persons, was also Chairman of a private Loan Company; and, whether, in consideration of his resigning the Chairmanship in question, the Treasury allowed him an increase of salary of about £200 per annum; and, what is the explanation of the course pursued with regard to Mr. Owen?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, no such recommendation was made as that stated in the first paragraph of the Question, and accordingly it could not have been acted upon. The Crichton Commission did not recommend Mr. Owen's retirement; but they advised that he should cease to be Director of a private Building Society, and this has been carried out. The recent increase to his salary has nothing to do with this retirement, but depended on the increase of his duties. Mr. Owen states that he was at one time Chairman of a Discount Company, but resigned nearly two years ago, since which the Company has become bankrupt, otherwise he has long ceased to be concerned in any commercial speculation.

#### LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART— SCOTTISH METEOROLOGICAL SOCIETY—MARINE ZOOLOGICAL STATION AT GRANTON.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether an application has recently been made to the Lords of the Treasury by the Scottish Meteorological Society for a grant in aid of the Marine Zoological Station established at Granton on the Firth of Forth; and, what were the grounds upon which this application was refused?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, an application was made as stated by my hon. Friend. There were three reasons for

declining to accede to it—first, similar work is now being done at the public expense both by the Scotch Fishery Board and by the Trawling Commission; secondly, it did not seem right to add to the sum of almost £30,000 provided for scientific grants in this year's Estimates; thirdly, it seems anomalous to intrust money for the purposes of marine zoology to a Meteorological Society.

MR. BUCHANAN asked if the hon. Gentleman would lay the Correspondence on the Table?

MR. COURTNEY said, he thought all the particulars embraced in the Correspondence were contained in what he had stated; but if the hon. Gentleman wished to see it he could do so.

#### AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENTS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES—DENMARK.

MR. JAMES HOWARD asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether his attention has been directed to the Reports on the Agricultural Departments of Foreign Countries (No. 9), issued last week?

MR. R. H. PAGET asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether he will be good enough to obtain details of the Scientific Schools and Experimental Farms referred to in the Report on Foreign Agricultural Departments recently issued; and, whether he will, from time to time, publish, as part of the ordinary business of the Agricultural Department over which he presides, any information so received which may appear to be of practical value to the agricultural interests of the United Kingdom?

MR. DODSON, in reply, said, he did not understand that the Royal Society for Agricultural Economy in Denmark occupied the same position or discharged the same functions as those eminent Societies, the Royal Agricultural Society of England, or Ireland, or the Highland Society of Scotland. As at present advised, he did not think it would be for the advantage either of the country or of those eminent Societies to connect those Societies with a Government Department in the manner proposed. They had several Reports and documents relating to this matter which he proposed to place in the Library of the House for the inspection of the hon. Member, or Gentlemen interested in the question. With regard to a somewhat

similar Question put by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. R. Paget), the Department would be glad at any time to publish any matter which appeared to be of practical value to the agricultural community.

#### EGYPT (FINANCE).

MR. J. G. HUBBARD asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will, without waiting for the Budget, state to the House whether any, and, if any, what interference the Government contemplate with regard to Egyptian finances?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, on behalf of my right hon. Friend, I have to reply that it is quite out of his power to say now when any statement may be made to the House as to Egyptian Finance, or whether the Budget, which he hopes to open on the 24th instant, will contain any reference to that subject.

#### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)— DEFEAT OF GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that General Gordon's Forces sustained a severe reverse at Khartoum; and, whether General Graham's Troops are being recalled from Suakin without opening the Berber road? He said he had also a further Question, of which he had given private Notice—Whether his attention had been called to a statement in the Khartoum Correspondent's letter in *The Times* of to-day, in which the following statement occurred:—

"We are daily expecting British troops. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that we are abandoned by the Government. Our existence depends upon England?"

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: It is true, Sir, as stated yesterday, that the troops under General Gordon met with a somewhat serious reverse in the operations which had been undertaken against the Arabs, who appeared to be threatening Khartoum. As it now appears, that reverse was caused partly—to some extent, certainly—by the treachery of some officers commanding General Gordon's troops. My attention has, of course, been called to the paragraph in *The Times* to which the hon. Member referred. We have, however, received news from General Gordon up to the

same date as *The Times* telegram, in which General Gordon does not appear to have made any reference to the expectation that assistance by British troops would be rendered, and in which he states that he considered he was quite safe, and that supplies were coming in freely. With regard to the second part of the Question, I should prefer postponing any statement as to the roads from Suakin to Berber until we can make such statement as may be in our power, and which we have undertaken to make, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition.

MR. J. LOWTHER: Did I rightly understand the noble Lord yesterday to say that General Gordon, in his despatch, referred to the report of *The Times* Correspondent? If so, would that imply that General Gordon, by his silence on any one point contained in that report, denied the accuracy of the report?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I think General Gordon's reference to *The Times* telegram referred solely to the account of the action which had taken place on the previous day. He stated distinctly that he had not had time on that occasion to send a full account, and referred Sir Evelyn Baring to those telegrams. The telegrams, both from *The Times* Correspondent and from General Gordon, are of subsequent date—I think a week later.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Is it true, then, that General Gordon is to be left to share the fate of Tewfik Bey?

[No reply.]

#### LAW AND JUSTICE—THE CIRCUITS— THE JUDGES OF THE PROBATE DIVISION.

MR. NORWOOD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, since the liability of the Judges of the Probate, Divorce, and Admiralty Division of the High Court to go Circuit is limited by Clause 8 of "The Judicature Amendment Act, 1875," as follows, "so far as the state of business in the said division will admit," and that the amount of business now before the Admiralty Court is such that a suspension of the sittings of that Court would entail serious inconvenience and loss on the mercantile community, Whether, in the arrangements now being made for Circuit, the names of two Judges of the



Probate Division will therefore be excluded from the list?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that the question of the two Judges of the Probate Division going on Circuit was under consideration, and that he would represent to the Lord Chancellor the views of the hon. Member as to the inexpediency of that practice.

#### MERCANTILE MARINE—KINGSTOWN HARBOUR.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that a new and valuable vessel was lost in Kingstown Harbour, during the month of February, by running, during a gale, on the south-western foreshore of the harbour, between the Royal Irish Yacht Club and the coastguard station; whether other vessels or yachts have been lost on or near the same part of the harbour in former storms; whether the above-named portion of the harbour, not being fitted with a quay wall or with a timber framing, and the foreshore being composed of projecting rocks, is a cause of danger to ships at anchor during the prevalence of easterly gales, and if the Government intends to complete this portion of the said harbour with a quay wall or timber framing, from which vessels could be warped off in case they dragged their anchors or broke from their moorings during a storm; whether he is aware that, during one of the recent storms, a large American vessel, the *G. B. Sutton*, with a valuable cargo of grain, went on shore in Kingstown Harbour, and would have been lost had not a Liverpool tug-boat, which was fortunately at hand, gone to her assistance, and that the sum of £260 was demanded and paid for the services rendered by the tug-boat on the occasion; and, whether the Commissioners of said harbour will make arrangements in future to have a steamer ready during dangerous gales, to render assistance to vessels in distress in or about the said harbour?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, I have inquired into this matter, and find that a vessel of 179 tons, and at least 30 years old, was lost in the way described on the 1st February last; one other vessel was so lost about 10 years ago, and another in 1861. The piece of foreshore where these wrecks occurred is left on purpose without a wall in order that the waves

may break there; were it not for this the anchorage space would be diminished. I have ascertained that the *G. B. Sutton* did not go ashore; but, as she showed signs of drifting against the mail pier, she was assisted by the tug which had brought her over from Holyhead. As experience shows that such cases may be expected only once in 10 years, it would not be proper to sanction a large expenditure from public funds to provide against them.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILL.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the fact that this House, in the terms of the Resolution carried on Friday last, pledged itself not only as to the urgency of affording local relief, but also to be ready to entertain any necessary reforms in local administration, he will undertake to introduce, on an early date after Easter, the Local Government Bill which the Right honourable Gentleman, the President of the Local Government Board, has stated to be already prepared?

MR. CHEETHAM asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the Resolution of the 28th March, Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to consider the expediency of giving precedence next after the Representation of the People and Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bills to the measure dealing with the whole question of Local Government and Local Taxation, which the President of the Local Government Board has informed the House is now prepared and ready for introduction?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the subjects of these Questions connect themselves together. The answer cannot be given in a very few words; but I will endeavour to make it as clear as I can. As regards the Question of my noble Friend, I think it is obvious that there will be no practical advantage gained by introducing, at a very early date, the Bill of the Government, which is prepared, unless we were able to form some reasonable and confident expectation as to the time at which we could go forward with it. Therefore, I consider the question rather as merging in the larger inquiry of my hon. Friend behind me. With regard to that inquiry, the Speech from the

Throne gave the first place in the legislative work of the Session to the Franchise Bill, and the second place to the subject of local government. Then it explained that the subject of local government was not one which could be comprised in a single Bill; that a Bill would at once be presented, subject to what had been said about the Franchise Bill, with reference to the Municipality of London; that further measures had been prepared, and reference was particularly made, as has been explained by my hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board, to the Bill for local government in England, to which the Question of my hon. Friend refers. Well, Sir, these two Bills are really parts of the same subject. The important financial operations which belong to the question of local government are equally dependent upon the one and the other. In truth, they are, if possible, more dependent as regards the populous area of the Metropolitan District, because there it is that the want of adequate local authority is most palpable and conspicuous. Therefore, Sir, I think, in the first place, that after what has taken place, the distinct pledges and intimations that have been given, we cannot consistently postpone proceeding with the London Government Bill. But, Sir, my hon. Friend will say, "What of the Local Government Bill?" I will say this—we considered very carefully what it was reasonable to expect from Parliament, judging by the experience of former years, and knowing as we did know that Parliament was very sensible of the arrears of Public Business, and hoping, as we were entitled to hope, that Parliament would have a great desire to get on with Public Business, our opinion was, and is, that it was and is perfectly practicable to deal with the Franchise Bill, which we have made as simple as we possibly could, with the London Government Bill, and with the Local Government Bill in the course of the present Session. That was our distinct and deliberate opinion. We believe it will be greatly to the honour of Parliament to deal with these measures, and that it will not be greatly to the honour of Parliament should it fail to fulfil these expectations. I need not say that, as far as the Government is concerned they certainly will shrink from no effort for the purpose of putting forward these

questions. I may remind the House of the importance of not extending beyond what has been in other times the customary and established limits of Parliamentary discussion. We shall do all we can to promote the views of my hon. Friend. We are not omnipotent; we feel with him the utmost desire to put forward this measure; and we are convinced also that the credit of Parliament, and not only of particular Members, is involved in it.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—LOCAL TAXATION.

MR. PELL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What action Her Majesty's Government intends to take in respect of the Resolution of Friday 28th March, deprecating the postponement of relief acknowledged to be due to ratepayers in counties and boroughs?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the Resolution at which the House arrived on the 28th of March deprecates, as the hon. Member truly says, the postponement of further measures for the relief acknowledged to be due to the ratepayers. Sir, I have had to read that Resolution in conjunction with a former Resolution of the House of Commons, which that Resolution did not question or rescind. The former Resolution, which was carried by a small majority—but still by a majority a trifle larger than that which voted for the Resolution of the hon. Member—in the Session of 1883, likewise indicated a great desire that relief to local ratepayers should not be postponed. But it did two things. It coupled the question of relief to ratepayers with legislation on local government, and, which is the point I have now especially in view, it pointed out the mode and form in which that relief to the ratepayers was to be given. The House resolved last year that the relief granted to the ratepayers in counties and boroughs should be by the transfer to local authorities of the revenue proceeding from particular taxes or portions of taxes. That declaration of the House of Commons, I presume, had the approval of the hon. Member; at any rate, it remains entirely untouched by the Resolution of the other evening, and, therefore, that declaration is in force and is binding on us. The effect of that will be that the settlement of the financial part of the local government ques-



tion, which is a very large subject indeed, involves the question of the removal of a great number of items from the immediate jurisdiction of this House. It involves the allocation of various taxes or parts of taxes; and it might involve the finding of substitutes for those taxes. Consequently, the hon. Member will see that the meaning of the second Resolution, as the hon. Gentleman appears to view it—if it is to be considered without qualification—is that the Business we are engaged upon with respect to the Franchise Bill is to be postponed until we have dealt with the financial part of the local government question. I do not believe that to have been the intention of the House when they passed the Resolution of last week. If the hon. Gentleman thinks that it was the intention of the House, it is for him to suggest the expression of that intention in an intelligible manner. The Government do not think that was the intention of the House, and, therefore, they are not prepared to postpone the Business now before the House with respect to the Franchise Bill. In our opinion it is much too late to deal piecemeal in the unsatisfactory manner Governments have been compelled to adopt hitherto upon this question. We ought, for the benefit of all parties, to make the relief effectual and complete by passing a large and important measure. We are most anxious and desirous to find ourselves in a position to approach that measure; but we are not prepared to put such a construction as the hon. Member appears to do upon his Resolution of Friday last—namely, that the proceedings of the Franchise Bill shall be suspended for the purpose of dealing with the financial part of the local government question.

MR. PELL: I throw myself on the consideration of the House; but I hardly think the right hon. Gentleman has answered my Question. We have had a very long exposition of the views of the Government. I ask again for a simple answer to a plain Question. It is a Question of a financial nature, in which I cannot move—namely, What action the House may expect the Government to adopt in conformity with the distinct expression of the view of the House last week?

MR. GLADSTONE: The only action we can take is to press forward to the

best of our power the Business of the House. We have it in contemplation to deal fully with the subject of which, a few days ago, the hon. Gentleman presented a particular aspect to the House. The meaning of his Motion, if it has a practical meaning, is the displacement of the other Business of the House; it means the displacement of the Business with respect to the Franchise Bill, and that displacement we are not willing to accede to.

LORD JOHN MANNERS: After the three statements of the right hon. Gentleman, perhaps he will be kind enough to answer one more Question. It is this. Are we to understand that the ratepayers of the United Kingdom are not to expect any financial relief until the Franchise Bill, the London Municipal Reform Bill, and the Local Government Bill have been decided upon and passed?

MR. GLADSTONE: That is a wider statement than I have made. It is for the House to consider at what time the financial part of the question with regard to the ratepayers can be considered. All I have said is this. We are not prepared to intercept the action of Parliament with respect to the Franchise Bill for the sake of taking up the financial part of the question of the relief of ratepayers; nor, I am bound to say, if I am asked with respect to the Local Government Bill, do I believe we can effectually approach the question of the relief of ratepayers until we have dealt with the subject of adequate and competent local authorities.

LORD JOHN MANNERS said, he had understood the right hon. Gentleman to state that the London Bill would take precedence of the Local Government Bill, and that the Franchise Bill, the London Bill, and the Local Government Bill were all three to be decided before the question of financial relief was taken up; were they to understand that he did not put the London Bill before the Local Government Bill?

MR. GLADSTONE: I beg pardon, Sir. I thought I had distinctly stated the position of the London Bill. I consider the Question of the noble Lord to be comprised within that of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire. Our views are perfectly well known, and they were supported by the Resolution of the House last year. The House has now



passed a Resolution of a vague and indefinite character—[“Oh!”] In my humble opinion, if I may have one in the face of those great authorities who interrupt me, it is of a vague and indefinite character. Like the hon. Gentleman, I deprecate all this postponement; I deprecate all the delays in the transaction of Public Business, which are alone responsible for this postponement. If the old methods had prevailed we should have reached this subject long ago. It is for the House to determine, but our opinion is that the local authorities ought to be established before the full and final measure of relief of local ratepayers can be given. That was voted by the House last year, and our opinion is that that vote was a sound and right one.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: But does the right hon. Gentleman think that the vote of Friday last made no difference in the situation?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have stated my view of the effect of the vote of Friday last; it is for those who think it had some other effect to state their view.

SIR BALDWIN LEIGHTON: Are we to understand there will be no proposal made in the Financial Statement in consequence of the Resolution of my hon. Friend?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, in no circumstances will it be possible to include in the Financial Statement so vast a subject as that which is involved in the relief of ratepayers as defined by the Resolution of last week. The time has come now for the Financial Statement to be made; it would be made on Monday next if it were possible that the debate on the Franchise Bill could be completed, and undoubtedly no statement could be included in it with reference to this question.

#### PARLIAMENT—THE DEPUTY SPEAKERSHIP OF THIS HOUSE.

MR. DILLWYN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he will take such steps as may appear desirable to provide for the Chair being taken by some Member to be chosen by the House in the event of the absence from illness or other cause of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker? He said, he had put the Question on the Paper in consequence of the uncertainty which prevailed as to the

course to be adopted in the case of the continued illness of both the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker. He had not himself much doubt as to the course that ought to be adopted. [“Order, order!”]

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, we have been, undoubtedly, upon the brink of a considerable danger—a danger which it was hoped had been obviated in all reasonable probability by the arrangement made in the appointment of a Deputy Speaker; and I cannot deny that, considering how near we have come to a danger even under the present arrangement, it is well worth considering whether a further provision ought to be made. There are two points that I must keep in view in answering my hon. Friend. One is that it is very material to determine whether the provision can be made by Resolution of this House, or whether it would require an Act of Parliament. The second question is this, that, as it appears to me, it would be idle to hope to make a provision for this purpose if it were to be a subject of contest and lengthened debate, such as we have had upon most points connected with the Procedure of the House. What I propose to do is in the course of the next few days to inform myself as well as I can as to the method by which we might proceed, whether by Resolution or Act of Parliament; and, secondly, as to the disposition which might exist to supply a remedy for this case of difficulty if it should again arise. But I wish clearly to state that we cannot add another controversy upon this subject to the many controversies that are already before the House.

#### PARLIAMENT—MR. BRADLAUGH—THE LIBRARY OF THE HOUSE.

MR. NEWDEGATE: Sir Arthur Otway, I wish to put a Question to you as to your interpretation of the Resolution passed yesterday, permitting Mr. Bradlaugh to use the Library of the House, but otherwise still subjecting him to the Resolution of the 21st of February. As Mr. Bradlaugh has repudiated the Resolution of the 21st of February, I wish to know whether you are of opinion that he is precluded from coming within the outer doors of this House, which are kept by the door-keepers?

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): There can be no doubt as to the interpretation to be put upon the Resolution which the House came to yesterday. Mr. Bradlaugh, in his letter addressed to the Speaker, requested permission to have access to the Library for certain purposes. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) stated that this was a reasonable proposition on the part of Mr. Bradlaugh, and moved to resolve that Mr. Bradlaugh should have access to the Library, but that the Resolution of the 21st of February in all other respects should remain in force. Mr. Bradlaugh has by the terms of that Resolution access to the Library only.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—  
THE SUAKIN GARRISON.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the Secretary for War, Whether he was still of opinion that the Egyptian troops were unfit to take part in active service; and, if that were his opinion, whether the Government had determined to send those troops to take charge of the important garrison of Suakin?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: That is a Question of which I might reasonably ask for Notice, but to which, if I received Notice, I should be inclined to give the same answer as I have given to the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett). It is a point on which I would defer my answer until the time when the Government are able to make such general statement as they are able to make respecting the affairs of the Soudan. I do not know what the hon. and gallant Member is quoting from when he asks if I am still of opinion that the Egyptian troops are unfit for active service.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he would give Notice. But the statement with regard to the sending of Egyptian troops to Suakin was in every paper in the country. The observation of the noble Marquess with reference to the unfitness of Egyptian troops for active service was made in reply to a Question which he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) put as to whether the Government intended to send a battalion of Egyptian troops to act with British troops at Suakin.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not think I ever made use of the

expression which the hon. and gallant Member attributes to me. I think I said that under the peculiar circumstances of the duty which General Graham's forces were to undertake, and the uncertain character of the operations, it was not thought desirable to send alongside British troops a force the capabilities of which had not yet been tested.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS ON WED-  
NESDAY.

MR. MACFARLANE: I beg to ask the Prime Minister, Whether the Government have any proposal to make for to-morrow with the view of proceeding with the Franchise Bill? I have every reason to believe that with regard to the second reading of the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill, which will be the first Order of the Day, that there is an intention to talk out the Bill, and, if so, the Sitting will be practically useless.

MR. GLADSTONE: It is not our intention to propose to take the debate on the Franchise Bill to-morrow, inasmuch as the subject of debate for the day is one of some importance, and it has not been the usage to set aside the Orders for Wednesday for the sake of proceeding with Government measures.

MOTION.

NOTICES OF MOTIONS AND ORDERS  
OF THE DAY.

MOTION FOR POSTPONEMENT.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the Order for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Second Reading of the Representation of the People Bill have precedence, this day, of all Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. PELL said, he wished to take the opportunity which this Motion gave him of making some observations upon what he might almost term the speech of the Prime Minister at Question time with reference to the Resolution on local taxation. They were asked to arrange the order of Business in that House. He would not raise any objection to that. The Representation of the People Bill might justify such a demand; but if the House agreed to the Motion, they ought to have from the Prime Minister

some distinct explanation as to the arrangement of Business after the Franchise Bill had been disposed of. They ought to know whether the giving effect to the Resolution of last Friday was to be deferred until the Government had had an opportunity of bringing under the Notice of the House their Bill with regard to local government generally. If the Government did not, when the Budget was brought forward, offer some relief to the ratepayers, he should feel it his duty, as far as it laid in his power, to interfere with the arrangements which the Government might think well to make. He was as anxious as the right hon. Gentleman himself to see reform on these points; but he was more anxious that effect should be given to the deliberate opinion of the House of Commons; and if the Government found themselves pressed on that point, it would be one of the main inducements for them to proceed on an early day with their measure in reference to local government reform. The Prime Minister had stated that they must read the Resolution which was agreed to on Friday in connection with the decision which was arrived at last year upon this subject. In his opinion, the right hon. Gentleman should consider Friday night's vote as a reversal of the Resolution of last year. It was a reversal, because many of the Members who voted with the Government last year had, he would not say voted against them on Friday, but crept out of their places and refused to support their previous vote. He did not think the Prime Minister should fall back upon an Amendment which was carried by a small majority of Members who did not on Friday support the views which they held last year.

MR. CHAPLIN said, the Prime Minister must be sanguine indeed if he supposed that the answer which he gave earlier in the evening would give satisfaction to hon. Gentlemen who sat on the Opposite side of the House. If that answer meant anything at all, it was a flat refusal to do anything for the purpose of giving effect to the Resolution of Friday night. He gathered from the action of the Government that they were going back to their old practice of deliberately ignoring declared Resolutions of the House of Commons. Last year they ignored the Resolution on the importation of foreign cattle, and this

year they were evidently prepared to take a similar course with reference to the Motion on local taxation. He did not hesitate to say that the Franchise Bill was nothing whatever to hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House. He was opposed to the measure under the circumstances in which it had been introduced; and so long as the Government were careful to conceal the whole of their scheme, he believed the Conservative Party in general would oppose it. He did not understand that the way to offer an effective opposition to the Bill was to give unusual facilities for passing it through the House. Considering the course which the Front Opposition Bench had taken, however, he was not prepared to oppose the concession asked for by the Government. He should leave the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) to make his own terms with the Government with reference to the local taxation Motion; but he thought the time had come when the House should have a distinct assurance from the Government as to the course which they proposed to take with respect to the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill. He hoped the Prime Minister would assure the House that after the second reading of the Franchise Bill he would take the Committee stage of the Cattle Bill, and proceed with it without interruption until that stage was concluded. Unless he received that assurance, he should join his hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire in offering further opposition to the arrangements of the Government.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he could not concur in the remark which had fallen from the two hon. Gentlemen who had just spoken, that the responsibility of dealing with the questions referred to now rested with Her Majesty's Government. On the contrary, it appeared to him that the responsibility rested with the Leaders of the Opposition. The House arrived on Friday at a certain decision, and there was a difference of opinion between the Government and the Leaders of the Opposition as to what that decision meant. Members on the Opposition side asserted that it meant something; Her Majesty's Ministers thought it meant nothing; and, more than that, the Prime Minister, stating that the Resolution meant no-



thing, challenged the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) to invite an expression of opinion by the House on the subject. Under these circumstances, a private Member of the Conservative Party having, as had been done before, gained a victory over the Government for the Opposition, he had a perfect right to call on the Leaders of the Opposition, now that the battle had been fought, to come to his assistance, take up the challenge thrown down by the Prime Minister, and at once place on the Table of the House a Resolution expressing the dissatisfaction, or, if they liked, the Censure of the House on Her Majesty's Government for not having taken immediate steps to carry out the Resolution of the House. If the Leader of the Opposition would take that course, it would be absolutely necessary for the Government to give him facilities for bringing forward the Resolution after the challenge they had thrown out, and he would certainly assist great numbers of county Members on that and the other side of the House who were really earnest in their wishes and their anxiety to benefit the ratepayers of the country.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: My noble Friend is very adroit and agile in the positions he takes up; but this is the first time I have seen him perform the part of "bonnet" to the Government.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, that, whether the noble Lord acted the part of "bonnet" of the Government or not, he had no doubt that the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) was quite right in saying that the entire Conservative Party was opposed to the Franchise Bill. He had risen, not to interfere with the discussion on that Bill, but to endeavour to lead to something which would expedite its progress. On the first reading of the Bill they had an excellent speech from the Prime Minister, going into full details in regard to all the matters of the Bill, and upon the second reading they had another speech from the noble Lord the Minister for War; but since then they had suffered greatly from the obstructive loquacity of past and present officials and ex-Cabinet Ministers. On Thursday the debate lasted about six hours, and four of those hours were taken up by past and present officials and ex-Cabinet Ministers, and yesterday not one English Member

who did not belong to either of those classes had an opportunity of addressing the House. He had listened with great pleasure to the speeches of right hon. Gentlemen; but a minor official of the Government ought on no question to indulge in the luxury of an opinion. They knew perfectly well what his opinion was before he got up—that he would accept any Bill brought in by the Government, otherwise he would not be on that Bench. With respect to these minor officials of the Government, and also ex-Cabinet Ministers, their speeches, he was bound to say, were somewhat lengthy. They caught the Speaker's eye, and they did not seem able to resume their places. He had made a calculation, and their speeches on an average had been above one hour. Now, considering the short period that they existed, he might almost say, in this world, but considering the very few hours they existed in that House, because they all went away to dinner, and there were only four or five hours during which the debate assumed a practical form on any evening, he did think that if this were to be continued the debate would go on for some interminable period. So far as he was concerned, he believed that the nation had issued its mandate—"No, no!"—and the best thing they could do was to accept the Bill, and vote for it without saying a single word. ["Oh!"] If that was not the view taken by the House, and if the system which had prevailed up to the present time were to continue, they should not be able to enjoy that Easter holiday which they all anticipated with so much pleasure. The country did not care sixpence whether they had an Easter holiday or not. Whether they passed the second reading this week or next was a thing which concerned Members themselves, and not the country.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR observed, that he could speak on this subject with perfect impartiality, because in the course of this debate on the Reform Bill he had no intention of intervening. He was told by those of more Parliamentary experience than himself that there was a time when it was not the unwritten rule of the House that the Speaker should invariably call on a Member of the Front Benches when he got up. If that was so once, it was so no longer. Under these circumstances, the Front

Benches were strong; but, though strong, they were not merciful in the exercise of their power. He had been informed that they had not, in this debate on the Franchise Bill, even allowed unfortunate private Members the hours from 8 to 10—those hours sacred to humble mediocrity and budding genius, during which the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, as he told the House last night, was always in the habit of retiring for refreshment—they had not allowed private Members the undisturbed enjoyment even of those hours in which they might meekly express their opinion. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had put his finger on the difficulty. It was not that too many Gentlemen on the Front Benches spoke, but that they spoke too long. He could not believe that anyone could not express his opinion on so well worn a subject as the Reform Bill in less than 90 minutes. And yet any Gentleman of the rank of a Privy Councillor seemed to think that the House and the country at large would feel aggrieved if he compressed his speech within shorter limits.

MR. ONSLOW said, he felt this grievance very much indeed. This was now the fourth night of the debate on the second reading, and five right hon. Gentlemen on the Bench below him, four right hon. Gentlemen on the opposite Bench, and three right hon. Gentlemen, "corner-men," had spoken—[*Cries of "Refugees!"*—the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), and the right hon. Member for Montrose (Mr. Baxter). And he was informed that the right hon. Gentlemen—also "corner-men"—the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) and the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) were going to speak. In such a case, if they were to have such long and interminable speeches as the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) made last night, there was no chance of independent Members saying anything. The two Front Benches seemed to have come to the conclusion that they would not speak during the dinner hour; and, as a consequence, they spoke from 6 to 8 and from 10 to 12. Accordingly, private Members had only the hours between 8 and 10. He knew there was a practice on the part of private Mem-

bers of going to the Speaker in order to be called on at a particular time. Personally he had always objected to that practice. He had never gone, and never would go, to the Speaker to ask to be called on, because it would be unfair to private Members that he should have that advantage by quietly whispering into the ear of the Speaker. He would, therefore, suggest that they should have a Morning Sitting on Friday—[“No, no!”]—only in order that the two Front Benches might be allowed to talk and to exhaust themselves, so that private Members who took a deep interest in the question might have an opportunity of addressing the House.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY wished to call attention to a question which concerned himself and his Friends. He had secured Friday for the discussion of a Motion of extreme importance, and about which he saw Notice of a Question upon the Paper to-day by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). He would like, therefore, an assurance from the Government that if there was a Morning Sitting on Friday, their position with regard to this Motion would not be damaged. He thought that considering the number of Members who sat near him who were interested in the question, he was entitled to some consideration in this matter, as it was a subject which affected all parts of Ireland.

MR. GORST asked whether the Prime Minister approved the growing disposition of right hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Front Benches to monopolize so much of the time of the House? They all listened with pleasure to the right hon. Gentleman himself, and to the Leader of the Opposition, and no one objected to their occupying a very considerable portion of the time of the House. The complaint was that the Colleagues of those two right hon. Gentlemen occupied too much time. He admitted that their Colleagues were extremely eloquent; but in the present debate the House wanted richness and variety. In the orations delivered from the Front Benches they missed the element of variety. No one on the Front Ministerial Bench dared differ from the Prime Minister, nor did anyone on the Front Opposition Bench dare differ from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon. The Colleagues



of the Leaders of the two Parties were not free to think for themselves. They were accustomed to accept the opinions that came from their Leaders. Of course, they were quite right to hold those opinions; but having heard them once from the mouth of the Prime Minister and the right hon. Member for North Devon, the House did not care to hear them any more. He wanted to know also whether the Members of the Government would pay attention to the debate on the Franchise Bill supposing that the Notices of Motion were postponed? On Monday night between 9 and 10 o'clock, when one of the most important speeches yet delivered—namely, that of the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell)—was made—the only speech yet delivered from a purely Irish standpoint—the Treasury Bench was almost empty. During part of the speech one of the Lords of the Treasury was present, and during another part the First Commissioner of Works was in the House. No other Members of the Government, he believed, heard any part of the speech. He wished to know whether the Government would pay more attention to the subject that evening?

MR. GLADSTONE: With regard, Sir, to the Question put to me by the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), all I have to say is that I take my stand on the Resolution of last year, and that I do not find that that Resolution has been reversed or set aside by the terms of the Resolution of the present year. With respect to the subject raised by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), all I need say is that he is aware that we have made some efforts to push forward the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, and that we have found a disposition to occupy a much larger share of time with discussion on that Bill than was anticipated when the subject was first brought to the attention of the House. Nevertheless, I am very desirous to do all that I can in this matter; but it is impossible to undertake to give a continuous progress to that Bill to the detriment of all others. But if the House should be disposed to take a Morning Sitting on Tuesday, the day after our first meeting after the Recess—presuming that the House meets on the 23rd—we should be ready to devote it to the

consideration of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill. We are very desirous that the judgment of the House should be given upon the proposals before it with respect to that measure. Coming now to the speeches of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), who has just sat down, and of other Members, I find that they are attacks more or less severe upon official and ex-official Members of the House, and upon minor Members of the Government. As regards minor Members of the Government, I cannot help saying that the state of things which has been brought about is worthy of note. I think it is most desirable that Members of this House individually should know to what degree the character and credit of the House are at present being staked—and I am afraid not being staked under favourable circumstances—by the alteration in the habits of Business. When I first entered Parliament—I think I can support what I say from memory—it was the desire and pleasure, and I may even say the delight, of the House, that minor Members of the Government, as they are called; that is to say, the young men who have been chosen for their merit in early life and who represent the future Ministers and statesmen of the country—[*Cries of "No!"*—well, to a great extent; do not suppose that I mean exclusively—that they should have considerable opportunities given to them of speaking in general debate, and not only in discussions on subjects connected with their particular offices. Well, I may say that now there is nothing so rare as for any of these minor Members of the Government—I do not speak of the present Government alone, for the same thing, I suppose, applied to the late Government—to find an opportunity for opening their mouths at all. Whoever are responsible for the delay of Business, assuredly they are not the minor Members of the Government. As regards ex-official Gentlemen, they naturally divide themselves into classes. I must honestly say, in the first place, that there is no man who is less responsible for the unnecessary length of speeches, or for the difficulties in which we stand, than the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote). I must make that confession. It is not for me to comment on the conduct of Members on the Front Opposition



Bench; but it is for me to say a word with regard to those who sit upon this Bench. I must point out that those who are in Office are in this difficulty—that while occasionally they are criticized for excessive speaking, they are also exceedingly liable to be criticized for insufficient speaking; and sharper and fiercer attacks are made upon them in cases in which it is thought that they ought to have spoken when they have not done so. Well, four Members of the Government have as yet spoken in this debate; and all I can say is, that while we shall remember what has been said to-night, I presume that to-night's debate is not to be allowed to pass without some official speech. But we shall endeavour to confine ourselves within limits; and if it be my duty, as it may be, to take part in the debate when it closes, I shall not dismiss from my memory what has now been said. As to other official Members—Members who are not absolutely involved in the responsibility of either Front Bench—they must really defend themselves. They are generally men of very great ability, and none are more competent to defend themselves. As we are making these remarks in a good-humoured way, I must frankly own that I am not quite sure of the wisdom of the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down in drawing attention to this subject. Generally, a man is judged by reference to his friends, and Parties and combinations of men are supposed, in some degree, to base their title to occupy the time of the House upon the importance which is attached to them. Those who sit near the hon. and learned Gentleman will, I am afraid, be found in a predicament from which it will require all their ingenuity to extricate themselves, if a severely critical and numerical test is applied to this part of our proceedings—a test which sometimes brings to light awkward facts. I hope we shall endeavour to reduce our official speeches to a minimum. As far as the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell) was concerned, my right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works assures me that he was present during the greater part of the speech; my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General was also here; and the hon. and learned Gentleman himself confesses to the presence of a Lord of the Treasury. With respect to the ques-

tion of Friday, I have been asked no Question upon the subject at a time when I could have considered the matter. But I do not see why I should attempt to bind the discretion of the House. We have no intention at present of asking for a Morning Sitting on Friday; but I cannot tell what the desire of the House may be. The desire of the House is certainly to have a Division on this Bill not later than Monday next. I do not wish to bind the discretion of the House; but if it should happen that a necessity arose, and that a Morning Sitting was voted by the House on Friday, we should think it a matter of justice to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Longford (Mr. Justice M'Carthy), and those who support him, that we should take care to secure for him a House, so that he can bring forward the important subject of which he has given Notice.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he rose to complain of the serious and unprecedented outrage committed on Tuesday last, when the Government, having taken the day for a Morning Sitting, arranged that it should be counted out, when, at the resumption of the Sitting, he rose to call attention to the affairs of Madagascar. Forty of his Friends were good enough to come down to make a House for him, and there were altogether 44 Members present, but four of his Friends subsequently were obliged to leave. The Government Whips were active in preventing Members from coming into the House, and then, when an unsuccessful attempt had been made to count out the House, they, like the Serpent in the history of the Fall, instilled poison into the ears of several hon. Members, and induced them to leave the House in order that the second attempt to count out the House might succeed. That attempt was made, he was sorry to say, by the hon. Member the Colleague of the Home Secretary in the representation of Derby, and thus a question which the Government did not dare to face fell to the ground. This he could not but describe as an unprecedented outrage, and he appealed to the Prime Minister to secure him facilities for bringing forward his Motion, which he had put down again for to-night.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: As I was present—

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: No, Sir. You came in late.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I was present during the second "Count." I was not present at the first "Count." I was present during the hon. Member's speech.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: No.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Yes, during 15 minutes of the speech.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: No.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that if the House had been in the exact condition described by the hon. Member it could not have been counted. He said there were 44 Conservatives present.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I did not say so. I said 44 Members were present, and that four of them sat on the Ministerial side.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that in that case the hon. Member had 40 of his own Friends present. If even the hon. Member with his Friends only counted 40, he was at a loss to see how there could be a "Count out." He (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was certainly present himself, there was Mr. Speaker in the Chair, and the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs was on the Treasury Bench, so there must have been, according to the hon. Member's own showing, not less than 43 Members in the House. As far as his recollection was concerned, at the time when the House was counted out, there were only 30 Members on the Conservative Benches and four on the Liberal side of the House. He saw no action on the part of the Government Whips which would justify the charges which the hon. Member had made against them. He was very sorry that the hon. Member had brought this subject forward, because hitherto he had always looked upon the hon. Member as a public benefactor. The officials of the House were much overworked, and he thought the hon. Member had done good service in bringing forward Motions on Tuesday evenings, because he thus secured a "Count," and the officials and overtaxed Members were able to be released. This had happened on several occasions last Session as well as on that day week; but he was sorry the hon. Member now appeared to be ashamed of the holiday he had thus given the officials. It had always been considered that if, on Tuesdays, less than 40 Members were present in the House, it was *prima facie* evidence that the subject

under discussion was not of sufficient importance or interest for keeping a House.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he desired to traverse the theory laid down by the President of the Local Government Board to the effect that when 40 Members did not assemble to hear a discussion it was of no interest or importance. There might be a very great number of Motions which if they once could be got before the House would interest not 40, but 400 Members, although before such Motions were brought forward they might not interest 10 Members. He thought that, in the circumstances of the present time, the Government were bound to keep a House on Tuesdays for the benefit of private Members.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the noble Marquess if he would afford him an opportunity for bringing on the Motion standing in his name in reference to the New Education Code? The Code lying on the Table would come into operation on Thursday. Therefore, that was the last occasion when it could be called in question. He was willing either to go to a vote without argument on his Motion at once, or else to withdraw his Motion on the understanding that the Vice President of the Council would withdraw the Code till after Easter; if neither of those courses were convenient to the Government, he must ask the Leader of the House to arrange for the adjournment of the Reform Bill debate in time for him to bring on his Motion that night.

MR. MUNDELLA said, with respect to the form of the hon. Member's Notice, he understood it was contrary to the Rules of the House that one or two clauses of the Resolution should be put. The hon. Member proposed an Address to the Crown to increase the expenditure of the annual grant for elementary education. The proposal of the hon. Member, if agreed to, would enormously increase the annual grant, so that that part of the Resolution could not be put. With respect to the first two propositions, the Department had already done all that the hon. Member required. These matters were provided for in the Code.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT observed, that inasmuch as the Deputy Speaker had been suffering very much,



it would not be right to keep him in the Chair beyond a certain hour. He hoped, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman would allow the debate on the Franchise Bill to be adjourned at an early hour, so as to permit the very important Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton) with regard to the Education Code to come on at a reasonable hour. He was surprised—but, really, nothing surprised him now—to hear from the Vice President's own lips that long as he (the Vice President) had been in the House he knew nothing with regard to the Rules of the House in respect of Public Business. That was shown from what the right hon. Gentleman had said in reference to the Orders of the Day at Tuesday Sittings.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, he would remind the Vice President of the Council that, although the Education Code had been lying on the Table of the House for a long time, hitherto no opportunity had presented itself for discussing it. This was the last chance hon. Members had of proposing Amendments in it. As a matter of political fairness his hon. Friend should have an opportunity of bringing forward his Motion.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he was afraid there was no alternative but to discuss the Motion of the hon. Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton) after the adjournment of the debate on the Franchise Bill to-night. The suggestion that they should divide upon it now was impossible. The question before the House was the Motion of his right hon. Friend for the postponement of the Notices of Motion and the Orders of the Day, and it would be impossible to make an exception in favour of the Motion of the hon. Member to the prejudice of the Motions of other hon. Members. He understood that the New Code had been on the Table for a month, and it could hardly be said that there had been no opportunity of discussing it. Under the circumstances, there was no alternative but to discuss the matter to-night after the debate on the Franchise Bill had been adjourned, and it might be hoped that the discussion would not take very long.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked at what hour it was proposed to adjourn the debate upon the Franchise Bill?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON : As soon after 12 o'clock as possible.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON said, he understood that the Education Code would become law to-morrow; and if the consideration of the question was to come on after 12 o'clock, he should like to ask the noble Lord at what time to-morrow it became law?

MR. MUNDELLA said, that the Code would not become law until the 3rd of April.

MR. J. LOWTHER asked whether the Vice President of the Council would, in the circumstances, undertake to withdraw the Code, in order that it might come on again at a time when it could be properly discussed?

MR. MUNDELLA said, he had no power to withdraw the Code.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he must deny that absolutely. The right hon. Gentleman had perfect power to make a Motion to that effect.

MR. RITCHIE said, that, in his opinion, it would be an act of cruelty to the Deputy Speaker, in his present state of health, to keep the Franchise debate up until after 12 o'clock, because the question of his hon. Friend the Member for North Shropshire would occupy at least an hour or two, in consequence of which the Deputy Speaker would be detained in the House until 2 o'clock in the morning, or perhaps later.

MR. HICKS rose to a point of Order. He desired to know whether an Amendment could be moved to the Motion of the Prime Minister to the effect that the Motions on the Paper should be postponed till after the Orders of the Day up to 11 o'clock?

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): The hon. Member has put a Question to me on a point of Order. He asks me whether the Resolution can be so altered as to fix the adjournment of the debate at 11 o'clock? That would be putting a limit to the power of debate in this House, and consequently it would not be in Order.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I wish to know, Sir, whether, looking at all the circumstances of the case and the time that is occupied in discussing this matter, it would not be well to undertake to adjourn the debate about 11 o'clock in order to give the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stanley Leighton) an opportunity of bringing forward the great



social question, with regard to which the Members of the House generally have feelings of strong interest.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the Government wished to do what was most agreeable to the House in this matter; but he must point out that it was not altogether the fault of the Government, because the Code had been upon the Table of the House for many days, during any one of which the matter might have been discussed. He only rose, however, to say that if it was the wish of the House that the debate should be adjourned about 11 o'clock, the Government would offer no objection to such a course.

Question put, and agreed to.

#### LOCAL TAXATION (RESOLUTION OF 28TH MARCH).

##### NOTICE OF MOTION AND QUESTION.

Mr. PELL gave Notice that on the earliest opportunity he would move—

“That this House regrets that Her Majesty’s Government are not prepared to take immediate steps to carry into effect the Resolution on Local Taxation agreed to by this House on Friday, March 28th last.”

He also gave further Notice that he would, on Thursday next, April 3rd, ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will afford facilities for the consideration of the Motion relating to the Resolution of this House of the 28th March on the subject of Local Taxation, of which Notice has been given.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

#### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—[BILL 119.]

(Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.)

#### SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [FOURTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [24th March], “That the Bill be now read a second time.”

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “this House declines to proceed further with a measure, having for its object the addition of two million voters to the electoral body of the United Kingdom, until it has before it the

entire scheme contemplated by the Government for the amendment of the Representation of the People,”—(Lord John Manners,)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

Debate resumed.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH : Sir, the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), in the course of the conversation which has taken place this evening, expressed his opinion that the country had given to this House a mandate to pass this Bill. If that be so, it is all the more remarkable that the interest which appears to be taken in the measure, both in the House and the country, should be so slight when compared with the importance of the proposal, which, at any rate, is the first step in what has been described by the Chancellor of the Exchequer as the most momentous change in our legislative system since 1689. I do not attempt to deny that meetings may have been held, and Petitions presented to this House, in favour of this Bill by some of those whom it is proposed to enfranchise; but I do venture to say that there is an absence of that spontaneous enthusiasm in favour of this measure on the part of the classes whom it principally affects which is very remarkable when we remember how enthusiastic these very classes can be in regard to measures of very much less permanent importance. I should like to know what is the reason of this. Perhaps the people are wiser than formerly, and no longer believe that the grant of the vote is an infallible remedy for all political and social evils. Or it may be that some of the most ardent supporters of this Bill are rather disappointed at finding that the owners of property are only to be swamped in the future, instead of being wholly disfranchised. But I believe the main reason for the languid interest in this measure to be, that there is in the country, and perhaps in this House, a very general suspicion that even Her Majesty’s Government, who are its authors, have no real expectation that it will pass into law, and that, in fact, it is not a *bona fide* measure of Reform intended to settle the great question of the representation of the people. I think hon. Members opposite have hardly done justice to

Mr. W. H. Smith

the view with which we have hitherto opposed it. I do not suppose that anyone ever considered the county franchise to be finally settled by the Reform Act of 1867. I do not suppose anyone ever imagined that the artisans outside towns and the great majority of the agricultural labourers would be permanently excluded from the possession of the vote. What I understand to be the desire of those who are promoting this measure is that persons who, if they resided within the limits of a borough, would be entitled under the present system to the Parliamentary franchise shall have it notwithstanding the fact that they reside in a county. I do not at all see that there is any difference in the circumstances of the artisans who live outside boroughs and the artisans who live inside boroughs that could make the former less qualified for the vote than the latter. Then I come to the agricultural population. Now, I am bound to say that I have a somewhat better opinion of the agricultural population than some of their professed advocates. I listened with surprise to the First Commissioner of Works last night when he told the House that the condition of the agricultural labourers in the South and the West of England had gone backwards, that the best of them had gone to the towns, and that what was left in the country was the refuse population.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I did not say so.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I took down the words. I know the right hon. Gentleman did not originate the word himself, but he quoted it from a writer whom he named.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I never used the word "refuse."

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I will not discuss whether the word was residuum or refuse, but it means the same thing. I claim that I know at least as much of the agricultural labourers in the South and West of England as the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works. I believe that their condition has very materially improved within the last 20 years. No doubt, many of the labourers have gone to the towns, and thus have enabled those who were left behind to obtain higher wages than they otherwise would have obtained. I am not prepared to say that the agricultural labourer

in England is not fitted for the vote; but I am surprised that, after the opinion which the right hon. Gentleman has expressed of that part of the population, he should be among the promoters of the measure now before the House. The point at issue seems to me to be this. There is a general desire that these persons should possess the franchise; but I do not see why it should be taken for granted that the only way of giving them the franchise is by making them county voters. I believe it would have been perfectly possible, if the Government had approached the question from that point of view, by a general extension of the boundaries of boroughs and by the creation of new boroughs to fill up the spaces between to confer the franchise as borough voters upon all the persons who would be enfranchised by the Bill, and yet to retain a separate county representation, although that representation would, of course, be less numerous than at present. I do not see why, in order to give the franchise conferred by this Bill, you are absolutely to destroy the system of county representation as it exists in England, or why you are completely to swamp the classes who now compose the county constituencies by the influx of hundreds of thousands of voters, who are of the same class as those who control the representation in the borough constituencies. It is not an argument to say that because the gift of the franchise to the labouring classes in the borough constituencies has done no harm, therefore a measure which alters the whole system of Parliamentary representation so as to base it upon numbers alone will do no harm to the country. There are many who have considered this question from this point of view. I am glad to be able to refer to two authorities of no slight importance in favour of this opinion. Lord Derby, who is now responsible for this Bill, in speaking on another Reform Bill, stated that it was the duty of this House to see that no class was excluded or preferred over the rest; but by the provisions of this Bill as it stands, without any scheme for the representation of minorities, either through proportional representation, or redistribution of seats, that will be the result. In 1878 a right hon. Gentleman who exercises great authority in this House, the

[Fourth Night.]

right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), used these words—

“If these additional numbers were to be admitted into the Constitution, he trusted that such measures might be accompanied by safeguards, which would secure that other classes besides the most numerous might be represented in the House of Commons.”—(3 *Hansard*, [238] 237.)

I believe the right hon. Gentleman is now a supporter of the Bill. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman could confer a greater service on his country than by suggesting to Parliament a scheme to carry out the views expressed in the sentence I have just read. It is a well-known fact that there has been a considerable movement, not confined to hon. Gentlemen sitting on one side of the House, among persons who desire to see a scheme of proportional or minority representation introduced. What does that mean? It means that hon. Gentlemen feel that unless certain “safeguards” are provided the existing constituencies will be absolutely swamped by this Bill, and that something must be substituted for the existing system if you are to secure that the classes represented by that system shall have their voices heard in the House of Commons. It has been said that my noble Friend (Lord John Manners) is trying to defeat the Bill on a side issue, but the Amendment expresses the full difference between us and the Government in approaching this question. It is all very well to give votes to those who do not possess the franchise. But you have no right to forget the claims of those who possess the franchise now. You are bound to take some measures to secure that the classes who are best educated, the most cultivated, who pay the whole of the direct taxation, shall have some means of being heard in Parliament. No measure will be a fair and just settlement of the great question of Reform which does not take this matter into consideration. It may, no doubt, be said that wealth and education will always secure influence. But we have been for some time devoting ourselves to limiting the improper exercise of the influence of wealth and education upon elections, and if you do not provide means for its direct and legitimate exercise on Parliament through Representatives who can speak on behalf of the classes who possess it, there is great danger that we may have in this coun-

try corruption similar to that which has disgraced the Legislatures of other countries. If not, we may have instead the greatest tyranny we have ever experienced—namely, the government by a power against which there is no appeal. When political power was vested in the aristocracy, its abuse was restrained by the fact that the ultimate physical power rested with the mass of the people. But when political power is given to those with whom physical power rests, you have the absolute certainty that the minority will be placed in a position in which they can have no possible appeal against the decision of the majority. If there has been in years past any reason for the institution of some means by which the voice of the minority may be heard in this House, I am convinced that under the franchise which will be established by this Bill that necessity will be doubled or quadrupled in the future. I shall be told that the Prime Minister has said that minority representation and different modes of voting ought to receive the full and impartial consideration of Parliament. But the right hon. Gentleman also stated that he was not himself in favour of anything of the kind. How much impartial consideration would such safeguards receive from the President of the Board of Trade and those who agree with him? That right hon. Gentleman referred to the minority vote as absurd, ridiculous, and irritating, and as having stifled the voice of the constituency which he represents. I cannot understand how those who are in favour of minority representation can support this Bill without the least hope that any proposals of that kind will be acceded to. But something of that sort is absolutely essential to a just settlement; and, therefore, we ask the Government, in proposing this measure, to tell us at the same time how they propose in future to distribute political power, and how they propose that those who at present enjoy political power shall not in future be absolutely deprived of their rights. If some system of the representation of minorities is important here, it is doubly important in Ireland. I am quite sensible of the strong arguments in favour of giving to Ireland the same franchise which you are conferring upon Great Britain. There is great force in the contention that you ought not to

*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*



leave ranking in the minds of the Irish people anything which they could legitimately consider to be a political grievance; and it is well that the representation of Ireland should be a reality. The President of the Board of Trade, in addressing his constituents, said that if it were not for the violence of the Ulster Orangemen, Ireland would be perfectly tranquil. If that statement was true, the Government ought to repeal the Peace Preservation Act. But I believe it to be a fact that the tranquillity of Ireland is mainly, if not entirely, due to the provisions of the Peace Preservation Act. It is not the case, as stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), that the question to be considered by the Government is merely the fact that a few individuals commit crime. The great difficulty in dealing with Ireland is the fact that the general sympathy is with those individuals who commit crime, because in committing crime they oppose themselves to the Law and Government of the country, and that general sympathy is due to the unfortunate circumstance that a considerable majority of the Irish people are disloyal to the connection between the two Kingdoms. The position is that you are offering political privileges to a people whom you can only govern by the most stringent powers which have ever been conferred on an Irish Government in our time. You are offering this popular franchise to a country where you have frequently to put down political meetings lest they should turn into something like civil war. It seems to me that nothing can be more serious than such a state of affairs. The President of the Board of Trade said that a Franchise Bill must be brought in this year, and that Ireland must be included in it; for if it were postponed to 1885 the question of Reform for Ireland would get mixed up with the renewal of the Peace Preservation Acts in that year; and the right hon. Gentleman was sensible of the palpable absurdity of offering a Franchise Bill with one hand and a renewal of the Peace Preservation Acts with the other. Surely the proposals of the Government are not less incongruous when they are compelled to maintain these Acts. Have the Government really pictured to themselves the position in which the passing of the Bill may place them in regard to

the Irish representation? Addressing a meeting in the winter, the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War said there were many in this country, who were not confined to the Conservative Party, who would view with considerable dislike and apprehension any measure likely to increase the number or the power of the Irreconcilable Party in Parliament. I listened with great attention to the speech of the noble Lord the other evening, and it occurred to me that the noble Lord was by no means satisfied in his own mind that this would not be the result of the measure before the House. All he said was that the measure, by increasing the size of Irish constituencies, might make them less amenable to the influence of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). If it be so, I am afraid it will only be because the new electors will be disposed to prefer someone more violent and more hostile to England than even that hon. Member, and that surely is not a result which can be looked upon with satisfaction by any Member of the Government. The noble Lord said that the real representation of the loyal minority in Ireland was to be found in the Members from England and Scotland. I am afraid the loyal minority in Ireland would hardly accept that view, and I do not know why they should. If there be any force in the argument of the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), that the number of Members for London need not be increased on account of the influence of its Press, there must be force in the argument we used to hear so much of, that indirect representation was the same as the gift of a vote; but that argument would strike at the root of this Bill, for it might be argued that the agricultural labourers and the artisans were indirectly represented already by the Members of this House. I was surprised at the assumption of the First Commissioner of Works last night that the loyal minority of Ireland would be represented, because the Protestants amounted to 60 per cent of the inhabitants of Ulster.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I said 60 per cent of the population of Ulster, minus the three counties in which the Catholic population are a large majority.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: And, therefore, he considered that this

[Fourth Night.]

loyal minority would be able to control the representation of the whole of Ulster except these three counties, and to secure as large a proportion of the total Irish representation as it would be fairly entitled to by its numbers. If the right hon. Gentleman had carried his statistical research a little further, he would have found that this Protestant population is by no means divided among these counties in the way he supposes. He would have found that by far the greater proportion of it is situated in Antrim and Down and in the large town of Belfast; and I venture to say that any hon. Member acquainted with Ireland who will openly speak his mind on this matter, whatever his political opinions may be, will be pretty certain to come to this conclusion—that if this Bill should become law without any further redistribution than appears to be contemplated by the speech of the Prime Minister, the result would be that the loyal minority of Ireland would be represented by no more than eight or nine Members, including the Members for the University of Dublin, whereas the Party the Secretary of State for War has called the Irreconcilable Party would practically sweep the rest of the Irish representation. Is that a state of affairs that the Government can contemplate with possible satisfaction? If that be so, they will find themselves face to face with a very large proportion of Irish Members, so large as almost to amount to the whole body of Irish Members, whose first demand will be either for a separation of Ireland from this country or for some measure of Home Rule which will be tantamount to it. I will not suggest that the Government could ever in their own minds think of agreeing to such a demand or of supporting designs which they have condemned in the strongest language in and out of the House. I would suppose rather that they would oppose to such a demand as resolute a front as they have hitherto opposed to it; but what would their position be? Their strength would lie simply in the force of Great Britain as against nearly the whole representation of Ireland. Is it a statesmanlike proposal to give to the people of Ireland this popular franchise, and then to turn round on them on the first demand they will probably make and say—"We refuse it by the

strength of the Representatives whom Great Britain sends to the House of Commons?" I may be told that these anticipations are exaggerated; but I have made some inquiries from those who ought to know, and I do not believe that they are exaggerated at all. I believe that unless you make some provision for the representation of the loyal Irish minority, it will be swamped in the manner I have described. This is the strongest reason of all why we should demand, not merely on behalf of Great Britain, but mainly on behalf of Ireland, that the redistribution of seats which will be necessary should be considered by Parliament at the same time as the Franchise Bill, and before it comes into operation. Why cannot we have this scheme of redistribution? The President of the Board of Trade thought he had given a triumphant answer the other night when he said there was no sufficient scheme of redistribution attached to the Reform Act of 1867. But the scheme of redistribution attached to that Act was considered by Parliament sufficient at the time, and it was as much as Parliament would then pass or public opinion would sanction. The Government of the day laid it frankly before the House; and all we ask now is that, having in view the altered circumstances of the case and the necessity which will exist for a much larger scheme under the proposals now before the House, that you should do what the Government did in 1867, and place your proposals fairly before Parliament. Another objection to that course has been based on the alleged want of time. The Prime Minister has constantly spoken of the delays to which the discussion of the measure has been subjected already, and the impossibility of passing a whole measure of Reform in a single Session. I believe the second reading of the Reform Bill of 1866 was taken at a later date of the Session than the second reading of this Bill. If the Government make up their minds to deal with this great question of the reform of the representation of the people, surely they ought to go so far as to recognize that it must necessarily demand the whole attention of Parliament, and they ought to put aside all those other measures which they are attempting to push through Parliament at the same time.

If they will not do it, I think they are hardly showing much appreciation of the importance of their own proposals. But it seems to me that neither the question of time, nor any other reason of that sort, is the real reason why we are not favoured with any scheme of redistribution. The real reason is that Her Majesty's Government cannot agree among themselves as to what it is to be. Certain suggestions of a personal and rather evanescent character were made by the Prime Minister; but the principal of them, including the idea that Ireland should retain its present number of Representatives, were subsequently repudiated by Ministerial speakers, including such staunch supporters as the right hon. Members for Montrose and Bradford, and those suggestions practically disappeared with the speech of the Secretary for War. We have absolutely nothing now before us as to the redistribution which may follow this measure, except it be the most contradictory opinions on the part of the Members of the Government who have spoken. The Secretary for War said that if he believed any attempt was to be made to introduce a uniform system, such as equal electoral districts, he would not be prepared to support such a Bill. That, of course, is his opinion now; but I am afraid events may induce him to qualify it in the improbable event of Her Majesty's Government having to bring in a redistribution measure. I can remember the time when the noble Lord was an opponent of the Ballot, and how, when the Ballot was brought within the range of practical politics, he was converted to it through the agency of a Select Committee. I recollect how in the last Parliament he supported the continuance of flogging in the Army. When, however, the Leadership of the noble Lord was repudiated by the President of the Board of Trade, he changed his mind with reference to flogging in the Army. The noble Lord, I think, was two years in Opposition before he brought himself to support the proposal for the extension of household suffrage to the counties; and now he is responsible for the measure which is on the Table of the House. I am afraid that the noble Lord in this matter is too likely to be guided by others. The President of the Board of Trade is well known to be in favour of equal electoral districts, although he

may be content to wait for the application of that principle. I think those who were the prime movers of the Leeds Conference, where this Bill really originated, will have something to say upon this subject before long to the noble Lord, not merely with power, but with some force of argument. The principle on which this Bill is based, I take it, is that the householder in the county is as good as the householder in towns. If that is so, why is he not entitled to so large a share of political power as you give to his neighbours in the towns? If you say that an equal value should be given to every vote, what does that mean but equal electoral districts? The First Commissioner of Works told us the other night that if we objected to such a public scandal as the holding of an Election under so chaotic and unjust an electoral system as would be afforded by the passing of this Bill into law before any redistribution of seats took place, all we have to do is to keep the Government in Office until they have passed a Redistribution Bill. In effect, that is to say that we are not to call the Government into account for any blunders or mistakes they may make in the administration of the country; that they are to be allowed to fix their own time for Dissolution, and the reward we are to have is such a Redistribution Bill as it would suit them to pass into law. Such a proposal as that seems to me to show that the Government are driven to the last shifts of argument in this matter. I believe they have no confidence in any fresh constituencies that might be created by any fair, equitable, and complete scheme for the representation of the people. But they think they may possibly have some chance in an appeal to constituencies which will be the creation of accident, and which nobody can possibly pretend should be permanent depositories of political power. The President of the Board of Trade challenged, I think, the House of Lords to throw out this Bill some little time before the Government made any formal announcement that it was their intention to introduce it. I believe no Member of the Conservative Party would for a moment shrink from the challenge which the right hon. Gentleman gave the other night; but I am sure of this, that when the issue is really decided between the two great political



Parties of the country—and I hope that time will not be long delayed—it will be decided not merely on this visionary and incomplete scheme, but on all the blunders and all the failures and all the broken pledges which have characterized the official career of Her Majesty's present Government.

MR. ALBERT GREY said, he thought that the speech of the right hon. Baronet who had just sat down, although it contained much invective of the Government, was not altogether without hope for Reformers. He hardly thought it worthy of the right hon. Baronet to say that a Government, which had been placed in power in order to deal with Reform, had been guilty of an "electioneering dodge" in introducing a Reform Bill. The right hon. Baronet had himself admitted that the Act of 1867 was not final, and that it was absolutely impossible that the exclusion of the county householders from the franchise should be long continued. Admitting so much, he was bound to say he could not understand the attitude of the right hon. Baronet, for, while he agreed that Reform was necessary, he was by his vote going to make it impossible that the House should even discuss Reform. Again, there was nothing in the speech of the right hon. Baronet to prove, if he and the Party who acted with him were successful in their endeavour to climb into Office, that they would not bring in the Government scheme of Reform themselves. It was true that the right hon. Baronet maintained that the extension of the franchise should be accompanied by a scheme for the redistribution of seats; but his arguments tended to show it was chiefly important that the same electorate which passed the Extension Bill should also pass the measure for redistribution. If this were his object, then he maintained that it was quite possible to insert in the Bill some provision which would give him the security he desired. As this could be done in Committee, there could be no reason why the right hon. Baronet should not give his support to the second reading of the Bill. He was glad that the right hon. Baronet had not endorsed the opinions of some of his Party, who held that the enfranchisement of the county householder was in itself an undesirable thing. In his opinion, extension was absolutely im-

perative, being demanded alike by political justice, by political expediency, and by political necessity. Some hon. Members opposite had attacked the Government because they had approached the subject from that standpoint which viewed Reform as a matter affecting the right of the individual. Well, he agreed with those hon. Members and with the President of the Board of Trade in regarding the franchise as a trust, and not as a right; but he would remind the House that it was possible to create conditions which would confer a right, where, if those conditions had not been created, no right would have existed. If they gave one man a vote because of his fitness, they could not withhold a similar privilege from another man who could show an equal fitness, without giving him a legitimate reason for complaint. Lord Cairns, in 1859, declared that all the eloquence of the Party to which he was opposed—

"Would not persuade the man living on the wrong side of the street that he was fairly dealt with in the distribution of the franchise."

Political justice required that the man should not be deprived of the privilege of a vote simply because he lived on the wrong side of the street. But even if political justice did not demand it, extension would be called for by political expediency. Our experience of the benefits that have resulted in the past from former extensions of the franchise justified the belief that the proposed enfranchisement of the county householder would bring advantage to the State. He agreed with the right hon. Baronet that the possession of a vote would not remove every political and social evil. The good which he anticipated as likely to accrue did not, in his mind, assume the shape of particular acts of State interference; for he agreed with those who held that we had more to fear than to hope for from paternal legislation in the interests of any particular class. The good which he anticipated from extension was the advantage which would be certain to result from the development of that spirit of enterprise, energy, and self-help which the bestowal of a vote was calculated to produce. There was an old maxim of the Greeks which said—

"The evils of popular government appear greater than they are; there is compensation for them in the spirit and energy it awakens."

If it was true, as some contended, that

the result of extension would be to give us a more ignorant Government, there would be compensation in the fact that the spirit and energy created by the consciousness of participation in the governing power would tend to raise and enlarge the manhood of the nation. But if extension was demanded by political justice and political expediency, it was not less loudly called for by political necessity. There were some hon. Members opposite who honestly believed that they could throw out this Bill with impunity; that there was, as the right hon. Baronet had declared, no genuine spontaneous desire for the Bill. Such was not his belief. He would counsel those hon. Members who held this opinion to go to the North of England, and consult with the Leaders of their Party as to the chances of any candidate who would boldly declare that the county householder ought not to be enfranchised. Let them consult with the hon. Baronet, the recently-elected Member for York, or with the noble Lord who had succeeded his Father in the representation of Haddingtonshire, or with Mr. Bruce, who opposed, in the Tory interest, the candidature of his hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle, and they would learn from them how impossible were the chances of any candidate who might deny that the enfranchisement of the county householder was necessary and just. He had listened with interest to the speech of the right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) last night, whose return to the House had brought, as it seemed to him, a greater accession of debating power than of statesmanship. He, for one, could not sympathize with the policy of that right hon. Gentleman, which was summed up in the words—

“ While the country is quiet, I will vote against Reform,  
When the country is noisy, I will vote for Reform.”

That was the policy of the right hon. Gentleman. It was the policy also of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). It was a policy of disorder, turbulence, and lawlessness, and one which was singularly unworthy of a Party which had constituted itself the special champion of law and order. In his opinion, it was statesmanship to anticipate a fierce demand. It was worse than a

blunder to refuse to legislate on this question when we could do so in calmness, in order that we might wait until we were driven to legislate in a panic at a time when the pulse of the country was throbbing with the fever beat of a hot excitement. He was strongly opposed to any action which might seem to deny that extension was an urgent necessity. He should, therefore, give a cordial support to the second reading of the Bill, believing the course which the noble Lord invited the House to take was dangerous, unstatesmanlike, and unwise. He would now, with the permission of the House, make a few remarks on two different points, and in doing so he would endeavour to avoid following the example so abundantly set of making a redistribution speech at the wrong time, or of repeating arguments which were already painfully familiar to the House. He wished to make a few observations, first on the character of the Bill itself, and then on the method of procedure which the Government had advised the House to adopt in dealing with Reform. First, then, as to the character of the Bill; it struck him as a great defect in the Bill that it contained no definition as to what constituted a valid claim to vote as a householder. It would be in the recollection of all who heard or read the Prime Minister's opening speech, that he divided the subject of Reform into three separate parts; that he defined the object of the first part as the fixing of the franchise; that he pointed out that this was in itself an enormous task; and that this enormous task—namely, the fixing of the right of the individual who should be entitled to a vote, was the sole aim and object of the Bill which he had introduced. It would be further in the recollection of those present, that the Prime Minister begged the House to fasten its attention on the borough franchise as it existed in England, because that borough franchise was the hinge of the whole measure, on which the whole structure depended, not only as regarded England, but as regarded Scotland, and as regarded Ireland. This being the case, the nature of the borough franchise became a matter of vital importance, and he thought that it must have been a matter of surprise to many, when they found, on obtaining a copy of the Bill, that it



contained no definition of the borough franchise, and that it was necessary for those who wished to understand what Parliament was doing in giving its consent to this measure in its present shape, to search through back Acts of Parliament and Law Reports in order to discover who was entitled to vote as a householder in an English borough. Well, he had made it his business, and many other hon. Members had probably done the same, to find out and discover what was the exact position of the law as to the borough franchise in England. Those who had done so, and who were aware how flimsy and unsatisfactory was the line of distinction between the householder and the lodger, would, he was sure, agree with him that that great *Magna Charta* which was to add 2,000,000 voters to the 3,000,000 already on the Registers, should contain something more than a reference to back Acts of Parliament and judicial decisions, and that it should be a measure self-contained and complete, clearly defining and explaining what was the nature and character of that franchise which was for the future to be the backbone of English liberties. Now this point was of great importance, for he would venture to assert that it was by no means certain that the effect of the Bill would not be to extend the franchise a great deal further than was contemplated by the House, and, by the conversion of every lodger who had the separate occupation of a single room into a householder, to establish over the United Kingdom a suffrage more closely resembling manhood suffrage than what was generally understood as household suffrage. The House would, he was sure, recognize the importance of this point, and would pardon him if he ventured to occupy a few moments of its time in referring to the exact position of the law as to the borough franchise. In order to explain the exact line of distinction between the lodger and the householder, it would be necessary for him to go back for a moment to the year 1867. As everyone was aware, up to 1867 there was no household franchise except at a value of £10, and no lodger franchise at all. The effect of the Act of 1867 was to establish, for the first time, in boroughs a simple household qualification irrespective of value

—the Prime Minister's "hinge"—and a £10 lodger franchise. But the Parliament of 1867, anxious to draw a careful distinction between the two different classes of householders and lodgers, set up three tests by which an occupier who was a householder might be distinguished from an occupier who was a lodger. Under the Act of 1867 no man could vote as a householder, who did not personally pay rates, who did not occupy what was known to the law as a dwelling house, and who did not occupy such dwelling house as a tenant and not as a lodger. These were the three tests and safeguards on which the Parliament relied, in order to distinguish the householder from the lodger. Now he would show, that in consequence of subsequent legislation, two out of the three tests and safeguards had been removed, and he would also show that the third test was a most difficult one to apply. The first of these three tests—namely, the personal payment of rates—was immediately found to be so inconvenient that the provisions enforcing it were repealed by the Poor Rate Assessment Act of 1869. That Act re-established the system of compounding, and enabled persons who had constructively paid their rates to vote. The effect of the Act was that every householder, whether he paid rates or not—assuming of course that somebody paid them—was entitled to vote. The first test which served to distinguish a lodger from a householder was thus swept away. The second mark of distinction between a lodger and a householder rested on the nature of the apartment occupied. To give a vote as a householder, the apartment must be what was known under the law as a dwelling house. The occupation of lodgings would not be sufficient. What, then, was the difference between a dwelling house as defined by the Act of 1867 and lodgings? Now, the question under what circumstances a part of a house was to be considered a house, so as to give the right of voting, had arisen under the Act of 1832, and, after numerous decisions more or less conflicting, it was laid down in 1861 by the Court of Common Pleas, that a part of a house, in the common understanding of the word, became a house in law when and only when there was actual structural severance. But the definition in the Act



of 1867 gave rise to much difference of opinion. The Court of Common Pleas was three times equally divided upon the question whether particular premises were or were not a dwelling house; whether the Interpretation Clause of the Act of 1867 did or did not extend the meaning of the word dwelling house beyond that laid down by the Court of Common Pleas in 1861, and, if it did, how far it extended it. To decide this open question, and to remove the scandal naturally created by the 'absence of any uniformity in the decisions of the Revising Barristers, the Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Act was passed in 1878, which repealed the definition in the Act of 1867, and substituted a new one in its place. The effect of this Act was so far as the nature of the premises was concerned to convert every lodger into a householder. This alteration in the law was made by an Act passed by the late Parliament without any discussion. The Act which embodied it was referred to a Select Committee and accepted by the House without an Amendment and without discussion on the assurance of Mr. Marten, the late Member for Cambridge, and the President of the Local Government Board, that the Bill had been most carefully considered, and that no sweeping changes were introduced. Thus the second test followed the fate of the first, and was in its turn swept away. The question soon came before the Courts whether there remained any distinction at all between a lodger and a householder. And in November, 1881, in the case of "*Bradley v. Baylis*," the two able Judges, Denman and Bowen, decided that the effect of the Act of 1878 was that every man who separately occupied a single room for the requisite time was qualified to vote as a householder. These Judges were so confident that there was no question in the matter, that they declined at first to allow an appeal; but when it appeared that the construction put upon the definition of "dwelling house" in the Act of 1878, made householders of multitudes of persons who had no houses, and that its result would be, according to a leading article in *The Times*, to give the franchise not to a few hundred, but to a few hundred thousand persons who did not possess it before, when it was seen that the effect of this decision would be to create in boroughs

a suffrage hardly distinguishable from manhood suffrage, it was felt that the manifest importance of the point decided was a good ground for allowing an appeal. It was felt desirable that a wholesale addition to our Registers, owing to an unforeseen interpretation of the language of the Act of 1878, should be confirmed by the Court of Appeal before it was legalized. The Court of Appeal, however, reversed the decision of the Court below. They pointed out the existence of a third test which had been overlooked by Justices Denman and Bowen. They did not deny that the occupation of a single room was sufficient as far as the nature of the premises was concerned to give a vote; but they said you must look further and examine the nature of the occupation, and see whether the occupier of a single room occupied it as a tenant or as a lodger. Now, on the nature of the occupation rested the whole case as to whether a man was a lodger or householder; and he thought it would hardly be believed that although so much depended on the line of distinction between the occupation as a tenant and the occupation as a lodger, the Legislature had not attempted to distinguish the two kinds of occupation. Having found some difficulty in agreeing on the definition of the term "lodger," Parliament left it to the Courts to determine its meaning. How the Courts had succeeded appeared from the statement of the late Master of the Rolls, who declared—

"There is probably no question on which there has been a greater variety of judicial opinion than this."

Another Judge, Lindley, also declared—

"The distinction between those who are lodgers, and those who are not lodgers, must be discovered from other sources than the Statutes, and it is extremely difficult to draw the line between them."

He had now proved how exceedingly unsatisfactory was the line of distinction which separated the householder from the lodger, that two out of the three tests and safeguards set up by the Parliament of 1867 to distinguish the householder from the lodger had been swept away, and that the third remaining test was most difficult to apply. Now, he wished to know what the effect of this Bill would be? He had pointed out that this third test did not depend upon Statutes, but upon the opinion of the Courts.

[*Fourth Night.*]

Was this third test to be swept away by the Bill, and no distinction at all to be kept between the lodger and the householder? This was the point to which he wished to draw the attention of the House. He rather inferred from the Prime Minister's speech that his object was to remove this test, for the Prime Minister had distinctly declared, in referring to the service franchise, that—

“Our object is to provide a franchise for those inhabitants who are neither owners nor tenants.”

Now, the effect of this would be to make every man who separately occupied a single room for the requisite time into a householder. He wished to know whether this was the intention of the Government? He would point out that if this was the case, a state of things would be brought about over the whole of the United Kingdom similar to that which, by the judgment of Denman and Bowen, was created in 1878 in English boroughs. Those who wished to know what a scare the judgment of Denman and Bowen caused would find abundant evidence in the newspapers of November, 1881. He wished to know whether this Bill would do for the whole Kingdom what the Act of 1878, in the opinion of Justices Denman and Bowen, did for the boroughs? He regretted to have wearied the House at such length on so dry and technical a subject. It was, however, a point which ought to engage the attention of the House, for whether this Bill was intended to alter this state of the law or not he thought it ought not to be left in its present state of technicality and uncertainty; and he hoped, before the Bill reached Committee stage, that the House might be treated to something more than a reference, and that this great Magna Charta might contain a definition clearly stating what was the exact line of distinction between a householder and a lodger. Then passing from this somewhat dry but none the less important point, he asked to be allowed to make a few remarks on the method of procedure which the Government had invited the House to adopt. The right hon. Baronet had pointed out that there was no security, under the Bill in its present shape, that the same electorate which passed extension should pass redistribution as well. He agreed with the right hon. Baronet in thinking this

a grave defect, and if it was possible to introduce into the Bill some provision which would give this security, without in any way interfering with the desire of the House to extend the franchise, then there could be no reason for refusing to insert it. As he had already trespassed at considerable length on the indulgence of the House, he would not be justified if he were to attempt to give his reasons for that belief at any length; but he wished, with the permission of the House, to make a few remarks in support of his contention, that whether the franchise was regarded as a right or as a privilege, it was in any case of vital importance that the same electorate which dealt with the extension should deal with redistribution also. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had last evening stated that the principal argument he had heard brought against the separation of redistribution from extension was the inconvenience that it would cause from the large size of the constituencies created. This he said, and rightly said, was a very inadequate reason, for what, he asked, was inconvenience when compared with justice? Well, his own attitude upon this question was based and founded upon justice. If justice required that a man should have a vote, justice also required that he should be able to make his vote effectual. If a man had a right to a vote, that implied that he had a right to participate in the governing power. This was the end to gain which the franchise was only a means. Participation in the conduct of public affairs being the end aimed at, it did not follow that this was secured by the mere bestowal of a vote. To have a vote was, of course, absolutely essential, but something more than this was required. The right to vote must be of value. If an elector was to participate in the conduct of public affairs, it was not only necessary that he should have a vote, but that he should be able by means of his vote to give effectual expression to his opinion. If this was admitted, and he could not see how it could be denied, then this also must be admitted, that the number of names on the electoral roll was not so important as the number of electors who by the effectual use they could make of their vote were conscious of a direct participation in the governing power. For

*Mr. Albert Grey*



instance, if the object of Reform was to foster and increase the spirit of citizenship, it must be obvious that that object would be far more effectually attained by a system of election which secured that the vote of every individual elector should count for as much as that of any other elector, than it would by a system which would give the whole of the representation to two-thirds of the electors, and no representation at all to one-third of the electors. If, then, it were possible to extend the suffrage in such a way as to secure equal representation to all the electors, it would be a political error of the gravest magnitude to extend it in such a way as to set up, on the one hand, a large privileged class endowed with a greater share of power than they were entitled by their numbers to receive, and, on the other hand, a large unrepresented class labelled electors, whose votes were absolutely useless, and who, instead of feeling any consciousness that they had any participation whatsoever in the governing power of the country, would be depressed by the most miserable consciousness that they were not only entirely unrepresented and virtually disfranchised, but they were to be henceforth deprived of all chance of participation in the conduct of public affairs. This, he maintained, was exactly what they were asked to do if they were invited to agree to the extension of the franchise without any security that the same electorate which passed it should settle the scheme of redistribution. Let him refer to Ireland as an illustration. Let them suppose that, according to generally accepted statements, the result of extension would be to give them an electorate of which two-thirds were Nationalists and one-third Loyalists. And let them further assume that the Loyalist population was so diffused that it could only win five seats, the remaining 100 going to the Nationalists. It would be evident to everyone that in a country where Parties were divided in the proportion of two to one, a system of election which would give the whole of the representation to that Party which could command a local majority, and no representation whatsoever to the minority, might give them a Legislature in which the one-third would be entirely unrepresented. He supposed, however, that the one-third had been able to win five seats out of

105, the remaining 100 seats going to the Nationalists' two-thirds. Now, what happened? If the Nationalists' two-thirds won 100 seats out of 105, and the Loyalists' one-third won only five seats, what was the respective value of the Nationalists' and Loyalists' vote? Why, if two-thirds got 100, one-third got 50, and thus they obtained this result—that one-third of the electorate who were Nationalists got 50 seats, and the one-third of the electors who were Loyalists got five seats. Thus, the vote of every Nationalist would count for 10 times as much as the vote of every Loyalist. Was this a possibility which those who aimed at justice could regard with complacency? The President of the Board of Trade had told them that the representative system in Ireland should be a reality, and not a mere imposition. And the hon. Member for the City of Cork had warned the House against allowing the Irish Representation to remain an utter sham. He would ask both the President of the Board of Trade and the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) what they considered to be a true representation and what an utter sham? Did they consider a system of election which made the vote of a Nationalist elector 10 times more powerful than the vote of a Loyalist elector a true representation, or would they agree with him in calling it an utter sham? Did they consider a system of election which would give nine-tenths of the representation to two-thirds of the electors a true representation, or an utter sham? And did they consider a system of election which would secure to one-third of the electors, although they were Loyalists, one-third of the representation, a mere imposition which the House should disallow? His hon. Friend the Member for Dundalk, in his eloquent speech last evening, said—"Who was there in this House who would dare to stand up and say I am in favour of a sham." He (Mr. Grey) asked who was there in this House who would dare to stand up and say with him, "I am against an utter sham." The hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell) admitted that the effect of extension unaccompanied by redistribution would be to swamp the loyal minority in Ireland; and did he regret it? On the contrary, he rejoiced at it, because, in his opinion—



"The action of that so-called Loyal Party had not been an aid, but a hindrance, to any solid union between England and Ireland."

If the House wanted further proof that the result of extension, unaccompanied by redistribution, would be to produce a perfect fraud in the representation and an utter sham, they would find it in the melancholy avowal of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, that the loyal minority for Ireland must look for their representation to the 550 Gentlemen who might be sent to Parliament by English and Scotch constituencies. So far, he had confined himself to an attempt to show that if the increase of citizenship was the only object of Reform, it was important that there should be a connection between extension and redistribution. He had shown that if we once separated redistribution from extension we should hand over to a numerical majority a monopoly of political power, which would enable them to prevent the minority from obtaining that fair share of participation in the conduct of public affairs to which they were entitled. But to add to the number of electors was not the only object of Reform. It certainly was not the only object of the Reformers of 1832; and, according to the evidence abundantly supplied by *Hansard*, it was not the only object of the Reformers of 1866 and 1867. The governing consideration both in 1832 and in 1867 was not the increase of citizenship, but the character of the Legislature. The object in both cases was to bring about a transfer of political power, and, while increasing the number of citizens entitled to partake in the governing power, to regulate that increase in such a way as to secure these two great results—(1.) That no class should be excluded from representation in the House of Commons. (2.) That no one class should by over-representation unduly overbear all the rest. These were the considerations which occupied the minds of statesmen during the previous periods of Reform, and which caused them to keep an inseparable connection between extension and redistribution. The Prime Minister had argued that because the number of electors depended upon the Redistribution Bill at a time when there was a different franchise in town and county, that was a good reason against the separation, but because the number of electors could not

be affected by a Redistribution Bill when the franchise was uniform, the case against separation fell to the ground. But Lord Derby's unanswerable speech in 1866 was not so much directed against the inconvenience referred to by the Prime Minister, as against the dangerous course of leaving the power of deciding what should be the ultimate balance of power between the different classes of the community in the hands of a Parliament returned under a Provisional Constitution after extension and before redistribution, by a constituency which no one ever intended to be the depositary of political power. This was the real ground of the opposition to the separation in 1866; and he would ask the Prime Minister, if it was unsafe in 1866 to leave in the hands of a Parliament elected by a constituency which was never intended to be the depositary of political power the serious and vital question of determining what was to be the ultimate balance of power between the different classes of the community, was it a bit more safe now? If it was important to keep the two measures together in 1866, it was ten times more important now. For what was the difference between the situation of 1866 and that of 1884? In 1866 the Reform Bill maintained a marked diversity of franchise—a broad distinction between the town and county franchise was carefully maintained, in order that there might be an ample security for that variety in the representation which had always been considered as the very essence of our Constitution. But now, if we dissolved after extension and before redistribution, we should find ourselves in this position. We should have lost the old security and should have established no new one in its place. He was not arguing against extension. On the contrary, he maintained that extension was required by political justice, expediency, and necessity. He only wished to point out that at present we secured variety of representation by variety of franchise, and that one inevitable consequence of extension, which we were bound not to disregard, was that it would remove and destroy a particular form of security deliberately and carefully set up with the object of ensuring that variety in the representation which had always been regarded as absolutely essential. The question was—

what security could we set up in its place? The representation of local majorities, which answered well enough so long as there was a different franchise in different localities, was useless when the franchise was uniform. If we had an uniform franchise, there was only one way of securing that variety in the representation which was of the very essence of our Constitution, and that was by the abandonment of the system of local majority representation, and by the wide application of the principle of personal or proportional representation. He could not now enter into the reasons for this belief; all he could say now was that, in his opinion, while a uniform franchise, coupled with the present system of majority representation, would be most dangerous, a uniform household franchise, coupled with a system of personal or proportional representation, would be most advantageous. Why, then, if such was his opinion, the hon. Member might ask who was about to follow him, did he not vote for the Amendment of the noble Lord? He had already stated the reason why. The effect of the Amendment of the noble Lord, if carried, would be to throw out the Bill, and to tell the country that this Parliament, which had been returned in order to deal with Reform, was not even willing to discuss Reform. Such a course he considered dangerous, unstatesmanlike, and unwise. He would, therefore, give his cordial support to the second reading. But while he was anxious that an Extension Bill should be passed, he was strongly opposed to passing it in such a way as to leave the character of the redistribution to be decided by a constituency which was never intended to be the depository of political power. He held that the same electorate which dealt with extension should deal with redistribution also. He, therefore, proposed to support a clause to be inserted in the Bill that extension should not take effect until a date to be mentioned in the Redistribution Bill which was to follow. He was aware—painfully aware—of the objections that could be urged against such a course. He had weighed them and carefully considered them; but he was unable to discover any other means which would give him the security he thought they had a right to ask for obtaining that variety in the representation which was essential to good government. If, however, the Go-

vernment could point out any other security less open to objection, he would be very glad; but if they could not provide any other security, he would support such a clause as that to which he had just referred, for, objectionable as it might be, it was still less objectionable than the course of handing over the settlement of redistribution to a constituency which was never intended to be the depository of political power.

MR. GUY DAWNAY said, he would not follow the hon. Member who had just sat down into all the details of his able and interesting speech. He did not profess himself as a rule to be an especially obedient follower of the Prime Minister; but he intended on this occasion to follow the remarkable advice with which the right hon. Gentleman had concluded the speech in which he introduced this measure to the House. The Prime Minister had offered this measure to the House in much the same way that a physician might offer to a somewhat distrustful patient a somewhat dubious and experimental medicine. It had been taken, he argued, in small doses on previous occasions, and had had a tonic effect on the Constitution. Therefore, an enormously increased dose must now be the logical sequence, and must have a treble stimulating effect. That sequence being once granted as a point beyond dispute, it only remained for them to shut their eyes, to recognize that the longer they looked the more they would dislike it, and to swallow it with as good a grace as might be, and with a determination to avoid over-carping criticism as to unpleasant details either in its composition or manner of exhibition. That was not a very inaccurate description of the arguments or the recommendations of the right hon. Gentleman; and he would only say that as far as the arguments went they had not been very materially strengthened by any remarks on the other side of the House, and as far as the recommendations went they had not elicited any servile obedience on that side. For himself, he would not go into any detail, still less recommend any fancy franchise—he would not “wander into the morasses and quagmires of doubt;” but he would give a plain and straightforward opinion—an opinion which was shared by many more in the House than would be likely to avow

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such views—an opinion that this downward extension of the franchise, which was so euphemistically imposed on them under the fair sounding but false title of “Representation of the People Bill,” was a measure which, in its present truncated condition, was not worth having—which was untimely in its introduction, which was not justified by any genuine or general desire on the part of the people, which was absolutely dangerous and unconstitutional in the power it would give to one class, and that the least intelligent and least educated class of the people. It was to this last aspect of the question he wished as much as possible to confine his remarks. There were other points of objection to this measure, but so obvious that they required but few words of proof. Few words, for instance, were necessary to prove the charge of untimeliness in the introduction of an enfranchising measure which made that introduction coincident with one of the saddest pages of Irish history, and the consequent continued existence of a Crimes Prevention Act. Whether the Bill were from other points of view a good Bill or a bad Bill, every shred of argument that had been so painfully scraped together by Members opposite to justify the inclusion of Ireland had been a most complete and crushing condemnation of the policy which, for the sake of the meanest, most pitiable Party purposes, had insisted on introducing this unnecessary measure at this most untimely moment, and had forced the country, either by the exclusion of Ireland, to fan to fresh fury the flickering flame of discontent, or else, by the inclusion of Ireland, to disfranchise their loyal fellow-countrymen, and to recruit the ranks of those whose thought by day and dream by night was enmity to England and hatred to her rule, and whose avowed and boasted objects were Separation and Repeal. The Prime Minister said—“The people were to be trusted, and that the voters under the Constitution were the strength of the Constitution;” but would he venture to say that the Irish people were to be trusted for their loyalty to the Constitution, or would he repeat, with all the records of late elections in Ireland to confront and to confute him, that the voters under the present Constitution even were the strength of the Constitution? He had hoped that he might have

left to other right hon. and noble Occupants of the Treasury Bench to answer that question, by repeating in the House their well-known and elsewhere publicly expressed sentiments on this at present disheartening subject. It appeared, however, that what seemed madness in the bracing air of the Provinces seemed to be simple necessity in the enervating atmosphere of the Cabinet Council. Even the noble Lord, however, told them that it would be too sanguine to expect that the extension of the franchise would be followed in Ireland by an increase of loyalty and contentment. It would, indeed, be too sanguine; and he would only add that, if the Prime Minister could still with sincerity avow his belief in the loyalty of the great bulk of the Irish people, that he again possessed in solitude that same unique power of rose-coloured vision with regard to the state of Ireland with which a notorious paragraph in his Mid Lothian orations had made them but too unhappily familiar. It was on other grounds, however, that he wished to question the charge of untimeliness against the present measure. However much theorists in the House, or claptrap orators in the country, might exclaim at such an opinion, he was convinced, and had no hesitation in expressing his conviction, that, as a class, the agricultural labourers were not yet sufficiently educated to justify the House in permitting them to bring their votes in competition on such unequal terms as regards numbers with those which represented education, and the interest inherent in the possession of property. He was not likely to wish to under-rate the qualifications of any class of Yorkshiremen; and having the honour to represent a constituency which comprised 1-24th of the whole area of England and 1-30th part of the whole agricultural population, he might at least be supposed to speak as one considerably interested in this question of their enfranchisement. It was only in a secondary degree that he objected to their enfranchisement on the score of their unfitness. That objection each year of our present education system would help to diminish and remove, and even now it held less in the North perhaps than elsewhere. He was sure that at least all hon. Members who represented constituencies North of the Humber would



allow that the highest average of natural intellectual development was, like promotion in the text, in that it came "neither from the East, nor from the West, nor yet from the South." The chief point of his objection, and one which time would never efface, was the manner in which the Government intended to concede to the agricultural labourer that trust. As the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) pointed out the other day, since the Act of 1867 there had been two distinct qualifications for the suffrage—the property qualification in the counties, and the franchise on the basis of population in the towns—and what he objected to in this unconstitutional and unstatesmanlike measure was that, for the sake of that narrow-minded species of Reform which aimed at the removal of anomalies because they were anomalies, and not because they were abuses; it proposed to disfranchise altogether the representation of property. That was a point which the Government had never fairly met. As to the fitness or unfitness of the agricultural labourer to have a vote, he would first say that what he said on the subject in the House he would be prepared to repeat before his constituents; and the very individuals best fitted to possess the suffrage would be the first to understand and to appreciate and accept his reasons. He was perfectly willing to admit that there were many hundreds and thousands, if they liked, in his own constituency, of agricultural labourers who were as well fitted as himself to have a vote—many perhaps better fitted—but they were still in a minute minority, and their votes would be swamped and neutralized by the overwhelming majority of the voters who were not capable of properly exercising the franchise. The enormous majority of the new class of voters, as hon. Gentlemen opposite must confess, would for a long time be swayed by petty interests and by small crotchets. They would be at the mercy of agitators of a superior class—individuals, no doubt, well educated, but influenced by unworthy considerations. Such individuals were now counting on this same mallable ignorance as valuable Party capital, and were eagerly expecting the consignment to their agitation manufacturing of the new law-voting material, relying on their skill and power to direct

and guide, and, at no distant date, win the mob-moved machinery of manhood suffrage. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade told the House the other day that it was always opportune to do good things. That was a beautiful copybook principle, which he should like the right hon. Gentleman to remember and act upon by withdrawing those grossly unjust charges which he made in connection with his Merchant Shipping Bill. He believed the right hon. Gentleman had stated that manhood suffrage was also a just thing; and he would like to know how it was that he reconciled its exception from the category of those good things which it was never inopportune to do, and whether, like the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, he kept one set of principles for his theories in the Provinces, and another and different set of principles for his practice in the Metropolis? The bulk of the hon. Gentlemen opposite had not yet been educated up to the higher standard of manhood suffrage, but they could still understand their great feeling for a considerable extension of the franchise. The recent elections in York, West Somersetshire, and Cambridge-shire had done very little to lessen their anxiety to efface the present electorate, whose growing political knowledge was showing itself so exceedingly inconvenient. As to the desire for the franchise among the lower classes, he said deliberately that there was no such feeling in favour of it among the classes for whom it was pretended that the measure was introduced. He did not mean to refer to outrages and other violent demonstrations, nor did he wish to add to the retorts that had been bandied from side to side in the House with regard to the significance of the Leeds Conference. He did not care to discuss whether that Conference meant anything more than that a concourse of delegates showed a natural pleasure in spending a week in a beautiful Yorkshire town, and in listening to a speech from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, when his oratory had it all its own way, when his eloquence was not hampered or somewhat distracted by an attempt to answer the unanswerable speech of the noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John

Manners). What he wanted to ask was, had they found a desire for an extension of the franchise in the rural districts? For his own part, he would say that there was a perfect apathy in the rural districts in respect of it. The only feeling evinced on this question was in the big towns, and there, absurdly enough, it was redistribution that was wanted, and not county enfranchisement in itself at all. A proper scheme of redistribution with a considerable extension of the borough boundaries would have fulfilled all their present requirements, and would have met with hearty co-operation and support on the Conservative side of the House. When former Reform measures were introduced there was a distinct requirement for the franchise, an intelligent demand that would have brooked no continual denial—a demand that had its foundation in its justice and its root in the reasonableness and rectitude of its claim. There was no such demand for the franchise at the present moment, and for this reason, that the class proposed to be enfranchised was already amply represented. He would not say that every individual of those classes was represented, but the classes themselves were represented, and as far as individuals went he would say that it was fortunate indeed that they had not been able to bring to bear, in all their overwhelming weight of numbers, their crude intelligence and all their changeful impulses of capricious ignorance. Would hon. Members opposite venture to compare the capability of the class now to be enfranchised with the average capabilities of those who already exercised it? Did they think them equal to that class in political knowledge, in honest conviction, in independence of thought; or did they deny that by this untimely experiment they were further lowering and pulling down that average, that they were increasing the influence of the least capable stratum of political life, and letting loose on the field of politics a flood of ignorance and selfish and unreasoning prejudice? The Government in their foreign policy had got one motto, and a most fatal one—"Too Late." In domestic legislation they had got another and a very different, but as fatal a one—"Too Early." In some 10 or 15 years' time some such measure as this might have been introduced with general advantage to the nation

at large. At this moment it would be done without advantage, and it would not be done without risk. Hon. Members opposite might possibly have had their attention called to an anecdote that appeared in the papers some time ago in a letter from a tutor of some College at Oxford, in which he related how he was travelling in the North with some miners. He mentioned in the course of his conversation with them the subject of the franchise, and he asked one of them what he would do with the franchise. The man said—"I don't know. If they are giving away these votes I would as soon have them as anybody else. But I'll tell you what my mates say they will do. They will vote for a general smash." He thought that the ignorance which made that feeling at all possible did undoubtedly exist among the class for whom Henry George was lecturing, and amongst whom his economic absurdities found an appreciative audience, and he thought that ought to be taken into consideration before in so light-hearted a manner they proceeded to abolish their old system of class representation by the addition of 66 per cent to the electorate—of 2,000,000 fresh voters chosen from among the less educated and intelligent class of the people. It was absolutely pitiable to see the Members of the Government standing at the Table last week one after another arguing in favour of the severance of the schemes for redistribution and extension, and then during the same week to see a Cabinet Minister counterfeiting surprise and indignation at the very idea of being asked to do such an unheard-of thing as separating a measure for the relief of local taxation from an embryo, vague, shadowy, elementary scheme of county government. If he might briefly illustrate this point, he would use another medical simile. There was a class of medicines which consisted of two powders dissolved in water, and which, when intended for remedial use, were mixed together, and when thus mixed formed a valuable and beneficial remedy of an effervescing nature. Separate, however, these two powders, and administer first one and then the other, and the result was of an extremely distressing and, indeed, alarming character. He offered that illustration as the briefest and most commonplace example he could think



of, of the manner in which what as a whole might be valuable and beneficial, might become actually detrimental and deleterious in its separated and disconnected parts. It was useless, however, to bring forward arguments which Members opposite refused to meet. Their real arguments took the practical form of Irish bribes. Their real reasons were reliance in their majority. Their logic was the logic of the Lobbies and the strength of the Divisions. In conclusion, he would make an appeal to Members representing county constituencies. They had been elected by a class which not only in after dinner oratory in their country districts were termed by conventional flatterers the backbone of the nation, but which was very generally recognized to be one of the most important component parts of the British nation; and he would ask hon. Members who had been elected by that class, on the condition that they would maintain its interests and represent its views, not now to allow those interests to be impaired and those views to be obscured by that vast upheaval from beneath which was to mark the new geologic period in the political history of the land. He would appeal to them alike as a point of duty and a point of honour to unite in resisting to the uttermost of their power the present preposterous piece of premature and patchwork legislation.

MR. WOODALL said, he was indebted to the hon. Member who had just spoken for having summarized tersely the policy of the Opposition. He had stated that the policy of Her Majesty's Government must either be too late or too early in its action, and that it would be extremely difficult to please the Opposition by any course which the Government might have taken on this particular question. Having carefully followed the speeches that had been delivered in support of the Amendment of the noble Lord, it appeared to him that, in the main, they very fully confirmed the wisdom of the course which the Government had adopted on this matter. There had been a certain affectation of support to the general phraseology of the Amendment. In the main, however, there had been a good deal of make-believe about the support, and there had been an always ill-concealed aversion to enfranchisement in any form whatever. While

the Opposition had thus refrained from directly opposing the enfranchisement of those at present outside the bounds of the Constitution, they had not hesitated to give arguments which would seem logically to justify that course. The right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Robert Peel) on the previous evening said that the class to be enfranchised was the most ignorant and certainly the most inexperienced class in the country. In saying that he only further accentuated the argument of the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), who said that the class about to be enfranchised contrasted unfavourably with those persons who were entitled to receive the suffrage under the Act of 1867. He emphasized the contrast by stating that those who were within the borough suffrage were men, generally speaking, trained by experience of a practical kind under municipal institutions—that they were men who had a familiarity with the conduct of benefit societies and trade unions, and who were therefore fitted by their experience for the exercise of the functions devolving upon them. It seemed to him an extraordinary thing that hon. Members with the large experience of the hon. Gentlemen opposite should overlook the fact that there were at the present moment outside the Parliamentary boroughs of this country a very large and important body of persons, possessing the municipal franchise, who were intimately connected with local boards of health, and who had a large experience in urban and rural sanitary affairs—persons, in fact, having qualifications and experience very difficult for him to distinguish from those possessed by the electors in the Parliamentary boroughs. The hon. Gentleman opposite spoke with some pride of the county with which he was connected. He seemed to be unaware of the great industrial districts in his county and the neighbouring one of Lancashire. He would mention, as instances, the important towns of Keighley, Accrington, and Crewe. In the last-named town there was, perhaps, the most intelligent class of trained artisans to be found in any part of the country, and they were at present entirely without the franchise. Then, again, the House was familiar with the example of this great and ever-extending Metropolis, with its suburban

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towns, like Croydon, Stratford, and others, and to which the same remark applied with greater force. The right hon. Baronet opposite complained that no reason had been given to the House to justify the necessity for the introduction of this measure. He and many other speakers who opposed the Bill seemed to hold the opinion that there was some reason for complaint that there had been no outside clamour to force the question on the attention of Parliament—that there had been no loud knocking at the door such as they had been familiar with on former occasions. That appeared to him to be one of the strongest reasons that could be urged in support of the Bill, in that Parliament was able to address itself to a serious Constitutional question in conditions of tranquillity which ought to lead to a wise and satisfactory settlement of it. The present state of the public mind was a testimony to the growth of a legitimate confidence by the great masses of the people, in the adoption of an orderly and Constitutional remedy for the grievances which they sought to have remedied, and the claims which they had a right to urge. It had been said that the occasion for bringing forward the Bill was not opportune; but that objection was mainly urged by a Party in the House who held that no occasion could be opportune for a measure of the kind. He hoped a Dissolution would not happen before the whole question was settled; but, even if that should happen, he saw no reason why the newly-enfranchised electors should not have a voice in the question of redistribution of political power, or why hon. Members opposite should object to an appeal which might result in their being called upon themselves to define a scheme of redistribution for the constituencies which they claimed to have so largely under their care. The fundamental principle of the Bill, as it was described by the Prime Minister, was to give a vote to every householder; but there was no provision that the franchise should be given to such householders if they happened to be women. They had heard a good deal in the course of the debate of a certain "Old Woman of Warwickshire," and he thought there was something to be said on behalf of that old woman. By an excellent and ingenious

device in this measure, a vote would be given, not merely to the poorest householder and ratepayer, but even to the herd and other servants whose rent was included in the weekly wage. It did seem to him rather hard lines that the "Old Woman of Warwickshire" should have to contemplate the enfranchisement of her farm labourer, of her herd, of her meanest servant, while she herself—one of 20,000 similarly situated—should be unenfranchised. The case of the woman landowner was even harder, for, according to a Parliamentary Return, one in every seven landowners was a woman. At present, women having the qualification for the vote exercised every form of local voting. They gave votes for Town Councils, for Local Boards, and for Boards of Guardians, and could not only vote for but actually sit on School Boards. They were, nevertheless, debarred from exercising the Parliamentary suffrage. Why this should be so he entirely failed to see. No argument that could be held to justify the exercise of these local franchises could fail also to make good their claim to the Parliamentary franchise. They eminently satisfied one of the fundamental conditions of this Bill. They were "capable citizens." It was idle in these days to talk of finality, but this measure did appear to him to have in it the elements of completeness to a much larger extent than any previous measure; and he proposed in Committee to submit an Amendment to the House, which, if adopted, would realize the declared intention of the Prime Minister. He would not anticipate the arguments he would then have to address to the House; but he hoped they would be commended to the House in a reasonable spirit, and would be received in that spirit on both sides. He knew the Prime Minister had deprecated the proposal he (Mr. Woodall) intended to make, and as one of the most devoted and loyal of his followers he felt a difficulty in pressing anything that might, in the smallest degree, be contrary to the express wish of the right hon. Gentleman. All he asked was that, seeing this question was one upon which a decided majority of the Liberal Party had already declared themselves, and seeing that it had attracted a large amount of sympathy from other parts of the House, the right hon. Gentleman would so far meet the

*Mr. Woodall*

wishes of the House as, at any rate, rate to leave it an open question. If the measure were passed in the form he would suggest, he felt certain that it would, for a long time, be accepted by the country as a settlement of this important issue, upon a logical and reasonable and sound basis. If his Amendment were omitted, it must be obvious that the House would have to deal again with a still unsettled franchise.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE: After what has passed earlier in the evening, I must begin by explaining that, though I speak from the Table, I was driven to take refuge on the Front Bench by stress of misfortune four years since, when I found that to keep my old familiar place below the Gangway I should have to contend not with one, but two whole Parties. The only place under the Crown I have ever enjoyed was one of which the profits were nothing—Steward of the Manor of Northstead. I can assure the House that I have listened with great interest to the speech of my hon. Friend who has just spoken; but, before I proceed to the main question, I may assure him that I am prepared to stand—metaphorically, of course—before the cannon's mouth, to prevent the "Old Woman of Warwickshire" from obtaining the franchise. But to come to the Bill itself, I occupy a somewhat unusual position towards the question of Reform, for I voted impartially against both the Reform Bill of 1866 and that of 1867, and I see nothing in what has since occurred to make me regret my action. I shall be told that it was no great risk for a Member to do this who sat for a constituency which, with such fine taste, the hon. Member for Aylesbury described as one of country clergymen and non-resident M.A.'s. But, at the time, I had no prospect of a University seat, and I voted against the Reform Bills, as representing that very constituency which the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken now adorns. As Member for Stoke I was willing to imperil my Parliamentary future for what I believed to be political truth, for I was satisfied neither with the Bill of the present Prime Minister nor with that of Lord Beaconsfield. I remember how, in 1866, our tables groaned with pamphlets, especially with those by the late Mr. Dudley Baxter, a gentleman of great industry and some ability, de-

monstrating how fatally the additional voters introduced by that measure would dislocate the balance of property and voting power; and how again, in 1867, our tables groaned with fresh pamphlets by Mr. Dudley Baxter, demonstrating that the far more wholesale lowering of that year, the more prodigious separation of property and voting, would restore the equilibrium to the franchise. Mr. Baxter's arguments had told on me in 1866, but I did not think the sequel of 1867 equally cogent nor absolutely consistent. The 17 years which have since elapsed do not find me convinced that I was mistaken. In 1874, indeed, many Members on this side began exclaiming that, after all, 1867 had been a very fine time. I thought on and kept silent; and I observe that since 1880 my Friends have also been silent. What do we find by experience to have been the action on political progress of the borough franchise created in 1867? I will only criticize it in one respect, but that is a point on which there cannot be a sincere difference of opinion. Under that enlarged franchise, supplemented as it has been by secret voting, the oscillations of public opinion are more sudden, more unexpected, more violent, more uncontrolled than in former times; 1874 and 1880 equally prove this. It may be urged on the other side that this difference proves that the present electorate has a finer and a readier touch than the former one, and that this characteristic would be intensified by the present Bill. I cannot, however, believe that unexpectedness can conduce to wise or moderate government. It must be unhealthy that such surprises should be possible, and the evil will be intensified when 2,000,000 of voters have with a light heart been shot upon the country—like coals down a cellar. I will assume that the chances may be even that the present Bill should produce a strong Tory or a strong Liberal Parliament; but under either alternative I cannot trust its results, or look on it with any pleasure. I object to the present scheme because it affects to do a most delicate job in a most unworkmanlike manner. Here I am brought face to face with the favourite argument on the other side, the argument which appeals *ad invidiam*, and which, for want of a better name, I may call the "mad-dog argument," for it is merely used to give opponents a bad



name. If I mention it, it is to repudiate the imputation that those who oppose the measure do so because they dislike and mistrust their poorer neighbours. That assertion, for it is no argument, is the language of tyranny masquerading in the form of liberty, and the spirit which dictates it is reactionary and retrograde. I venture to say for myself that, in the two parts of England where I have a foothold, I have devoted much time, much trouble, much outlay to the moral, the social, the intellectual, and the material advancement of those members of the labouring classes for whom I have a responsibility. It is as their friend, and as knowing something of the state of our country districts, that I contest the benefit of bestowing the franchise on these labourers. What is their present condition?—for with that present condition the present debate need only concern itself. I praise them for self-denial, family affections, industry, and love of their country. I grant them every virtue in the world, except the virtues of political forethought and grasp of the relations of public questions. Their condition of living is antipathetic to these faculties. The world to them is bounded by the horizon on which they gaze every day; the village in which they live is the chief place on the globe. The politics which interest them are petty disputes about wages, the events of haymaking and harvesting, and the election of the officers of the village club. Perhaps hon. Members will say that such experiences are a school of political learning, and that the goose club is the pathway to the larger arena of the House of Commons. I protest against the crude recklessness of introducing these 2,000,000 of inexperienced voters into the electorate, for by mere mechanical force of numbers they must swamp and overwhelm all other interests in the country. If all the old women in the country who held the same position as the “Old Woman of Warwickshire” were admitted to the franchise, and every conceivable fancy franchise added, they would muster as an insignificant troop beside the legions of enfranchised agricultural labourers. By way of political education these new voters are to be fed on feverish stimulants like the speech of the President of the Board of Trade, as to which I shall only say that never from

the Treasury Bench, under any provocation, have I heard language more incendiary, clothing statements more misleading. The allegation that the poor man had found his commons robbed because he had had no vote, wilfully distorted facts; but what are we to say to the charge heaped upon this, that his endowments had also been robbed? No one knows better than the right hon. Gentleman himself that if there is a colourable pretext for, or a shred of distorted truth in, the charge, it is to be found in that which everyone has looked upon as a crowning administrative exploit of the Party to which he (the President of the Board of Trade) belongs—the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, passed by the right hon. Member for Bradford, under which many small endowments, bread doles, clothing gifts, and so forth, have been diverted to higher uses and made serviceable for education. The diversion may in some cases have been a harsh proceeding, but in others it has undoubtedly been beneficial. But to raise the cry of robbery over it, to prop up a democratic revolution, required the audacity of the President of the Board of Trade. Some advocates of this measure try to stop our mouths with the assertion that the enfranchisement of the labourer is a matter of right and justice about which there could no longer be any controversy. That word “right” is an ambiguous and misleading term. I cannot understand how anyone who does not accept universal suffrage as a principle can speak of the concession of any power to the agricultural or any other class as a right. The least limit put to it evacuates the idea of right. Either the principle of universal suffrage must be recognized, and then the present Bill itself is a halting half measure, or practical men must acknowledge that the suffrage is a means to an end, a trust confided to the voter by the superior power, the State, and liable to be dealt with by that power for the benefit of that which is superior to any number of voters—namely, the entire commonwealth itself. Until universal suffrage is recognized as a good in itself this argument of right must, I say, break down. Having regard to the want of education among our rustics, I declare this Bill to be a most rash and ill-considered measure; but I am prepared to



answer the question whether I consider that the agricultural labourers ought to have any share in the government of the country. They certainly ought to have a proportionate one, and they have it, inasmuch as in large numbers they are voters in the agricultural boroughs with large areas, such as East Retford, Eye, New Shoreham, Horsham, Wilton, Aylesbury, Rye, Much Wenlock, Cricklade, and the curtilages of other boroughs. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for War had the courage the other night to declare that the loyal population of Ireland would be represented by Members for English and Scotch constituencies. This was indirect representation with a vengeance in all its nakedness, and it would ill become the noble Lord, at all events, to deny that the agricultural labourers of England were represented in a far more direct, real, and complete way by the agricultural boroughs. This indiscriminate enfranchisement, in view of a dark Bill for redistribution which may be passed in this Parliament or in the next Parliament by the Liberals, by the Tories, or by the Mahdi, is playing fast and loose with politics. It is not forethought, it is not patriotism, and I vote against it as a gambling and scrambling attempt of the Government to clutch at the power which is slipping out of their grasp.

MR. STANSFELD said, he belonged to the class of ex-Cabinet Ministers proscribed by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel); but, having regard to the infrequency of his speeches, he hoped the House would pardon him for engaging its attention. He would not on this occasion occupy the time of the House on the subject which had been referred to by his hon. Friend the Member for Stoke (Mr. Woodall); but when his hon. Friend moved his Amendment in favour of including women householders, he knew of no consideration which would induce him to falter in supporting it. It had been said on one side of the House that this debate was unreal and languid. On the other the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had said that the country was apathetic, and the right hon. Baronet the Member for Huntingdon had asked for some indication of excitement. Opposition speakers had referred to the

insincerity of the Government. That charge might be true or not; but it was the character of the measure, not the character of the Government, that they had to consider at present. The right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire had said that the action of the Government on this subject was more like the device of an election agent than the policy of a political Party. Well, they on the Ministerial side of the House said that the position taken up by the Conservative Party was a half-hearted position. Many brave and big words were uttered; but the Conservative Party did not traverse the justice or wisdom of this measure, and did not traverse its opportuneness. The assertion made amounted to this—"Because we do not trust the Government we will not consider this Bill until we know the whole mind of the Government on another question—that of redistribution." Therefore it was that the debate had assumed an air of unreality. As to the charge of insincerity brought against the Government, he had yet to learn that it was any discredit to a Government to desire to redeem its pledges—not hasty pledges as had been said, but the deliberate and frequently repeated pledges made at the last General Election. He ventured to say that if the Government had not brought in this Bill this Session, which was the last available one in the present Parliament for the purpose, they would have found a spirit of distrust and rebellion on the Radical Benches which would have been more serious and certainly more painful than any opposition they were likely to encounter from the other side of the House. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Huntingdon objected to this Bill because it would admit 2,000,000 of what he styled the most ignorant and most inexperienced of the population to an absolute control over the machinery of government. Among those 2,000,000 it would be difficult to find one single man so ignorant as to endorse the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman; and he would appeal to hon. Members on the Benches opposite who passed the Reform Act of 1867, and ask them whether experience had not shown as a fact that a generous extension of the franchise to a large mass of the population did not swamp and extinguish the votes of those who previously possessed it. The right hon. Gentleman

the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was in favour of some extension, if not of the extension proposed in the Bill; but whatever extension he sanctioned he refused to grant it in equal measure to the Sister Isle. He could not imagine—among all the impotent and foolish schemes of Reform that had been proposed he confessed he could not imagine—any scheme so devoid of all political foresight as a scheme of partial advance coupled with a refusal to give Ireland the benefit of that advance. The right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) made no precise objection to the extension of the principle of household suffrage from the boroughs to the counties; but he argued in favour of some principle of proportional representation for the protection of minorities, and he was especially strong upon the necessity of extending some such provision to Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman entirely failed to show the House why that was less possible under the present proceeding than under the Amendment of the noble Lord. If they passed the Franchise Bill, simply extending the principle of household suffrage from the towns to the counties, he could not see why the postponement of the question of redistribution should be considered an evil. Upon the Amendment hon. Members opposite were committed to nothing at all. It had been stated that the country was apathetic on this question—and certainly it was not in a condition of excitement—but he could explain the reason, and it was this—that the extension of household suffrage was an absolutely foregone conclusion. It was simply a question of time from the day when the Reform Act of 1867 passed, when the Conservative Party established the principle in the boroughs of the country; and now that the other great Party in the State had taken up that principle, and applied it to the country at large, and had nailed its colours to the mast and declared that it would stand or fall by it, it was useless to take up a position of hostility towards a movement which, within a limited time, must gain its object. He did not blame the Conservative Party for their opposition. The fact was, no political Party could afford to leave such a measure and the manipulation of redistribution in the hands of

its opponents. That was the plain English of it. The Conservative Party must oppose it, and he would be ungrateful as a Party man if he wished otherwise. Their opposition did nothing but good to the cause of Reform, to the extension of the franchise, and to the enactment of a large redistribution scheme. If that opposition increased, the apathy of the country would be turned into enthusiasm in its favour. It was said that whatever might occur in that House the Lords would throw it out. If he cared only for the Bill, for the Government, or for his Party, he should not wish it any other fate. The Franchise Bill was safe, and nothing would so certainly help the Liberal Party towards a large redistribution scheme as the determination of the House of Lords to throw out the Bill. As far as the Government were concerned, they had determined to sever the questions of enfranchisement and redistribution for two reasons. In the first place, they desired to prevent defeat by simple discussion and delay. If Her Majesty's Government had united a scheme of redistribution to the present one, not only would other measures have been fatally impeded, but that very complex measure would have found its death in the delays of debate and discussion. Surely, whether hon. Members liked it or not, the Government had a right so to arrange their measures as to give themselves a chance of passing them within the Session. But, besides this, the Government had a right to secure to themselves the advantage that a clear issue should be put before the House and the country. That could not have been done in the case of a complex measure; but now, when the Amendment was defeated, the second reading would have to be voted on, and it would be seen whether the Conservatives voted against the second reading or not. But it was argued that the House parted with a portion of its power of controlling the redistribution question by passing the franchise portion. That was a very favourite argument, and he thought there was a good deal in it; but as the increased knowledge the House would obtain would enable them to deal in a more thorough fashion with the redistribution scheme, what, he would ask, was the power referred to which they might lose? Not the power to enlarge, but the power to minimize and to maim. He must correct



a statement he had just made. He said the House parted with a portion of its power; but he should have said the Opposition. It was a perfectly sound argument among the Opposition, but it could have no effect upon those Members who sat on the Ministerial side. Undoubtedly in the case of a great and complicated measure the Government must make some sacrifice in order to pass it, and the Government would have had to make sacrifices with regard to the Redistribution Clauses. If they had had the two parts in one, they would have had an inefficient, and therefore not a lasting redistribution scheme. Many entertained a strong objection to this measure on account of its inclusion of Ireland. That inclusion had been defended by, among others, his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), who pointed out that we had only three courses in dealing with Ireland—equality, subjection, or separation. There were two unanswerable arguments for including Ireland in the Bill. The first was the reason or argument of necessity. He fearlessly asserted that neither the present Government nor any Administration which proposed a measure for the extension of the franchise would venture with any prospect of success to make any difference between the case of Ireland and that of Great Britain itself. Again, could we give anything less than justice to Ireland? It was conceivable that the Government might have proposed a simply Irish measure bringing up the suffrage in Ireland to the present condition of the suffrage in England. That, indeed, would be justice; but he had only to mention such a scheme in order to show its absurdity. Justice must precede reconciliation. The old policy of dealing with Ireland was absolutely condemned. It was dead or dying, and could not be revived. Therefore the new policy was simply inevitable. He saw no inconsistency in extending the franchise in a country where the ordinary Constitutional rights of citizens were limited by exceptional Acts of Parliament. Those Acts limited rights which had been abused, whereas the right of the franchise was incapable of abuse if it were freely exercised. If nine-tenths, or even 99-100ths of the population of Ireland were Parnellite, practical statesmen, knowing the strength of the representative prin-

ciple, ought not merely to consent, but even to desire, that they should be represented in that House. He firmly believed that the policy of equality between Ireland and England constituted our only chance in the future of harmonizing the two countries. It was impossible to exaggerate the seriousness of the Irish question. Even if they had not wanted such a Reform Bill for English purposes, they ought to have invented it for the sake of extending it to Ireland, for he contended that the extension of household suffrage to Ireland was a positive and absolute good. We had no right to attempt to limit Constitutional agitation in that country, for it was the right of every citizen to speak, to petition, and to agitate for whatever object an Act of Parliament could secure. There were two causes of Irish discontent. The old cause had sprung from race, social, religious, and economic differences, and the oppression of centuries. First we conquered, then we starved, then we oppressed, and then we ignored the Irish population. They multiplied in their poverty as the poor alone multiplied. They emigrated in their need, and then came the new cause of difficulty and danger, the Nemesis. They founded a new Ireland across the Atlantic, larger, richer, more powerful than themselves. From that Ireland had come back to the mother Ireland the sinews and some of the most dangerous, though not only the most dangerous, counsels of war. There was, nevertheless, to his mind, one rift in the clouds—one streak of light, and he hoped it might prove the harbinger of a brighter day. It was this. Emigrated Ireland had learned one lesson in the United States. She had learned to understand and to respect the rights of majorities to govern, and the power of a Government based upon the popular vote. He said—"Present to her these conditions. Adopt the policy of the Government which is to do so. Present to her the popular vote in local and Imperial concerns." By such measures, and such only, this country would do more than by any other measures to disarm violence and to appease the old rancours. By bringing Ireland upon the floor of that House, and by compelling almost the action of Irish Parties to become less violent and more Constitutional than it had been in the past, they would eventu-



ally be able to dispense with Coercion Acts, and all the mischievous consequences which followed from their enactment. The two populations would agree in a broader patriotism in place of that narrow and antagonistic patriotism which we ourselves forced into the minds of the Irish population; and the result would be a real Act of Union which would unite the two peoples, respecting each other's individualities and each other's rights, into one Imperial bond for our common safety and our common interest.

MR. MARRIOTT moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."  
—(Mr. Marriott.)

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the understanding was that the debate should adjourn at an early hour of the evening, but that the hour had not yet been reached.

MR. HICKS said, that the understanding was that the debate should be adjourned at 11 o'clock, to allow other Business to come on. It was then 10 minutes to 11 o'clock, and the hon. Member for Brighton had moved the adjournment. Did the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary think—did any hon. Member on either side of the House think—that the hon. Member for Brighton could finish in 10 minutes? If not, it would be a breach of the contract to allow him to commence his speech, well knowing he could not finish by the time agreed upon. He should vote for the adjournment.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS said, that the right hon. Member who had just sat down had spoken for 40 minutes, and there was no reason to suppose that the hon. Member for Brighton would speak for a shorter time. It would be a violation of the understanding to which the Government had been a party if the debate were not now adjourned.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. MARRIOTT rose to continue the debate amid cries of "Order!" and "Spoke!"

MR. HOPWOOD: I rise to Order. I would submit to your ruling, Sir,

*Mr. Stansfeld*

whether the hon. Member has not already exhausted his right to speak? The hon. Member moved the adjournment of the debate, which has been carried against him; therefore he has spoken, and has no right to speak again.

MR. RAIKES: Upon the point of Order, I wish to ask you, Sir, whether it has ever been ruled, when an hon. Member has moved the adjournment of the debate, and that Motion has been negatived without a Division, that he has lost his right to speak? I know that it was ruled on a former occasion, by Mr. Speaker Denison, that a Member who had moved the adjournment of the debate and had been defeated on a Division was precluded from afterwards addressing the House upon the main subject of the debate. But I wish to ask you, Sir, if there is any precedent for excluding a Member from addressing the House because he has moved the adjournment and then acquiesced in that Motion being negatived?

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I should like to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, who, I presume, was present in the House at an earlier portion of the evening—[*Cries of "Order!"*]

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): Do I understand that the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) wishes to put a question to me upon a point of Order? If he does he is in possession of the House.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I was endeavouring to bring to your mind, by means of a question to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary—[*Cries of "Order!"*—if I might be allowed to do so without the disorderly interruptions of hon. Members opposite, who are anxious, I presume, to prove their Radicalism—I was endeavouring, Mr. Deputy Speaker, as you did not seem ready at that particular moment to answer the question of Order put to you by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), to bring to the mind of the Home Secretary that the question of Order had arisen in consequence of the pledge given by the Government in an earlier part of the evening, which pledge has been violated.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): That is not a question of Order. With regard to the questions

put to me by the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), I have to say that I do not think the question of a Division having taken place is of any material importance with regard to the decision on the point of Order. I do not think that the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Marriott) has precluded himself from speaking. I call upon Mr. Marriott.

MR. ONSLOW: I rise to a point of Order. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether, in your place as Chairman of Ways and Means, or as Deputy Speaker, you have ever known an instance when the Government has given a pledge—[*Cries of "Order!"*]

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): The hon. Member is not raising a question of Order, and I call upon Mr. Marriott.

MR. MARRIOTT said, he was very sorry that the right hon. and learned Gentleman who represented Her Majesty's Government on the present occasion had not allowed the adjournment at the hour desired by the great majority of the House. [Several hon. MEMBERS: Promised!] [MR. WARTON: It is only spite!] Even if he made a speech of less than the ordinary length, the time would be exceeded. There were a number of Members present who wished to share the education debate. He could only apologize to them; but it would be seen that it was not his fault that they were kept waiting, but the fault of the Government, which they unfortunately trusted. He was afraid that this was only part and parcel of a good deal of the conduct of the Government. The Government were now asking the confidence of the House with regard to that Bill and to redistribution. But they had always found that when they had put confidence in the Government that confidence was misplaced. It was misplaced on the present occasion, and would be misplaced again. It might be that it was his stupidity—[*Cries of "Hear, hear!"*—well, he knew that hon. Gentlemen opposite had a high opinion of themselves and of their own ability; but he was going to remark that it was difficult to say whether the last speaker was replying to arguments from his own side, or to arguments from the Opposition side of the House. The right

hon. Gentleman tried to combat the opinion that the debate was unreal; but the opinion that it was unreal was expressed by the President of the Board of Trade. If there were any unreality in the Opposition, it arose in the unreality of the advance by the Government. The whole of the debate was more like a sham than a real fight, and no practical results were to be expected from it. He did not mean any disrespect to the Home Secretary when he said that the Government had fired off their biggest guns—the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for War, and the President of the Board of Trade. There had been speeches, and speeches from two ex-Ministers—the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright), and the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). The late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was a man who had obtained a position on the Reform Question throughout the whole country and the world, and it was his (Mr. Marriott's) good fortune to listen to him with attention, when others appeared to listen to him spell-bound under his power, so that you could have heard the dropping of a pin; but that was when he had a real interest and felt strongly on the question of Reform. The recent speech of the right hon. Gentleman fell rapidly, in spite of the right hon. Gentleman's proverbial eloquence, and it was evident the true reason was that the heart of the right hon. Gentleman was not in the cause he was advocating. One did not expect much earnestness from the right hon. Gentleman the junior Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain); but there was a touch of nature and of real feeling in his reference to what he called the "absurd, ridiculous, and irritating minority vote," after which he naturally fell foul of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). Then the right hon. Gentleman—who was seldom present when he was attacked—left the House, called away by urgent business, or probably to enjoy a cigar in the Smoking Room. However, the noble Lord was not going to stand for Birmingham in the hope of being returned by the minority vote. [*Cries of "Question!"*] He believed that he was strictly confining himself to the Question. He was referring to what the right hon. Gentleman said about the

[*Fourth Night.*]



minority vote, and it was not the minority vote the noble Lord looked to. He expected to be returned for Birmingham by the vote of the majority. He (Mr. Marriott) was not a prophet, and he was not going to speak with certainty of the result of the next election contest at Birmingham; but he might say that the odds in favour of the noble Lord being returned by that constituency had risen very considerably since the speech of the President of the Board of Trade. [*Cries of "Question!"*] Why did not hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial Benches cry "Question!" when the speech which he was answering was made? The President of the Board of Trade did not allude to the Amendment before the House, but assumed that hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House were opposed to the county franchise. That was a convenient assumption to make. The question was not whether the household franchise was a good or bad thing, and ought to be extended to the counties. The household franchise was conferred upon towns by the Conservative Party; and, therefore, objections to that principle were not likely to come from the Opposition side of the House. The whole point depended upon redistribution; and what the House and the country wanted to know was, how redistribution was going to be manipulated—for manipulated it would be by the present Government—not for the benefit of the country, but for the benefit of those who now happened to be in Office. Hon. Members who had spoken from the Ministerial Benches had urged the House to pass the Bill because the Government were pledged to it. He contended that neither the Prime Minister nor the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had pledged themselves in their last election addresses upon the subject of the county franchise. The Government had not selected this particular time for bringing in the Bill because of any pledges which they were supposed to have made at the General Election; but they had introduced the measure simply to cover their retreat, and to hide from the country the enormous and ghastly mistakes which they had made in other matters—their mistakes with regard to Ireland, with regard to South Africa, and especially with regard to Egypt. The Members of the Govern-

ment would be more than human if they did not try to hide from the country the gross mistakes which they had made with regard to their Egyptian policy. So great were those mistakes that, up to the present time, they had never afforded an opportunity to the House to debate the question upon its real merits. Every debate upon it had been on a side issue, upon a Motion for Adjournment. [*Cries of "Question!"*] He knew that it was a disagreeable question—a question which had brought shame upon the Government, and upon the nation which they misgoverned; and because they had made such mistakes they brought forward one part of this shameless Bill, hiding from the country the most important part. The Government, during the course of their existence, had undoubtedly carried one point—namely, the *Clôture*, which was never used; and now, when any remarks were made which they did not like, they shouted "Question!" He could sympathize with the Government in their desire to go to the country upon any other issue than that of Egypt. The Prime Minister well knew that the Government tried to shirk the Bradlaugh difficulty, and by shirking it wasted hours and days. They were now trying to shirk the question of redistribution, and they themselves had acknowledged that redistribution was the real difficulty with which they had to deal. Hon. Gentlemen opposite were very fond of listening to words which came from that side of the House; but he would read a quotation from the speech of a right hon. Gentleman who sat on the other side of the House with regard to redistribution, which explained what was thought of redistribution some years ago. They were the words of the Prime Minister himself, who, in dealing with the question of the franchise in 1867, said—[*Interruption.*] Perhaps the House would listen to the words of the Prime Minister. If the right hon. Gentleman was on that side of the House he had no doubt they would not. The words of the Prime Minister in 1867 were true words, and might have had almost a prophetic reference to what was taking place now. The right hon. Gentleman said that—

"In the battle of the franchise there is hovering on the flank an awful phantom. It is yclept 'the redistribution of seats.' This hobgoblin decided the battle and slew the Ministry



in 1866. It may decide more battles, and it may slay more Ministries."

These were the words used by the Prime Minister in 1867; and he could well understand how, with this hobgoblin before his eyes, and knowing how, in times past, it had decided battles and slain Ministries, he had now adopted that prudence which was the better part of valour, and had decided to bring before the House, not the question of re-distribution, but to fight the battle of the franchise alone. He (Mr. Marriott) did not think that the country would be taken in by any such transparent device. He was happy to say that the country, through the labours of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), whose scheme for education had now had play for 14 years, notwithstanding that that scheme was opposed by the Radical Party, were now able to decide a question of this nature for themselves. The voters read the newspapers, and knew what was going on. He, therefore, thought they would thoroughly understand this transparent device of Her Majesty's Government. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had expressed a hope that the Opposition would not fear the people, but would rather trust them. It was not that side of the House that feared the people. They did not object to an appeal to the people at once. He was speaking of what he felt certain was the opinion of every hon. and right hon. Gentleman who sat on that side of the House, when he said the sooner an appeal was made to the people the more satisfied they would be. It was hon. Members opposite who feared the people, and when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, with a real feeling of sympathy for those who sat on his right, suggested that if the Bill were thrown out by the House of Lords that would be no reason for a Dissolution, the suggestion was received with a hearty cheer by hon. Gentlemen who began to see that they might, perhaps, have a few months' longer possession of their seats, and that they were not about to be banished to obscurity all at once, but that they might still have a little time before them yet. He could assure hon. and right hon. Gentlemen that it was not that side of the House that feared an appeal to the people. As to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the

Board of Trade, he was always posing as the friend of the people. That was the particular character he liked to display before the public. According to himself, he was the Joseph Arch of the agricultural labourer, the Plimsoll of the merchant seaman, and the Bradlaugh of the anti-pensioner. In fact, he was the admirable Crichton of all the revolutionary classes. He meant no disrespect to the right hon. Gentleman; but the right hon. Gentleman reminded him of a certain class of mad doctors who did not trust their patients when they went to visit them, but always took care that they wore strait waistcoats. So the right hon. Gentleman never faced the people boldly; he only went to see them when they had been thoroughly drilled and properly fitted with a strait waistcoat prepared for them at Birmingham. He was not aware that the right hon. Gentleman had ever faced a real public meeting. Every meeting he went to was arranged by his friend Mr. Schnadhorst, and the persons he generally had in his pay. When the Constitutionalists held meetings, they were genuine public meetings, at which they were brought face to face with the people, and they did not care to put in force all the complicated machinery resorted to by their opponents before the people were brought into their presence. As he had said, he did not think it was that side of the House that had anything to fear from an appeal to the people. It was those who were perpetually flattering the people, who made them fair promises which they could never fulfil, and who were trying to excite the masses against other classes above them. Those were the men who had cause to fear a Dissolution. He could only say—and he said it with all seriousness—that a more reprehensible charge was never made in that House, or anywhere else, by a Cabinet Minister than that by which the President of the Board of Trade attempted to excite the people of the country when he applied the term "robbers" to the landowners. He thought the right hon. Gentleman was very injudicious in making a comparison between the manufacturers and the landowners of the country. Hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House were not fond of bringing charges against particular classes. To his mind, there was nothing more cowardly than to bring serious

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charges against a whole class of individuals, whether landowners, shipowners, or Members of the House of Lords. When a charge was brought against an individual, that individual could meet it; but when a charge was brought against a class, it was very difficult to meet it, because no particular instance was referred to. The right hon. Gentleman did not make a charge against an individual, but against a class; and if he meant what he said, the charge he preferred against a body of men was a most serious charge indeed. There were many landowners on the other side of the House sitting by the side of the right hon. Gentleman when he made the charge; and he (Mr. Marriott) would like to know in their inmost hearts what they, his own Colleagues sitting with him in the Cabinet, thought of the charge he made against them. He (Mr. Marriott) was of opinion that it was a great mistake to contrast the comparative merits of the manufacturers with those of the landowners. There might be landowners who had inclosed commons—landowners who had taken land sometimes which did not belong to them; and there might have been manufacturers who had equally robbed the people they employed. There had been going about the country of late a gentleman called Mr. Henry George, who was connected with an Association in this country termed the Democratic Federation. In the view of Mr. George, and of that Association, every manufacturer and every capitalist was a robber, and every monopolist was a robber, and the manufacturers of Birmingham were pointed to as the chief robbers of all. If manufacturers brought a charge of robbery against the landowners they would find that the charge would recoil against themselves with increased force and vigour. As a matter of fact, the landowners made no charge against the manufacturers, nor against any other class; but they were quite prepared to say that they did, as a rule, provide better cottages for their labourers, and attended more to the comfort of the men they employed, than the manufacturers. The reason was a simple one; it was because they knew the people better. They lived in villages in which the landowners had possessed property for generations, and the latter had taken great interest in them; whereas in the

manufacturing towns the labourer went to a mill and went away again without anything being known of him. Therefore, if a comparison were made between the two sets of employers, it would be found that the landowners paid far more attention to the condition of the labourers than the manufacturers did to the condition and well-being of the men they employed. Such an attack as that which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman upon the landowners was unworthy of a great debate like this, and ought never to have been preferred by a Cabinet Minister. He was perfectly certain that he was not only speaking the sentiments of hon. Members on that side of the House, but also the sentiments of a great many Members on the other side of the House, if they only dared to say so, when he said that they strongly reprehended the language which had been used from the Front Treasury Bench with regard to a large number of persons who were represented on both sides of the House. Before the speech of the right hon. Gentleman on Thursday, he did not think the House had any great cause for trusting Her Majesty's Government in connection with the Redistribution Bill; but since that speech had been delivered they had still less cause, because they knew that if such a speech was listened to with silent acquiescence by those who sat beside the right hon. Gentleman they would be prepared to acquiesce in his views still further, until he became, as he was now, practically the Leader of the Ministerial Party; and the Redistribution Bill would be framed upon the lines which he laid down, and then the Radical Party, who wished to rule the country despotically, would obtain the power they desired to have.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(Mr. Broadhurst,)—put, and agreed to.

Debate further adjourned till Thursday.

### MOTIONS.

—o—

METROPOLITAN RAILWAY (PARK RAILWAY AND PARLIAMENT STREET IMPROVEMENT) BILL.

NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Motion made and Question proposed,

"That Sir James McFarlane-Hogg be a Member of the Select Committee on the Metro-

*Mr. Marriott*



politan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement) Bill."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

MR. SHEIL said, he rose to a point of Order.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): Does the hon. Member object to the Motion?

MR. SHEIL: Yes; on the ground that it is not proposed to appoint a single Irish Member upon the Committee.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): The hon. Member must object to the names as they are called.

MR. SHEIL said, he proposed to move the adjournment of the debate. He presumed that the first Motion made would be a Motion for the nomination of the Committee.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): The hon. Member would not be in Order at present in moving the adjournment of the debate. No question of debate has yet arisen in the House.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he wished to ask what was the exact Question before the House?

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): The Question is, "That Sir James M'Garel-Hogg be a Member of the Select Committee on the Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement) Bill."

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he had not heard the Question put that a Select Committee be nominated.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): Does the hon. Member for Meath (Mr. Sheil) propose some other name?

MR. SHEIL: No; I propose to move the adjournment of the debate.

MR. SEXTON wished to point out, on the question of Order, that this was the first occasion of nominating this Committee. He wanted to know whether, when a Question of nominating a Committee was put to the House, it was not open for his hon. Friend to move the adjournment of the debate?

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): The hon. Member is under a misapprehension as to the facts of the case. The Motion has already been made for the appointment of the Committee, and I have now proceeded to call the names. The Motion has already been agreed to that a certain number of

Members be named upon the Committee by the House, and a certain number by the Committee of Selection. The only Question now to consider is the names of the Members to be nominated by the House. The name I have called is that of Sir James M'Garel-Hogg.

MR. SHEIL said, he thought he was entitled upon that name to move the adjournment of the debate. The Committee was a very important one, and could not be nominated at that hour after the promise which had been made that all other Business after 11 o'clock should be postponed in order to enable the hon. Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton) to bring forward his Motion. He might briefly say that he should object to the name of Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, not on any personal grounds, but because he wished to raise the question of the desirability of appointing some Irish Member upon the Committee. One reason why he did this was that the right hon. Gentleman who had undertaken to move the appointment of the Committee was not in his place.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the hon. Member was mistaken.

MR. SHEIL remarked, that, at any rate, the right hon. Gentleman had assigned no reason at all for moving these particular names; and on that ground he (Mr. Sheil) would move the adjournment of the debate.

MR. HEALY seconded the Motion, and asked the First Commissioner of Works to withdraw the nomination of this Committee for the present, in order that the hon. Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton) might bring forward the important Motion of which he had given Notice.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Sheil.*)

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE expressed the hope that the House would allow the Committee to be nominated. He would have no objection to alter the constitution of the Committee, so as to include some Irish Members.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he wished to point out to the First Commissioner of Works that he did not appear to be acquainted with what had already taken place in respect to this matter. The right hon. Gentleman said



that after the Committee was nominated he would be willing to alter its constitution; but the right hon. Gentleman had no power to alter the constitution of a Committee. The House had already agreed that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee, five of the Members of which were to be nominated by the House, and four by the Committee of Selection. The First Commissioner of Works said that if the House would kindly agree to the five names now proposed he would undertake to alter the constitution of the Committee. But the right hon. Gentleman was evidently ignorant of the Forms of the House, which would not allow the constitution of a Committee to be altered after the names had been agreed to. The right hon. Gentleman was, therefore, altogether misleading the House. Under these circumstances, seeing the total ignorance of the First Commissioner of Works, who was the responsible Minister in charge of this Private Bill, and upon whom the Bill depended, and whose connection with it was very much to be deprecated, he thought the adjournment of the debate was an eminently proper course for the House to adopt. The question to be put before the Committee raised questions of immense engineering importance; and, with the exception of the name of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg), there was not another hon. Member proposed by the Committee who could claim in any way to be an authority on the various scientific questions which must be raised before the Committee. He thought the Committee was about as bad a Committee as the noble Lord the Member for Flintshire (Lord Richard Grosvenor) could have selected. Under these circumstances, and considering the extremely inaccurate and ignorant statement which had been made to the House by the First Commissioner of Works, and considering the composition of the Committee, he hoped the House would not allow this most important Bill to be dealt with in this extremely slipshod way.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the noble Lord had lectured his right hon. Friend on his ignorance of the Forms of the House; but he must say that, in the statement made by the noble

Lord, he (Lord Randolph Churchill) had exhibited an extraordinary want of acquaintance with the usual and common practice of the House. It had happened over and over again that exception was taken to the names proposed upon a Committee, and especially to the omission of names which it was thought desirable to add. That was a most common practice, and the noble Lord, who had been more than a year or two in the House, ought to be fully aware of it. Only the other day objection was taken to the fact that there was no Scotch Member appointed upon a certain Committee. What took place upon that occasion? He asked hon. Gentlemen from Scotland to agree to the names on the Paper, with the understanding that if they chose subsequently to move to add the names of Scotch Members he would consent to the proposal. Everybody knew that the common practice in that case was to move to increase the number of the Committee, and then to add other names. That was exactly the proposal which his right hon. Friend had made in this instance. Hon. Members from Ireland desired to have a Member on the Committee. If they would allow the Motion, as it stood, to be passed, as was done the other night, there would be no objection, at a subsequent period, to add an Irish Member to the Committee. Instead of being in ignorance of the practice of the House, his right hon. Friend had acted entirely in accordance with that practice. [LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No!] He begged leave to differ from the noble Lord. It was precisely the same course as that which was taken the other night in reference to the addition of Scotch Members. His right hon. Friend, however, would do whatever the Irish Members desired; he would either adjourn the debate, or follow the course taken the other night in reference to adding the name of a Scotch Member. He thought it would be more in accordance with the practice of the House to pass the names as they now stood, with the understanding that a Member for Ireland should subsequently be added.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he did not see how the course suggested by the Home Secretary would save the time of the House. If it was decided that there should be an alteration pro-

*Lord Randolph Churchill*

posed in the constitution of the Committee with the view of meeting the wishes of Members from Ireland, surely it would be better to adjourn the debate now, and hereafter bring forward a proposition of a more complete character.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he was quite ready to take that course.

MR. RAIKES said, he thought the Home Secretary had fallen into the same error as the First Commissioner of Works. He (Mr. Raikes) had not been able very clearly to grasp the precise point to which the right hon. and learned Gentleman's remarks were addressed, because it appeared to him that there was a confusion between two propositions. First of all, the right hon. Gentleman took it that the First Commissioner proposed that the thing should be done at once by a stroke of the pen, and then the right hon. Gentleman changed his note and spoke of its being done on a future occasion. He (Mr. Raikes) wished the House clearly to understand that the proposal which had been made by the First Commissioner of Works was one that could only be carried into effect by varying the original Resolution by the introduction of a subsequent alteration. Therefore, if hon. Members were desirous that the debate should be adjourned in order that they might see whether it was desirable to vary the original Resolution of the House, it appeared to him that they were perfectly within their right in asking and pressing that demand upon the House. If they were to add the name of any Gentleman from Ireland who might have won the good graces of Her Majesty's Government it could only be done at that moment by omitting one of the names now upon the Paper. He, therefore, trusted that if the question was to receive the attention which this matter deserved, they would be allowed to adjourn the debate now in order that it might come up for more careful consideration when the House was better qualified to discuss it.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, that all he had asked was that they should agree to the Motion now, and the name of an Irish Member could be added afterwards. He quite agreed that it would be necessary to alter the construction of the Committee. If, however, the House desired to adjourn the debate, he had no objection to that course being taken.

Question put, and agreed to.

Debate adjourned till Thursday.

## THE EDUCATION CODE.

### MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON, who had given Notice of his intention to move the following Resolution:—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, in respect to the Education Code now lying on the Table of this House, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that regulations shall be made so as to secure the following objects, that is to say:—  
1. That scholars under seven years of age shall not be presented for examination individually, but by class; 2. That greater liberty than at present shall be given to managers and teachers to classify children according to their acquirements and abilities; 3. That a larger share of the Government Grant shall depend upon attendance, and a smaller upon individual examination; 4. That the Government Grant shall not be affected by the withdrawal of ten per centum of the scholars from examination at the discretion of the managers,"

said, that he intended to move the Resolution with some consideration for the state of health of Mr. Deputy Speaker; therefore, he should not enter into any technical arguments, and he should compress within narrowest limits what he had to say. He did not intend to move No. 4 of the Resolutions he had placed upon the Paper. He understood it might be ruled out of Order; and, though he did not agree that it was out of Order, he did not intend to argue the point. The basis of his Motion was that over-pressure existed, and ought no longer to exist, in the elementary schools in England. That was the substance of the matter upon which hon. Members would be asked to vote that night—namely, whether over-pressure should continue, or whether it should be abolished once and for ever. The Resolution was intended to contain, and did contain, no censure whatever upon the Government, or upon the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council. In fact, he believed, if the Vice President were to tell them his honest opinion, the right hon. Gentleman would say that he would be very much pleased if the Resolution were carried, that it would strengthen his hands, and that it would enable him to tread the path he was beginning to pursue with firmer steps and without looking back. He (Mr. Stanley Leighton) could bring, if this were the time or the



proper opportunity, overwhelming evidence to prove the existence of over-pressure; but he did not intend to trouble the House with that evidence, and he asked them to accept from him the fact, which he said with the conscious conviction of the responsibility it entailed, that over-pressure existed in our schools, and would continue to exist under the Code now lying on the Table of the House, which was actually killing the children and killing the teachers. He could prove this from documents in the possession of the right hon. Gentleman himself and his Office, which the right hon. Gentleman was afraid to produce, and declared to be confidential. If hon. Members supposed that what he said was merely his own opinion, his answer was this—and he would put it against anything the right hon. Gentleman might say—that 15,000 teachers at a meeting, presided over by Lord Shaftesbury, had declared unanimously that over-pressure existed; that the present Code would not remove over-pressure; and that the only way to remove over-pressure was to accept the very Resolutions which he had embodied in his Motion. He defied the right hon. Gentleman, or any manager, or any member of a School Board in that House, to place his authority against that of 15,000 teachers, who, much better than they did, knew what the effect of the present Code was. He besought the Government not to treat the question as a Party question; he besought them not to make a Party question of it by insisting that the Government Tellers should tell against him on that occasion. He asked them to accept the three first Resolutions, and to allow them to be passed *nemine contradicente*. If the right hon. Gentleman would not do that, then, of course, he must go to a Division, which would show who were in favour of over-pressure and who were against it. Of this he was sure—that the constituents of every Member in that House would show their gratitude to those who, while over-pressed themselves, were nevertheless determined that they would, as far as they could, prevent the oppression of others. With this simple, general statement of what was contained in the Resolutions, he begged to move the three first as they stood upon the Paper, omitting the fourth. The first provided that scholars under seven years

of age should be presented for examination by class, and not individually; the second, that greater liberty should be given for the classification of children; and the third, that the Government grant should depend more largely upon attendance than upon individual examination. He withdrew the fourth, which proposed to provide that the Government grant should not be affected by the withdrawal of 10 per cent of the scholars at the discretion of the managers.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, in respect to the Education Code now lying on the Table of this House, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that regulations shall be made so as to secure the following objects, that is to say:—

- (1.) That scholars under seven years of age shall not be presented for examination individually, but by class;
- (2.) That greater liberty than at present shall be given to managers and teachers to classify children according to their acquirements and abilities;
- (3.) That a larger share of the Government Grant shall depend upon attendance, and a smaller upon individual examination."

—(Mr. Stanley Leighton.)

SIR LYON PLAYFAIR said, he was sure the House would recognize both the motives and the manner in which the hon. Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton) had brought the question before them. Practically, the hon. Member's Motion was only Resolution No. 3; and he thought the hon. Gentleman had acted with great discretion in omitting the 4th Resolution, which would probably have received very little support from the House. The first two Resolutions were quite unnecessary, for it would be very easy to show that the securities desired by the hon. Member already existed. The substance of those Resolutions formed part of the present Code. He (Sir Lyon Playfair) asked the House to inquire what it was they were about to do? They were asked to pass a series of Resolutions, which might have a very simple and pure meaning in the mind of the hon. Member for North Shropshire; but which, if adopted, he thought he should be able to show the House might have considerable consequences which were not in the mind of the hon. Member. It should be borne in mind that the Code was a Code which had been brought into working order by

Mr. Stanley Leighton



an experience of 21 years. It had been brought into its present state by consultation among all the Inspectors and persons most interested in education, and every part of it adhered together. It was undesirable, therefore, by a general Resolution, to give a meaning different from that intended by the framers of the Code, for they might dislocate the whole Code and produce consequences which they had not the least intention of producing. Let them see what the 1st Resolution was. The first of these Resolutions stated that scholars under seven years of age should not be presented for examination individually, but by class. But that was what was in the Code now. Children under seven years of age were not examined individually; but the grants were given by a general assessment of the merits of the teaching of juvenile children. An Inspector might say—"I have no evidence, and I do not understand what the merits of the teaching are, unless I take one or two children from the class and hear them read or write. Unless I do that, I shall not know how to judge or form a general opinion of the merits of the class." But there was no individual examination of each of the pupils of the class, as there was in regard to larger children who were above seven years of age. Therefore, the intention of the hon. Member for North Shropshire was entirely secured by the existing Code. It was by a general assessment of merits, and not by the individual examination of the children, that the grant was given. He would ask the House to see what, if the hon. Member's 1st Resolution were adopted, its literal interpretation would be? Its literal interpretation would be, that no Inspector could go to the class, and pick out any child in order to consider him a type of the class, and ascertain whether he could read or write, because the Resolution said there was to be no individual examination; and, consequently, the discretion of the Inspector would be very much hampered. He would be prevented from making a true assessment of the merits of the class. Now, what was the 2nd Resolution? It was that greater liberty than at present should be given to managers and teachers to classify children according to their acquirements and abilities. He wished to point out that managers

had the greatest liberty at present to arrange and classify scholars. The First Standard ought to be passed by a child of eight years of age; but any manager might detain a child who was backward in education, having been kept away from school, or having had no means of acquiring education, until he was nine, 10, or 11 years of age. He had power to put such a child in Standard I., and classify him in the lowest Standard. Therefore, the manager had the power at present, and the Code could not prevent him from exercising it. The manager had a perfect right to use that power, and to place the child in Standard I. There was only one thing which prevented mischievous action; and if any hon. Member said that it was not right, then he would be justified in voting for the 2nd Resolution. There was a provision that a boy or girl, having passed in one Standard, should not again be presented in the same Standard, but must be presented in a higher one. It would be absurd to allow a manager who had a child passed in Standard I. to present the same child again next year in the same Standard; and that was the whole interference with the power of the managers in regard to classifying children—namely, that when a child had passed in a lower Standard, on the next examination he must be passed in a higher one. Therefore, those two rules, as they were sketched out in the mind of the hon. Member for North Shropshire, were already in the Code, and it did not require new regulations to enforce them. New regulations might interfere with the work now going on. Then there was the 3rd Resolution moved by the hon. Gentleman, and upon that he (Sir Lyon Playfair) took issue. He contended that the 3rd Resolution was essentially a bad one, and might produce great mischief to education. Indeed, he thought he could convince the hon. Member himself that it would do so; and he hoped to be able to convince the House that it would, if passed, do more to alter the conditions of the labour of young children than anything that could be done if it were not passed. Now, what was that Resolution? It virtually said—"Let us pay more for mere attendance and less for the results of individual examination." Now, who was it that made this demand? The hon. Gentleman said that 15,000 teachers

had made the demand. He (Sir Lyon Playfair) doubted whether good teachers made the demand at all. He wished to obtain some information upon the point. He had read all the speeches delivered at the deputations that waited on the Privy Council upon the subject of education; and he had not seen one case in which an educational society, whether denominational or undenominational, a school board, or a body of school managers, had gone to the Privy Council and made this demand. The demand came from the teachers; but he thought he could show that it would not be for the benefit of the teachers to concede it, and it would certainly be to the detriment of the scholars. In the present state of the question, it was the crudest possible way of disposing of the matter to put it upon the teachers. He had the greatest respect for the teachers, and this was simply a crude method of saying—"Give us more of the public money on easier conditions." That was what was asked for in the Resolution, and he invited the House to see how it would operate. The average schools throughout the country received 16s. 8d. per scholar. How much of that 16s. 8d. was obtained by individual examinations? It might be supposed that a great proportion of it was obtained in that way; but, on the average, a school only got 6s. 8d. for individual examination. The rest of the payment was for attendance, and for class subjects such as English and geography, which were not taken by individual examination at all, and the final portion of it was secured by the general merit of the school. Therefore, all the 3rd Resolution would effect would be the sum of 6s. 8d. given for individual examination, and applicable to the mere elements of education—reading, writing, and arithmetic. The object of the Resolution was to take away, say, 2s. from that sum, and to add it to the 4s. 6d. now given for attendance. In fact, by giving attention to this Resolution the House would take away the great impulse of the teacher, not in regard to larger subjects, such as English and geography, but in reference to the elementary education of young children—the very essentials of education which a child must have—namely, reading, writing, and arithmetic. Was that what the hon. Member intended to do; and if it was, what would be the result? It would,

as he had said, take away a great deal of the impulse from the teacher in teaching the mere elements of education—reading, writing, and arithmetic. Class subjects did not come by individual examination; and the effect would, therefore, be to diminish what they desired to have in the school—namely, good reading, writing, and arithmetic. The consequence of that would be very serious in the eyes of hon. Members opposite, who often complained in that House, and probably with great justice, that the labour tests, as now applied, did not enable children to obtain employment while sufficiently young. This Resolution would largely postpone the time for passing the tests now imposed. At present they were not allowed to employ children who had not passed Standard IV., and in some cases Standard V. was enforced by bye-laws and some Acts; but if they took away the impulse to make the children pass the Standard when young, they might not be able to pass them until they were 12 or 13 years of age. While, therefore, it was desired to liberate the children in order that they might add to the earnings of their families, the House, by passing the Resolution, which they were asked to do, would do that which they did not wish to do—namely, diminish the efficiency of the elementary teaching, and make the poor children lag a long time behind before they would be able to pass the labour test. There might be, though he did not believe it, some interest to the teachers in the proposed change; but it was certainly hostile to the interests of the children. The State, which had imposed the labour test on children, was bound to see that it should press upon families as lightly as possible. He had tried to convince the House that, with the best intentions in the world, the hon. Member was not justified in proposing these Resolutions. The first two were in the Code already, and, therefore, the insertion of them in a different form of words would only injure the Code and produce difficulties. The 3rd Resolution would not do what the hon. Member intended in regard to over-pressure, because, if there was over-pressure at all, it was in the higher subjects, and not upon the mere elementary education—reading, writing, and arithmetic. He thought the hon. Member was wise in not having attempted



to raise a debate upon over-pressure. He (Sir Lyon Playfair) could only say, from his own experience, that he had seen the Code and watched its operation during the 21 years it had existed. There had been continued attempts to modify and remove the evils of over-pressure, and no Code had been so satisfactory in that respect as the present one. The Code very largely removed the danger by giving to the schoolmaster an excuse in almost every direction he might desire. He could make an allowance with regard to the children on account of illness, on account of inevitable absence, and for mental or bodily defects. The schoolmaster was entitled to make an allowance on all those matters, in order that a boy should come up for examination without detriment to the grant to the school; and, as a matter of fact, there never was a Code which could be less the subject of attack on account of over-pressure than the Code now under consideration. He would not, however, discuss that question, as he had no doubt there would be full discussion upon it hereafter. He was quite satisfied that the hon. Member, when he considered the effect of his Resolutions, would see that they would not carry out the object he had in view. He was quite sure it would not be of benefit to good teachers, and he was equally certain that it was not for the benefit of the State that any indifferent teachers should be withdrawn from that control which the House of Commons and the Education Department had hitherto exercised over the £3,000,000 of public money which was now annually voted for education.

Mr. R. H. PAGET said, that the regard he had for the health of Mr. Deputy Speaker would prevent him from entering into anything like a prolonged debate; and he felt bound to express his regret that the question had not been reached at an earlier period of the evening. The House was now in this position—that instead of commencing the debate at 11 they had not commenced it until after 12 o'clock; and they were, consequently, much hampered in discussing it. In his opinion—and he knew he spoke the feeling of the entire House—they were extremely unwilling to do anything that would subject the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair, on any account, to personal inconvenience.

He felt himself called upon to take exception to the speech which had just been addressed to the House by the right hon. Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair). These Resolutions were asked for not only by the 15,000 teachers to whom reference had been made, but by the great majority of the managers of the elementary schools throughout the country. In point of fact, there was a general consensus of opinion among the teachers and managers who were thoroughly and practically acquainted with all the details of the matter, and assuredly there was much to be said for that which they demanded. He would very shortly deal with the three points raised by the Resolution. The right hon. Gentleman who had just addressed the House told them there was nothing in the first point, as to undue pressure on scholars under seven years of age, because the Inspectors had met and consulted together, and because it was the intention of the Education Code that the children should not be so presented for separate examination. That might be the intention of the Code; but that intention was certainly not expressed in it. [SIR LYON PLAYFAIR: Yes; in Article 116.] The right hon. Gentleman said the intention was expressed in Article 116. That was one of the difficulties hon. Members were met with at that moment. The Code had only been recently laid on the Table; it was full of minute and intricate detail; but, on reference to it, he certainly failed to see anything in Article 116 which affected the question, or in any way justified the contention of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman said that the First Standard ought to be passed by every child of eight years. The whole system of the present Education Code was to regard all the children of the nation as so many feet pounds of engineering science. But the intellectual abilities of children could not be so defined. There were differences between the town and rural children. For instance, with regard to the possibility of attending school their positions were very different. In the case of thickly-populated districts, the school was generally within a few hundred yards or so of the place where the children lived, and everyone of them, therefore, could easily attend; but in



rural districts the child had to go miles to school, in all seasons of the year, and sometimes under circumstances attended with the greatest difficulty. The right hon. Gentleman said that all that the Education Code laid down was that the managers had no right to put a child into a lower Standard who had once passed a higher Standard. Now, that was the great ground of complaint. Children, by over-pressure, were forced to present themselves for examinations, which possibly by good luck they might scrape through, and were then put into a Standard for which they were unfitted, and for which their mental capacities might be unequal. But having scraped through a certain Standard in one school, and subsequently being transferred to another school, the manager of the latter, instead of placing the child in his proper position, was unable to do so, because the child had been forced into a higher Standard than he was fitted for in another school. If he believed for a moment that the 3rd clause of the Resolution of his hon. Friend would have the effect of removing the impulse to teachers of getting their children through the elementary stages of reading, writing, and arithmetic, he would not for one moment think of voting for the Resolution; but he believed there was no ground whatever for the assertion of the right hon. Gentleman that this impulse would be destroyed. Did the right hon. Gentleman mean to say that the teachers and manager had no interest in developing the intellects of the children under their charge, and seeing that they were taught in the best possible way during the limited number of years they were to remain in the elementary schools? Surely the right hon. Gentleman could not mean that, and therefore he (Mr. R. H. Paget) said he had no right to make an assertion of the kind unsupported either by facts or argument. The right hon. Gentleman assumed that it was a matter of the greatest ease—that all the children who had passed through the early Standards in reading, writing, and arithmetic, had done so without any difficulty whatever. But he (Mr. R. H. Paget) knew, by the admission of those who had had opportunities of forming an intelligent opinion on the subject, that the Arithmetical Standards were so high that they were clearly above the average intelligence of

the children as a whole who attended the elementary schools. He was told that if they took the average of those who passed through the schools it would be found that the Arithmetical Standard, as at present fixed, was too high to be demanded as a necessity of the whole class of children who passed through the schools. In conclusion, he said that his hon. Friend who had brought forward this Motion deserved the thanks of the House. The question of over-pressure was one which was gradually ripening in the opinion of the public, and it was to that question that the Resolutions which had been brought forward were chiefly directed. The proposal of his hon. Friend for dealing with the over-pressure of which intelligent teachers universally complained appeared to him perfectly reasonable, and he trusted it would be acceded to. He believed that the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education was himself ready to lend a willing ear to the suggestions made to him in the interests of education; he believed he was the last man to do anything unreasonable; but the Department over which he presided had rules and precedents, and his hope was, nevertheless, that the right hon. Gentleman would have the hardihood to tear himself away from the rigid rules of the Department, and accede to the very reasonable proposals which had been put forward.

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, I may state at once that I entirely agree with the hon. Member for North Shropshire (Mr. Stanley Leighton) on one point—namely, that the question of education is one which, above all others, ought not to be made a political question, but dealt with as one affecting the intellectual and physical welfare of the children of the nation. It is a question in which every Member of this House ought to be interested; and we ought, therefore, one and all of us, to be ready to do anything which shall tend to the improvement and preservation of the health of the children from whatever side of the House the proposal may come. Now, the hon. Gentleman, in moving his Resolution, has given an example of a rather inconvenient practice—namely, of moving a Resolution without advancing any reasons in support of it; whereas it is incumbent upon me in my reply to find some reasons for differing

with him. In the first place, I must point out that both the hon. Members who have spoken in favour of this Resolution have in their minds not the present Code, which we have to consider, but the Code of the last 10 years. The hon. Member who has just spoken can, I think, hardly have read the present Code, because he spoke of cast-iron rules, and of the children being expected to pass all the Standards at one time. Sir, there is not one word in the Code which justifies that statement. On the contrary, we have swept away—we have entirely abolished—the age clauses of the former Code: age is scarcely mentioned in the Code, and even where it is mentioned, there is the greatest amount of elasticity associated with it. It does seem to me, therefore, that hon. Members who have put forward and supported this Resolution are placing on this Code the sins of its predecessors. Now, I have no hesitation in declaring that the first two objects set forth in the terms of the Resolution are perfectly reasonable, and that I quite agree with them. But, Sir, it was expressly to accomplish those objects that we revised the Code. The former Code required children to be classified according to age, and also to be individually examined; whereas we have abolished the age clause, and determined that children under seven should not be examined individually. The instructions to Inspectors have been laid upon the Table; and I think the House will perceive from them that an Inspector who should examine the children individually would be acting contrary to those instructions. I will not say that this has never been the case, but it is contrary to the instructions; and if managers will make us acquainted with cases of the kind they will find the Department ready at once to deal with them, although, as hon. Members will be aware, it is no easy thing to bring into conformity with a revised practice the practice of those who, for 20 years, have been a law unto themselves. The House will see, under Article 106 of the Code, that the grant for infant schools would be computed on the average attendance—

“And not, as heretofore, on the number of children presented at the examination. . . . The children above six, however, should be individually examined.”

That was the position last year; and the directions to the Inspectors were now, that a sufficient number of children above six should be examined to satisfy them that the necessary conditions have been fulfilled. Does the hon. Member mean to say that the Inspector is to judge of a child without asking it to open its mouth; is not the child to point out letters on a card; or, in short, to be examined at all? What would be the use of Inspectors under such circumstances?

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: I complain that three-fourths of the children presented at examinations are to be examined individually.

MR. MUNDELLA: Where does it say so?

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: It is in the instructions to the Inspectors on page 4.

MR. MUNDELLA: Exactly. But that only applies to upper schools. We began last year by saying that only children above six years of age should be examined individually. We have put a Code on the Table much more elastic; and we are resolved this year to give exact expression to the wishes of the hon. Member. As stated in his first Resolution—namely, that children up to seven years shall not be presented for individual examination, but shall be examined by class. What can be more reasonable than that concession? And it is a concession on our part, because it was in our minds before these Resolutions were brought forward. In the interest alike of public economy and of the children themselves, the Department wants to get rid of this system of individual examination of children under seven years of age. Having reduced individual examination last year, I pledge myself to this House that not only shall there be instructions given that the individual examination of children under seven years of age should cease, but I will insist on these instructions being carried out; and will repress, as far as possible, any attempts which may be made to break through them. Then let me say something upon the second part of this question. I quite agree that children who enter the schools should be classified according to their abilities. But, Sir, is not that already the case? I have visited a hundred schools within the last six

months, and I can affirm that if the children of any particular Standard are asked to stand out, that Standard will be represented by children of various ages; there will be a certain number of 10, 11, 12, and 13 years of age. How, then, can hon. Members come down to the House and say that there is a cast-iron rule by which children are bound down to one Standard? We have provided an abundance of excuses, in order to enable teachers to withhold from examination, or not to put in the higher Standards, scholars who are obviously, intellectually and physically, deficient; and, again, if a scholar has failed in two subjects, or twice in one subject, he may be re-presented in the same Standard. Surely hon. Gentlemen do not want more than that; they cannot desire that children should be presented over and over again. I want to know what the parents would say if that were done? I have promised the House I will not detain it long. I hope there will be other and better opportunities than this for hon. Gentlemen to bring forward not only the present question, but also the question of over-pressure. I should like to have the last-named subject discussed, as the Education Department have taken precautions to guard against the evils which are dreaded—precautions which have never been taken before, and which may fall more seriously on the Treasury than hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House may be disposed to allow. I come now to the third provision in the Motion—

“That a larger share of the Government grant shall depend upon attendance, and a smaller upon individual examination.”

The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stanley Leighton) proposes to change the incidence of the grant. Now, is it really reasonable, considering how large is the proportion of the grant now given for average attendance, to demand that a still larger proportion shall be given for merely having the children driven into the schools? We must remember that we are no longer under the voluntary system, under which children are very often brought to the schools by something like missionary effort on the part of the school managers. The compulsory system has taken the place of the voluntary, and children are now forced to enter the schools under a penalty for disobedience. It is necessary to give

every inducement we can to teachers to instruct the children well. The hon. Gentleman has quoted the grant to infant schools. It is only fair to say to hon. Members who are interested in small schools that, in the change made this year, I have done everything I could to take care of those establishments. The large schools I have always felt can now take care of themselves; it is the small ones in the rural districts that form the difficulty, and I have increased the grant to them, giving them now 9s. a-head, in order to encourage them. This increase, however, is not given for individual examinations. The 9s. per head is to be paid on average attendance only, and 5s. 6d. is to be awarded for the general merit and efficiency of the school. Not one farthing is to be given for individual examination, and no more than that 14s. 6d. is given in the case of any infant schools in the country. My right hon. Friend (Sir Lyon Playfair) has said that 16s. 2d. is the grant for higher schools. That is the calculation which the right hon. Gentleman has made; but I am afraid the grant will come out this year more like 16s. 6d., 4s. 6d. being given for attendance, 3s. for singing and class subjects, 2s. for merit dependent on efficiency, not on passing at all, and 7s., out of the total, for individual examinations in reading, writing, and arithmetic. If we are to reverse that order of things, and give 7s. for attendance, instead of 4s. 6d., and 4s. 6d. for individual examinations in reading, writing, and arithmetic, we shall be doing everything we possibly can to discourage the children in that standard of work which is the first essential to them in enabling them to pass from half to full time labour. I think I have given the House all the information I can on this subject. I should be very glad if the hon. Gentleman, on the Education Estimates or on some other occasion, would take an opportunity of bringing before the House the question of over-pressure. With regard to the fourth recommendation—

“That the Government grant shall not be affected by the withdrawal of ten per centum of the scholars for examination, at the discretion of the managers,”

if the hon. Member means to move it, I shall be glad to discuss it; but I will say this—that not one of the 15,000 school teachers who have been quoted,



not a single school board out of the 3,000 in the country, and none of the Educational Societies—such as the National and the British and Foreign—have asked the Education Department for the change.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: I presented a Petition from some of those the right hon. Gentleman has named only yesterday.

MR. MUNDELLA: I am not aware of that fact. Was it addressed to the Education Department?

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: Yes.

MR. MUNDELLA: At any rate, so far as I am aware, from not one of the Educational Societies of the country, and from not one of the school managers, have we had any Petition or Memorial in favour of such changes as the hon. Member advocates. I trust the House will not, in a matter of this grave importance, endeavour, for the first time for 20 years, to disarrange the Education Code, which hangs together in all its branches, and to settle not only the amount of the grant, but the incidence of it by an act of the House. Before sitting down, I should like to make just one more remark, and it is this. I am sure, if there had been anything in the proposals of the hon. Gentleman, they would have found the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) in his place to support them. It is very significant that the noble Lord is not present. The noble Lord has had experience at the Education Department, and has always discussed these matters in a fair and straightforward manner in the House; and there can be no doubt that we should have seen him in his place had it not been for the fact that he knew the Resolutions, the third particularly, to be fraught with danger, and therefore to be such as he could not support.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, he owed an apology to the House, and a special apology to the Deputy Speaker, with whom the House must feel great sympathy in the trying circumstances under which he was presiding over the House, for intruding any remarks of his at this time. The fault that he rose at this late hour, however, was not his; and he would remind the House that it had been understood that the debate was to begin, as nearly as possible, at 11 o'clock. It was owing to circumstances, over which they

on the Opposition side of the House had no control, that the debate did not begin until 12 o'clock; however, he would not waste further time by following that point up. The intentions of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mundella) in the matter of the Education Code were, no doubt, excellent; but it was a pity his action was not so excellent as his intention. The right hon. Gentleman told them he was going to do what the hon. Member for North Shropshire asked the House to ask him to do; and, that being the case, the House might as well adopt the Motion.

MR. MUNDELLA: I said it would be done in the Code by instructions to the Inspectors.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, he trusted the instructions to the Inspectors would be observed this year better than they were last; because, if the House would bear with him for a few minutes, he would be able to show that these officials had acted in a manner directly contrary to the manner in which the right hon. Gentleman said they ought to have acted. One of the Inspectors in June last, at a large meeting of school teachers and managers, said—"With regard to infants"—and the House would remember they were talking about infants—

"Every child in the six-year old class would be examined individually, and would be expected to write all the letters, large and small, to read two easy primers, to add numbers from one to 20 mentally, and to subtract numbers from one to 10 mentally. They ought also to have regular lessons in form, colour, and on familiar objects—vegetable, animal, and mineral. Below this age the work should be preparatory, and for those under four"—

remember, he was reading the words of an Inspector—

"he thought they should be taught to speak English."

He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman had a child of his own under four; but if he had, all he (Mr. J. G. Talbot) could say was, the right hon. Gentleman must have forgotten the circumstances when he read these remarks, if it had not caused him to change his opinion.

MR. MUNDELLA: What is the name of that Inspector?

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, he was referring to what had fallen from Mr. Rooper, Inspector of one of the Yorkshire

districts. The Inspector had used those words in his private capacity—that was to say, when not, at the moment, acting under instructions. The instructions given last summer were in Circular 212 (Instructions to Her Majesty's Inspectors). In them it was stated—

“The children apparently above six should, however, be individually examined, and a sufficient number of the others to satisfy you that the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic are properly taught.”

[“Hear, hear!”] He was sorry to hear Liberal Members cheer such a sentiment as that. He hoped the cheer would be confined to the Liberals, however—that no Conservatives wished children under the age of six to be separately and individually examined. All he could say was, that if hon. Gentlemen would go into the crowded districts of this great city and examine the sort of children under the age of six who were brought into the Board and other schools, or go to Manchester and Liverpool and see the children under the age of six who were subjected to individual examination—[*Laughter.*]

MR. MUNDELLA: Nothing of the kind.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, that if hon. Members could only see the children who were examined in this way they would find nothing in it to laugh at. The instructions issued to the Inspectors last year were that a sufficient number of children under the age of six should be examined to show the Inspectors that the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic were properly taught. [MR. MUNDELLA: No.] And the instructions also said—

“When not less than three-fourths pass the individual examination well, the mark ‘good’ should be awarded.”

Although there was nothing in the Code, or in the Instructions, with reference to the classification of children by age, it was well-known that many Inspectors had a distinct syllabus for children above three, above four, above five, and above six respectively. Liberal Members were ready that these poor, unfortunate children of three, four, and five years should be individually examined. [“No, no!”] Yes, that was so; in order that Her Majesty's Inspectors might be satisfied that the elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic were properly taught to them. [*A laugh.*] Hon. Gen-

tleman laughed—he said, again, that that laughter came from only one side of the House. The mark “good” was to depend on whether three-fourths of the children in infant schools passed the individual examination. He did not want to labour this matter further. If the House were not satisfied with what he had read, nothing, he was sure, that he could say would satisfy them. The right hon. Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair), who was not now in his place, had, in defending the conduct of the Education Department, said that the unfortunate children were not examined individually. How could the right hon. Gentleman know that the children were not examined individually? All he (Mr. J. G. Talbot) knew was that last summer these instructions were issued to Inspectors. It might be that it was the intention of the Vice President that children under six years of age should not be subjected to individual examination in the time to come; but what he (Mr. J. G. Talbot) wished to say that night was that hon. Members were so dissatisfied with the way the matter had been managed hitherto that the House of Commons should say that there should not be a repetition of the old state of things. They feared the right hon. Gentleman would not be able to have his good intentions carried out. As to the request made in the second section of the Motion, the right hon. Gentleman told them that that was practically done at the present moment. Well, no doubt the right hon. Gentleman wished it might be done; but, as a matter of fact, it was not done. The children were forced up from Standard to Standard, independent of their attainments and fitness for promotion. He appealed to Gentlemen who had children themselves how they would like those children to be pushed up from form to form in the public schools to which they were sent, whether they were fit for it or not? The teachers, it might be said, would take care that no harm came to the children in this matter; but he asked the House of Commons to do for the poor children of the country what well-to-do parents did for their own children. The third part of the Motion asked—

“That a larger share of the Government grant shall depend upon attendance, and a smaller upon individual examinations.”

Mr. J. G. Talbot

They knew that *4s. 6d.* was the only fixed grant that depended upon attendance, and they asked that that should be increased. Why did they ask it? Because up to this time it was found that the extra pressure put on children had largely resulted from the teachers having been running a race, as it were, one against the other to obtain high results of teaching. What hon. Members wanted was that the main object, the main reward, which was given by the State to the schools should be given for the hum-drum which did not make a bright show in the public eye, but which was the real, sound substratum on which education should be based. He and his Friends had felt that in discussing this matter at this hour, and under these conditions, they were under the greatest possible disadvantage, because it was impossible for them to urge all the arguments they might wish to urge. If the right hon. Gentleman meant what he said, that he was going to meet hon. Members by due instructions to the Inspectors, and by carrying out those excellent intentions he had expressed in his speech—which he had put into words, but which had not been hitherto put into action—

MR. MUNDELLA: They are in the Code.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, he wanted to see them somewhere else, because Inspectors hitherto had not acted on the instructions contained in the Code. The hon. Member for Cornwall (Mr. Acland), he saw, had the Code in his hand, and no doubt he was satisfied that Her Majesty's Inspectors would act on it. He (Mr. J. G. Talbot), however, could not have the same confidence in the matter as his hon. Friend. He wished to see in black and white that the Inspectors, in the future, should not act on their own whim and fancy; but should be bound by a Resolution of the House of Commons, expressed in the very moderate terms of the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Shropshire.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I am not going to detain the House more than one or two minutes. The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down says it makes very little difference whether this is in the Code or not. I understood the real reason why we have the debate under difficult circumstances so late at night, and without the possibility of the sub-

ject being thoroughly examined into, to be because it was thought desirable that the House should express an opinion which would alter the Code. It appears clear that individual examination of children under seven is no longer to be made. Notwithstanding what the hon. Gentleman has said about his desire that no Members on this side should express approval of individual examination of children under seven, I must say this—that I think any Inspector would fail in his duty if he went into an infant school and was to give an opinion of that school without finding from the examination of any of the children how they were taught. That is a very different thing to the individual examination of each child; and I should like to ask, from persons with any experience whatever in education, how the Inspector is to give any notion whether or not any education is given—whether elementary teaching of children under seven is or is not carried on—if he is not to examine any of the children? What is objected to, and I think quite rightly, is the actual examination of each child. If this Motion is accepted, a much more important decision must be made than anything affecting the first of the Resolutions, and that is as regards the third. The third is of immense importance, and it is that a larger share of the Government grant shall depend upon attendance, and that will involve a great change in the expenditure of public money, and, I believe, also a great change in the results, and we ought not to agree to any Resolution of this House without far more reasons than the hon. Member has felt himself able to give to-night. I have never been so much in favour of making the payments of grants depend upon results as some other persons of great experience have been; but the whole tendency for the last few years has been to make the grants depend less on results. We may very well go too far in that direction, and may get back to the state of things existing before the Code was passed. My opinion was that Lord Sherbrooke went too far; but if we do not take care that there is a good deal of individual examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic, we shall get back to a state of things in which the masters must look merely to the clever children, and the great body of the children will not be taught reading, writing, and



arithmetic, which is what we most care for. It would be a most serious thing for the House in this hasty manner to assent to this great change. We ought to give the question a great deal more consideration; and hon. Members opposite, quite unintentionally, would find that they were doing great injustice to children, and causing a great waste of public money.

MR. LYULPH STANLEY said, he should be very glad to make one or two remarks if the House would allow him to proceed. He wished to point out that a larger share was given under the new system for attendance than was given under the old system. When it was remembered that the Code of last year was regarded on all sides as a great concession to the teachers, he was surprised at what was now said, when the Code had been made more indulgent. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were the only three subjects which were paid for on individual examination. It might be possible to give a larger share on the class grant, or on the merit grant; but that would tend to increase, not diminish, the amount of instruction, and so the hon. Member who brought forward this Motion might apprehend an increase of over-pressure. If the Code were altered so as to pay more, independent of examination, the Department would have to take other securities for efficiency in return for public money by increasing the staff and otherwise.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS said, it seemed to him that Resolutions 1 and 2 were perfectly legitimate, because they pledged the House to do nothing whatever except what the right hon. Gentleman said he wished to do. But he had great doubt as to the propriety of the 3rd Resolution.

VISCOUNT EMLYN said, he would appeal to the hon. Member not to press this matter to a Division, for if a Division were taken he should be obliged to vote against the Resolution. So far as this debate had gone, he thought the charges made against their educational system had entirely broken down. No answer had been given to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair), which seemed absolutely to destroy the argument of these Resolutions, especially the third, which was

the one the House would have to vote upon. The House was asked to upset the Code on the case presented to the House by the hon. Member; but he would ask those who had listened to the debate whether a case of any sort had been made out for so grave a step as that? It might be that there was over-pressure; but he was not satisfied that the charges had been proved. They might be capable of proof; but they should be clearly proved before the House voted upon them, and upon the showing of the hon. Member himself he had not, on this occasion, had an opportunity of fully stating his case to the House. He wished to press it upon his hon. Friend that no good purpose would be served by voting upon this subject now; and he must, at any rate, vote against the Motion.

MR. THOMAS COLLINS wished to know whether these three Resolutions ought not to be put to the House separately? He could support the 1st and 2nd; but not the 3rd and 4th.

THE DEPUTY SPEAKER (Sir ARTHUR OTWAY): The articles of the Resolutions are embodied in the Address to Her Majesty; and, therefore, they need not be put separately.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 135; Noes 184: Majority 49.—(Div. List, No. 54.)

#### POST OFFICE PROTECTION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. FAWCETT, Bill to amend the Law with respect to the Protection of the Post Office, and to offences committed in relation to the Post Office, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. FAWCETT and Mr. COURTNEY.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 161.]

#### ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY [ADDITIONAL OFFICERS, SALARIES, &c.]

Considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That it is expedient to empower the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to appoint certain additional Officers of the Royal Irish Constabulary, and to authorise the payment, out of moneys to be provided by Parliament, of their Salaries and Allowances.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*.

House adjourned at half after  
One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Wednesday, 2nd April, 1884.*MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE — *Report* — Commons [No. 114].PUBLIC BILLS.—*Resolution* [April 1] *reported* —*Ordered*—Royal Irish Constabulary (Additional Officers, Salaries, &c.)*Ordered—First Reading*—Gas Provisional Orders \* [162]; Water Provisional Orders \* [163]; Public Health (Members and Officers) \* [164].*Second Reading*—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays [11], *debate adjourned.**Committee*—Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment \* [155]—R.P.

## MR. SPEAKER'S INDISPOSITION.

MR. SPEAKER addressed the House as followeth:—

I beg respectfully to thank the House for the indulgence which it has shown me, during my enforced absence, owing to illness; and I regret that the House should have been put to any inconvenience on my account.

I also wish to express my obligation to the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, for the self-sacrifice which he made, in taking the Chair in my place.

## ORDER OF THE DAY.

—o—

## SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAYS BILL.—[BILL 11.]

(*Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Houldsworth, Mr. William M'Arthur, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Charles Ross, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Caine.*)

## SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. STEVENSON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said: I am sure I am expressing the satisfaction of the House at seeing the Speaker sufficiently recovered to be able to preside over our deliberations this day. Considering the limited time allowed for discussion on Wednesdays, I desire to state my case as briefly as possible, consistently with respect to the House and the importance of the subject. The subject is one of growing and deepening interest in the country, and the friends of temperance, and especially many ardent supporters of the Government, will be deeply disappointed if this Parliament comes to an end without legislation on this subject. The time

has gone by when it might be urged that this matter is not within the competency of Parliament, which has passed Acts for Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. But even if there had been no such precedents, I should still have submitted this Bill. I have read in the newspaper a letter from a Mr. Ekin, comparing the convictions for drunkenness on Sundays last year in Scotland and in England; and finding that, judged by this test of sobriety, England is now rather more sober than Scotland, the writer draws the astounding inference that if there had been no Sunday Closing Act in Scotland, the Scotch convictions would have been  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent fewer than they have been. That is a specimen of the absurd logic that is applied to police statistics. I would rather argue that it is the Sunday Closing Act that has brought Scotland up to nearly the level of England, and that a similar Act for England may be expected to raise in like manner the sobriety of England. What has been the improvement in Scotland after 30 years of Sunday closing? I will trouble the House with a comparison drawn from the records of the City of Edinburgh Police of the number of persons who were charged with being drunk and incapable in the streets of Edinburgh on the average of two years—1852 and 1853—before the passing of the Act, and the number in the year 1883. The total yearly cases, including all days of the week, have been reduced from 6,279 to 2,738; the cases on Sundays alone have fallen from 702 to 218; on Mondays alone from 772 to 337; on Saturdays alone from 1,351 to 847; but the effect of the Act on Sunday drinking will be best shown by the cases found between 8 A.M. on Sundays and 8 A.M. on Mondays, which have fallen from 383 to 40. These results, though other causes may have operated, I claim as mainly due to the Sunday Closing Act for Scotland. As to the Irish Act, it is enough to say that it has been followed by a reduced consumption of intoxicating drink of £5,000,000 in five years, and the Government have introduced a Bill to perpetuate the Act, and apply it over the whole country. After only a year's trial it is said that the Act for Wales has failed. I believe it has proved satisfactory in diminishing drunkenness; but it is under the disadvantage of not being accompanied by an Act for

England, for the temptation is too strong for some habitual drunkards to cross the Border to obtain the drink that we have by our legislation trained them to become accustomed to. That is all the more a reason for passing the Bill and cutting off the supply of habitual drunkards, by permitting the young henceforward to be trained up without these temptations. It is no wonder that the Sunday school teachers have petitioned in such numbers in favour of the Bill, when they see that the greatest obstacle and hindrance to their self-denying labours is the open public-house on Sunday afternoons. Police statistics only show a small part of the evils of intemperance; they are limited to the cases of disorder in the streets. But for one such case there are 20 cases of drunkenness of which the police have no knowledge, and 100 cases in which the money is wasted in drink which should have gone to the comfort of the home and the clothing, maintenance, and education of the family. Public opinion is ripening rapidly in favour of the Bill. No question so commands the attention and interest of public meetings, and except when these are disturbed by the emissaries of the public-house the opinion is always in favour of the measure. Last year 6,700 Petitions, with 1,800,000 signatures, were presented in favour of Sunday closing, including those in favour of the county Bills; and I maintain that the moral value of such signatures, obtained by the voluntary and self-denying efforts of philanthropic persons, is far greater than the same number obtained in the interests of a trade and appended to Petitions lying on public-house counters. Many hon. Friends of mine have been grumbling at the trouble these Petitions gave them. I have had more than my own share of these Petitions; but the only remedy I can suggest is that this Bill should be passed, for we may depend upon it that this wave of popular demand must go on in volume and force till Sunday closing becomes the law of the land. I am glad to see the Home Secretary in his place; and I can assure him that the best friends of the Government in the country are anxiously looking to see what sympathy and support he will give to the Bill. I hope, at any rate, that individual Members of the Government will be left free to vote

to give effect to the views of their constituents on this question. I believe that the three Members for Manchester and the three Members for Liverpool will be found supporting the Bill, and they know what these great communities want. I know that London is the great bugbear; but I will remind the House that Sunday closing began in the Metropolis. By the Act of 1841, public-houses were closed in London from midnight on Saturday till 1 o'clock on Sunday afternoon; and that was found to work so well, that its beneficial effects were recited in the Preamble of an Act passed by Sir George Grey in 1848, to extend the same rule to the whole Kingdom. Therefore, I do not regard it as a very bold proposal to apply Sunday closing to London now. In reference to the Amendment put on the Paper by the hon. Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. Talbot), I am at a loss to understand the position he has taken. I presume he is a friend of progressive temperance legislation, and I am quite sure he is not here as an advocate of the interests of "the trade." I would, therefore, appeal to him whether he is right in proposing, as an Amendment, a Motion which, if carried, would practically be fatal to the Bill? Why does he not vote for the second reading, and if the Bill goes too far, let him try to amend it in Committee. As it is, the hon. Member submits only an abstract Resolution. This is not needed. The House, four years ago, adopted, on my motion, a Resolution for Sunday closing, after it had been modified, however, more in the direction of the views of the hon. Member than I approved. On that occasion there were 153 in favour of the Resolution, and 117 against it, and opinion has ripened in the meantime; so that many Members will now vote in favour of the Bill who would not have done so then. Why does the hon. Member not bring in a Bill himself? If a Bill on the lines of this Resolution had been before the House now, instead of my own, I would have voted for the second reading, and have sought to make it stronger in Committee. The hon. Member's Resolution, if embodied in a Bill, would not satisfy public opinion; it would not give complete Sunday closing in one single country parish in England. It would not satisfy "the trade;" but only irritate them with fresh interference and more



complicated regulations. At their great meeting in St. James's Hall the other day I understand that the trade made three demands: Let the Irish Act drop; repeal the Welsh Act; and let England alone. Such a Bill would not liberate the hundreds of thousands of barmen and barmaids who now lose their day of rest with their families. There is a great demand for total closing; there is no demand for partial closing. This is what Members offer their constituents, not what the constituents ask from their Members. The canvasses of householders show as large a majority against partial opening as in favour of total closing. I appeal, therefore, to the hon. Gentleman not to vote against the second reading of the Bill. This question is not confined to this country, for there is a similar movement in Sweden, where a Petition to the Swedish Parliament for a similar object has been signed by 12,000 working men in Stockholm. It is a monstrous anomaly that on the sacred day of rest the only shops open are the liquor shops, carrying on a trade which causes loss of work, waste of money and industrial resources, and produces crime, pauperism, ignorance, and other evils. I will not detain the House longer, being most anxious that it should come to a decision on the question; and I ask you, by reading this Bill a second time, to put into operation that "great power" which the Prime Minister lately said "was possessed by the Legislature to remove sources of temptation from the way of the people."

MR. BURT: I have been asked rather unexpectedly by my hon. Friend the Member for South Shields (Mr. Stevenson) to second the Motion which he has just made. Well, Sir, I do so most cordially; but I think that in seconding the Motion in favour of the Bill the House will, perhaps, allow me to explain my position with regard to it. I, myself, am a total abstainer from intoxicating drinks, and, personally, I am prepared to go much further than the present Bill. I look upon Sunday closing as a part of a much larger subject; and I am well aware that the Bill generally is supported by a very considerable body of persons who regard the Sunday as being different from any other day. I can quite understand and appreciate that feeling, and I have very much sympathy with it. It has always seemed to me to

be an anomaly that while you have every place of ordinary business—the baker's shop, the butcher's shop, and the draper's shop—closed on Sunday, the only houses that are open on that day should be the gin palace and the public-house. The chief reason why I have hesitated to associate myself with the Sunday closing movement has been a doubt with regard to public opinion. I am ready to go as far in the direction of limiting the facilities for obtaining intoxicating drink as public opinion will sustain me. To go further would simply be to defeat the object that the temperance advocates have in view. I would certainly go as far as possible; and, having watched as an outsider for a considerable time the movement on behalf of the closing of public-houses, I have become convinced in my own mind that there is a vast body of public opinion, amounting to that of the large majority of the people of this country, which is now in favour of the closing of public-houses on Sunday. My hon. Friend the Member for South Shields, in the excellent speech he has delivered to the House, has brought forward arguments to show that the closing of public-houses in Scotland and Ireland has materially diminished intemperance in those countries. I have no doubt that other hon. Members, like myself, received Circulars this morning bearing upon that point. These Circulars are of a very conflicting nature. I have only had an opportunity of glancing at them; but I find that among them a Licensed Victuallers' Circular has been sent which contests this point, and which, so far as Ireland is concerned, declares that there has actually been a greater diminution of intemperance in those towns and cities which are exempted from the operations of the Sunday Closing Act than in those where the Act is in operation. There are no detailed figures nor any authoritative statistics accompanying the Circular to bear out that contention; and it seems to me that it is not only contrary to experience, but to all common sense, to assume that the more you lessen the facilities for obtaining drink the greater will be the amount of drunkenness. I think that hon. Members will hesitate to accept the conclusion of the Licensed Victuallers without much more substantial figures and facts than those which have been presented are forthcoming.

With regard to Ireland, I hold in my hand a paper which has been given to me by Mr. T. W. Russell, a gentleman who has devoted a very great amount of time and attention to this subject. Mr. Russell enters into detailed figures, and gives his authority for the statements he makes and the conclusions he draws. His conclusions I think are fully borne out by the figures. I have carefully read the paper as far as time would allow, and Mr. Russell tells us that he has reached these conclusions—

“First, a decrease of Sunday arrests in the Sunday closing area equal to 53 per cent; second, a decrease on a smaller scale in Sunday arrests in the five cities on the short time system; third, a reduction in the drink bill amounting to £5,500,000, comparing the quinquennial period before Sunday closing with a similar period following it; fourth, a very great decrease in the arrests for general drunkenness.”

In another part of the paper Mr. Russell calls attention to what I think is a very important point, and one well worthy of the consideration of the Members of this House and of the Licensed Victuallers also, because I think that no one can contest the position which Mr. Russell takes; and, if so, the case in favour of Sunday closing in Ireland is absolutely conclusive. Mr. Russell says—

“Another most significant fact which ought of itself to settle the entire controversy lies on the surface of all these figures. In the year 1883 the gross arrests for drunkenness in Ireland numbered 89,526. Of this total, Sunday, and including the arrests in the five towns, contributed but 4,195. In other words, the six days of the week, which enjoy 15 hours' sale of drink, gave 14,000 arrests each. Whereas Sunday—the idle day—the day when money is more or less available, and a day not kept in the Sabbatarian sense, but which is, nevertheless, protected in a special manner from the traffic of the publican—gave 4,000! Had every day of the week been as well protected from the liquor traffic, the drunken arrests in 1883 should have numbered less than 30,000, instead of 90,000.”

These figures seem to me conclusive upon the point. One of the arguments used by Members of this House in opposition to the Bill is, that it would be unfair to the working classes—that the Clubs are open for the rich man, and give him facilities for obtaining drink, and that it would be unfair that the working man should not have the same opportunity. I appreciate the force of that argument, and I wish that hon. Members, who are so very anxious to

protect the working man's liberty to get beer would show equal zeal in protecting him in other ways, and in preserving liberties and benefits of less doubtful advantage. Although I never arrogate to myself the claim to speak on behalf of the working men, a number of Members of this House have credited me with knowing something of the views of the working classes throughout the country; and in regard to that matter, I may say that I represent, as is well-known, a very large working-class constituency. During one half of the year I mix very freely with workmen in my district. I go to their homes, and talk with them at their own fire-sides; I meet them at public gatherings; and I confess that I have been amazed to find the extent to which the working men generally are in favour of the Sunday Closing Bill. I notice that the hon. Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. J. G. Talbot) is opposed to the second reading of the Bill. It has been my unfortunate lot to differ frequently from the hon. Member, although there is no Member in this House for whom I entertain a greater respect. Especially I differ from him on the Sunday question; and I cannot help thinking that the two positions occupied by the hon. Member in regard to that question are inconsistent. For instance, I remember a few years ago, when I was advocating further facilities for the opening of Museums and Picture Galleries for a few hours on Sunday, I had the hon. Member as a strong opponent. His chief objection was, and I believe still is, against the increase of Sunday labour which the opening of these Museums would, in his opinion, necessitate. The hon. Member on that occasion referred to the Sunday as a Divine institution handed down to us from the past, and he implored the House to maintain it in all its sanctity unimpaired. Well, Sir, has the hon. Member ever reflected on the fact that, according to the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance, there are no fewer than 300,000 persons employed in public-houses on a Sunday? Has he no sympathy with these people? Is he not at all desirous of giving them a holiday on a Sunday? It seems to me that, assuming it to be a great desecration to throw open the British Museum and National Gallery for a few hours on a Sunday, it

is a far greater desecration to have these pauper-making and crime-manufacturing establishments thrown open on a Sunday. I hear a rumour that the Bill now before the House is intended to be talked out. I sincerely hope not. I trust the House will have an opportunity of giving a vote for or against the measure. The talking out of a Bill is generally the resort of a disheartened and defeated Party. It will indicate that those who are opposed to the Bill are afraid to test the opinion of the House; and the opinion of this House upon questions of this kind is generally far behind public opinion outside. Hon. Members may depend upon this—that although they may, by pursuing obstructive tactics, prevent the House from coming to a decision to-day, the time is not far distant when this Bill will be carried to a successful issue by a triumphant majority.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Stevenson.*)

MR. J. G. TALBOT, in rising to move, as an Amendment—

"That this House, whilst unable to concur in a proposal to close houses of refreshment during the whole of Sunday, is of opinion that the hours during which such houses are open on that day might be materially curtailed,"

said, he was entirely in accord with the sentiments and principles of the two hon. Members who had advocated the change in the law which the Bill proposed; but he did not think that those principles would be best carried into effect by the Motion they had respectively made and seconded. He did not suppose that he should convince the hon. Members by anything he might say; but in taking the course he was about to take, he might fearlessly say he was not actuated by any selfish or class motives. He intended merely to express his views, which he believed were in the interests of the public, without any pressure from outside. Whether he took the line indicated by the Amendment or not, it mattered nothing to him in a political sense. The hon. Member for South Shields, in dealing with this subject, recognized the sacred character of the Sunday, advocated his Motion in the cause of temperance, desired to promote, as far as possible, the rest of the working classes on Sunday, and urged the House

to pass the Bill in the cause of good order. On all those principles he entirely sympathized with the hon. Member; but he would ask whether it was possible, looking at the matter practically and not theoretically, for the hon. Gentleman to carry out his views. It was said that great interest was felt by the public in this Bill; but, if so, it was strange that this was only the second time it had been brought forward in this Parliament. On the 25th of June, 1880, the hon. Member for South Shields made a Motion similar in terms to the Bill which he now advocated. His Motion was carried by 153 against 117; but so strong was the opinion of the House in favour of proceeding cautiously in the matter, that the hon. Member wisely accepted the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease). The Motion, as amended, differed very much from the Bill now before the House. It stood on the records of the House in this form—

"That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient that the Law which limits the hours of sale of intoxicating drinks on Sunday in England and Wales should be amended so as to apply as early as possible to the whole of that day, making such provision only for the sale during limited hours of beer, ale, porter, cider, or perry, for consumption off the premises in the country; and, for the requirements of the inhabitants of the Metropolitan district, as may be found needful to secure public co-operation in any alteration of the Law."

That was the decision of the House of Commons in 1880, and that was the decision which he asked the House of Commons to confirm to-day. The hon. Member for South Durham on that occasion quoted from Mr. John Tremayne, and said—

"Mr. John Tremayne, who represented Cornwall in the late Parliament, and who took great interest in this question, had estimated as the result of his investigations that in London there were thousands of people who had no other place for their Sunday dinners but the restaurants and public-houses—a class consisting of those who lived in lodgings, and who were accustomed, during their business hours in London, daily to get their principal meal at a restaurant."—(3 *Hansard* [253] 903.)

Again, he said—

"This was not a householders' question. It concerned rather that part of the population which was not composed of householders, but lived in lodgings. . . . Those only who were least interested had been canvassed."—(*Ibid.* 905.)

Again—



"Everyone who knew Glasgow and the working of the Forbes-Mackenzie Act was aware that the *bond fide* traveller could always obtain liquor on Sunday, and that every inn that had four bed-rooms was a house of call for the *bond fide* traveller, and that there were many of them."—(*Ibid.*)

He ventured to say that the remarks of the hon. Gentleman who seconded the Motion (Mr. Burt) with regard to the working classes did not touch the question. There was a large class outside the working men who were not even provided for in the Representation of the People Bill—those who took casual employment, and who were on Sundays especially in an unprotected position. They had no homes worthy the name, and if the houses of refreshment were closed, where were they to go? And that question applied especially to London. But he would go further, and ask the hon. Member if he had taken into account what was to become of the large mass of foreigners who inhabited this city? London was not only a large Metropolis, but also a Nation. It had been said there were in London more Germans than were in Berlin, and more Swiss than were in Geneva. It, in fact, represented all the nations of the earth. Complaints were made by foreigners of the condition of London on Sunday. He was very far from sympathizing with them in their criticisms, because he believed that the English Sunday was enjoyed by the people of this country. They must not, however, make it impossible for foreigners to get their ordinary dinner on Sunday. He would ask the Home Secretary to listen to the following words of his Predecessor (Sir R. Assheton Cross):—

"I said when I was in Office that if Sunday closing was carried I would not be responsible for the peace of London. I say the same now that I am out of Office; and I am certain if the Home Secretary looks into the matter he will come to the same conclusion."—(3 *Hansard* [253] 912.)

He should like to know if the Home Secretary had considered that point? He had heard with pleasure the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt) say that he was ready to go as far as public opinion would justify him. That was exactly his (Mr. Talbot's) position. He had been charged with being opposed to any measure dealing with the hours during which the public-houses were

open; but that was not the fact. On the contrary, he was prepared to curtail the existing hours to a considerable extent. There was another document to which he would ask the attention of the House. The Report of the Committee of the House of Lords on Intemperance was universally admitted to be one of the most instructive upon this question of intemperance. That Committee, in their Report, which was constantly quoted, made the following recommendation:—

"That on Sundays licensed houses should in the Metropolis be open from 1 to 3 p.m. for consumption off the premises only, and for consumption on the premises from 7 to 11 p.m. That in other places in England they should be open from 12.30 to 2.30 p.m. for consumption off the premises only, and for consumption on the premises from 7 to 10 p.m. in populous places, and from 7 to 9 p.m. in other places."

Now, he was prepared to go further than these recommendations of the Lords' Committee. There was another measure on the Paper for second reading to-day, introduced by the hon. Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease), which went further than these recommendations, and he was prepared to support it. It proposed to reduce the hours on Sunday for London from 1 to 3 for consumption off the premises, and from 7 to 10 for consumption on the premises; and in places beyond the Metropolitan district, but in the Metropolitan police district, or in a town or populous place, from 12.30 to 2.30, and from 7 to 9; but with this important restriction—that no spirits were to be sold during those hours, but only beer, ale, porter, &c., and these only for consumption off the premises. This Bill also proposed to close public-houses in the rural districts for the whole of Sunday. This was a matter which did not affect the upper or even the middle classes; but it did affect the lower classes. He had tried to show that though a great number of the working classes who were householders did not desire that the public-houses should be open during any part of Sunday, yet that there was a large floating residuum who could not obtain refreshment on that day if they were closed. Suppose this Bill were passed, and suppose it were felt to be intolerable in London and other large centres of population, what would this House have to do? It would have to do what it did before, and what he could

not but think an ignominious thing—namely, to rescind its previous legislation. But the hon. Member would not by this Bill be able to carry his benevolent designs into effect, because it continued the exemption of the *bond fide* traveller. Now, if the law as to the *bond fide* traveller remained in its present state the evil would be multiplied a hundredfold, and there would be a perpetual series of conflicts with magistrates, Courts of Law, and police-officers as to who was and who was not a *bond fide* traveller. One of the witnesses before the Lords' Committee said that the *bond fide* traveller gave more trouble in Liverpool than any other portion of the community. There was a place three miles from Liverpool where the working classes went on Sunday, where one house was called "The Lamb" and the other was a coffee-house. From 300 to 500 persons would be assembled there on a Sunday afternoon, all of whom had slept the previous night three miles off; in fact, so crowded was the house that the police could not get in to notice who were there. The police said the *bond fide* traveller was the greatest nuisance they had to deal with. In London they went as far as Willesden by hundreds, and were immediately served. Was the hon. Member prepared to deal with the *bond fide* traveller? If he was not, then he had not solved the question, and his Bill would only lead to much greater difficulties than at present. So far from enrolling on the side of temperance a large class of the people, it would have a very injurious effect upon that cause. The hon. Member had appealed to him not to oppose the second reading because the Bill might be amended in Committee. He thought, however, it was an objectionable proceeding if one did not approve the principle of the Bill to consent to its second reading. He could not agree to the principle of the total closing of public-houses on Sunday, and, therefore, he could not vote for the second reading of the Bill. If, however, the Bill should, unfortunately, obtain a second reading, he should be prepared to move Amendments in Committee reducing it to the principle contained in the Bill of the hon. Member for South Durham, to which he had referred. He did not desire to resort to any obstructive tactics. His wish was that the House, after hearing the arguments on both

sides, should say "Aye" or "No" to the Bill. He begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name.

LORD ALGERNON PERCY, in seconding the Amendment, said, he would not yield to any person in the interest which he took in the cause of temperance; but, in relation to this Bill, what they had to consider was whether it would not cause fresh evils to arise—evils just as serious as those which it was intended to amend, while it would greatly inconvenience a vast amount of people, and operate harshly upon a large class of the population. There was a distinction to be drawn between the country at large and the Metropolis, and it was to the Bill as it affected the Metropolis that he would confine his remarks. Householders would not be affected by the Bill, because rich ones had their servants and their Clubs, while poorer ones could cook and eat their dinners at home; but what were clerks and others to do who occupied only a single room, and had to depend on refreshment-houses for their meals? It would be hard measure that a large number of respectable men should be debarred from the simple gratification of their tastes because others drank to excess. It should be remembered that it was proposed to prohibit in those houses the sale, not only of intoxicating liquors, but of any article whatever. Another evil to which the Bill would lead would be the formation of a large number of spurious Clubs, of which at present there were already many in London, formed merely for the purpose of obtaining spirituous liquors within the prohibited hours. In those Clubs drinking went on of a very bad description, because there was no supervision of any kind, and many evils arose which were not to be found in public-houses. There were now as many as 100 Working Men's Clubs in the London Postal District. He was in favour of these Clubs; but he thought under the Bill the number would increase, and that the members would not be of the same respectable class as at present. It should be recollected that they might not stop the liquor traffic as the hon. Member wished to do, but force it into new channels. Another evil result would be the increase of illicit selling, the establishment of a system of "shebeening," such as had become very common in Edinburgh



and Glasgow, where scenes occurred which were awful to read of. It was said that it was easy in those places for a person wishing for spirituous liquors on Sunday to obtain them on the premises on which he lived, and the consequence was that whole families were plunged in intoxication from Saturday night to Monday morning. The traffic in intoxicating liquor could not be stopped; and it was better that it should be carried on openly, under a certain amount of police supervision, than that it should be secret. It was by no means certain that the measures adopted in Scotland had had very beneficial results, for the Police Returns showed that 1,886 cases of drunkenness in 1879 had risen in 1882 to 2,530. The Police Returns, showing the number of persons taken up as drunk and incapable in the streets, did not necessarily prove that the amount of intoxication was diminishing; they rather proved that the vice was being driven under. If the police could go into private houses they would find that the number of drunk and incapable persons whom they contained was very large indeed. If the Bill were passed, Sunday drinking in London would only be changed for drinking on Saturday night. It would be an easy thing for the House to pass the measure, for it would not affect a single Member. But they ought to endeavour to have one law for the rich and poor; and if this measure were agreed to there would be one law for the rich and one for the poor. He hoped that the House, if it should adopt the Bill, would be consistent, and would shut up all the Clubs on Sundays. He could not see why the many should suffer for the misconduct of the few. The Returns about drunkenness for England showed 17,000 cases of intemperance; and because there existed that number of persons who could not resist temptation, it was proposed to put a population of 24,000,000 to very serious inconvenience. The existing provisions with regard to *bonâ fide* travellers were very mischievous, and the cause of much evasion of the law; but the present Bill would hold out a further inducement to such evasion. Believing that the cause of temperance would be better served by a further limitation of the hours during which public-houses could remain open on Sunday, and by the abolition of the *bonâ fide* travellers—if that were possible

—than by the means proposed in the measure before the House, he should vote for the Amendment which had been moved.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the word<sup>s</sup> "this House, whilst unable to concur in a proposal to close houses of refreshment during the whole of Sunday, is of opinion that the hours during which such houses are open on that day might be materially curtailed," — (Mr. John Talbot,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. SAMUEL SMITH: I rise to support the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for South Shields (Mr. Stevenson); but I am willing to admit that some of the arguments used by the hon. Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. Talbot) are not without weight. I am willing to grant that some exception must be made to the general principle of Sunday closing, especially as regards the Metropolis. I think most hon. Members on our side are willing to admit that this exception must be made, and are willing to leave this to the discretion of Parliament after this Bill has passed into Committee. [Mr. WARTON: "No!" and cries of "Hear, hear!"] But we do hold that public opinion out of doors is much more ripe for Sunday closing, broadly and generally speaking, than, perhaps, this House is willing to admit. I may speak myself, as representing perhaps the largest constituency in Great Britain, and a borough in which the question has been most thoroughly discussed for many years past, where the temperance question has been, if I may use the expression, thrashed out more thoroughly than in any other part of the United Kingdom. In that borough we have now approached to something like unanimity on the question of Sunday closing. We have taken a poll of all householders in Liverpool, and we find six-sevenths are in favour of Sunday closing, and, indeed, in favour of many other restrictions upon the sale of intoxicating liquors. The great wave of temperance feeling that has swept over the country during the past few years has very much altered the opinion of people as to the facilities given for the sale of strong



drink. The whole country of late has become alive to the horrible social degradation in which a large portion of our population lives. I am sure those Gentlemen who have been able during the past few weeks to read the harrowing accounts that have been brought before us of the condition of the poor in London and other populous parts of the country must be deeply impressed with the conviction that the time has now come when Parliament should address itself with great earnestness and give its entire heart to the amelioration of the condition of these people. No one will dispute that the main cause of the degradation of masses of our countrymen is the enormous consumption of intoxicating drink which goes on. I am almost tempted to read a few remarks, although I think I must abstain, from that remarkable description of the poor of London, written by Mr. G. R. Sims, entitled *Horrible London*, in which he attributed the great mass of the terrible degradation, misery, and starvation he witnessed to the excessive consumption of intoxicating drink. We admit that Sunday closing is only a branch of this question; but it is a very important branch, and we advocate it because we believe it is a reform upon which the nation has set its heart—a reform which lies nearest to our hand, a reform on which we can get the greatest amount of unanimity, and the reform which, above all others, is the most urgent and pressing at the present moment. We do not expect that the millennium will follow Sunday closing; but we expect to stop a large portion of this wasteful consumption of the resources of the poorest people on intoxicating drink. We believe we can save to the poor people of this country from £20,000,000 to £30,000,000 annually. If Sunday closing was established, as it ought to be, and earlier hours for Saturday closing followed—and I consider the one to be quite as important as the other—I believe we should bring about a wonderful change in the social habits, comfort, and well-being of millions of the population. Demands would be occasioned on our small tradesmen to an extent to which they are altogether unaccustomed at the present time. A great—a much larger—demand would be made for our own manufactured articles. We should open up a new market equivalent to that of India. The

whole trade of the country is suffering from stagnation at the present moment; and I could not conceive of anything more calculated to benefit our trade than the turning into fruitful channels of this enormous expenditure on intoxicating drink. It is a large question, and unless looked at in a broad and general point of view we shall be likely to come to a wrong conclusion. I am quite aware that many small objections can be raised against the Bill; but we should deal with the matter in a comprehensive way; and unless the House does something to show its interest in the cause of temperance, it will find itself very much out of harmony with the intelligence and good feeling of the country. Those who are closely watching the tide of public opinion in our large towns must be aware that there is steadily rising up an antagonism—a feeling of opposition—to the wealthy and upper classes of the country. Men in the guise of social reformers, but who are in reality Socialists and Communists at heart, are gaining increased weight and influence amongst large masses of the poorer portions of the population; and I say that unless the House will address itself earnestly to urgent questions of social reform, there is great danger that a large section of our population will look to other sources for an amelioration of their lot which this House has denied them. There is grave danger that a tide of Socialism and Communism will pass over this country unless Parliament will pay greater attention than it has hitherto done to those urgent social questions. It is on that account that I give my support to the Bill before the House.

Mr. ONSLOW said, the arguments of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down went to show that the Metropolis was far worse than any other place in the United Kingdom in respect to its drinking habits. He had told the House that Mr. Sims had stated that the poor of London were more addicted to drink than those in any other part of the country; therefore, he (Mr. Onslow) failed to see why the Metropolis should be exempted from the provisions of this Bill. The hon. Gentleman who moved the second reading said where one case of Sunday drinking came to the notice of the police, there were 20 of which they knew nothing; but that was a mere assertion, and was not supported

by statistics. In his (Mr. Onslow's) opinion if this Bill became law there would be a large amount of drinking in private houses, which no policeman could enter; and, for the sake of temperance, he would rather see working men enter a public-house on Sunday to have their glass of beer than that they should indulge in private drinking at home. This had been the consequence of the repressive measures in operation in Ireland and Scotland, and the state of things would be far worse in England if this Bill should become law. The working man would have to take home on the Saturday night the liquor for his Sunday consumption. He had no place where to keep it away from his wife and children, and the consequence would be that there would be an inducement to every member of his family to consume the liquor before the Sunday commenced. What, then, would happen? This man would say—"I did not take enough home last Saturday; I must take home more next time." This was no fancy picture. Would it promote temperance? This had not been the case elsewhere, and he believed the practice would be far more common in England than in any other part of the country. But it was said the Bill would prevent the waste of the earnings of the working man. He was not sure if a working man went into a public-house and had a glass of beer that it was a waste of money. There would be, unfortunately, more waste by drinking in private houses. They had had statistics before them now for many years. They had heard about Wales. Although statistics were not always reliable, there was this consolation—that there was a decided diminution in the number of arrests for drunkenness throughout the country. There was only one person out of 1,430 arrested for drunkenness on Sunday; and he said it was most hard to prevent the 1,429 from enjoying a glass of beer in a public-house because one unfortunate being chose to get drunk. The hon. Gentleman had spoken of the number of Petitions in favour of this Bill; but Petitions were mainly a matter of money, and many of them were utterly fictitious, being signed by women, who knew nothing about the matter, and by children at school. It was impossible that London should be included in this Bill; but if they were to have such

a Bill at all, why not try it in the Metropolis? There they would soon see how utterly futile the Bill would be. A few years ago, when he took an interest in the Irish Bill, he stood opposite a respectable public-house in London on a Sunday from half-past 1 o'clock for half-an-hour; and he watched 40 young people enter the house with jugs, to fetch beer for the Sunday dinner. Did the hon. Gentleman wish to prevent that? Was there any harm in people wishing to have their beer fresh? It appeared to him that it would be simply tyrannical to put a stop to it. The wealthy people had no call to do this. They had their own cellars, from which they could draw on the Sabbath as on other days. But poor people had no place in which to keep their liquor. He was afraid this was practically a Sabbatarian question. But was there greater harm for a man to get a glass of beer on a Sunday than for holiday-makers to go on a Sunday for a row on the river, or drive in the country? Did the hon. Gentleman know that Sunday was now the great day for lawn tennis parties? Did he object to that? There was a Member of Her Majesty's Government who frequently played lawn tennis on Sunday; was it more wicked to buy a glass of beer than to do that? The Lord's Day was formerly regarded with great strictness in Scotland; but now carriages could be hired, and people could go for a drive on that day. The hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt) said the more they lessened temptation the greater good would be done; but they would not lessen temptation by closing public-houses, but would present a greater temptation to private drinking. In the South of England he (Mr. Onslow) had rarely met a working man who wished to have the public-houses closed on Sunday. It was very rare to see a drunken man on a Sunday south of the Thames. Working men had more self-respect than they used to have, and 99 out of 100 now considered it a disgrace to get drunk on any day. The hon. Gentleman had argued that the opening of public-houses on Sunday kept people in those houses to accommodate their customers; but the hon. Gentleman was a strong supporter of opening Museums and all places of amusement on Sundays, in which case surely there would be more persons en-

gaged in Sunday labour than were now engaged in all the public-houses in the country. He should like to know why the hon. Member for South Shields wished to confine the operation of the Bill to Sunday? There was far less drinking on a Sunday than on any other day. Was there greater cause for intemperance on Sunday than on Monday, or any ordinary day? He believed that the hon. Member for South Shields, in his heart, wished to shut the public-houses on every day. There was an inherent liking for alcohol in some shape or other in almost every man. It was not confined to one generation; it had always been so. They must recognize that, and they could not repress it by legislation. It was absurd to think that they could prevent by this Bill people who wished it having liquor. They knew that a great deal of pressure had been brought to bear upon Members on both sides on this matter. They were threatened of the consequences if they opposed it. The temperance people were about the most tyrannical persons in this country. As for himself, he never cared about their threats. He had been told that they were going against him to a man. Well, he had heard that before, and his reply was, "Let them go." He was not one who would sacrifice his honest conviction to the threats of a clique. This Bill, if passed, would create a mass of people who would call themselves *bonâ fide* travellers, for it must be recollected that the people would get their glass of beer or their glass of whisky in some way or other. Then statistics had been produced to show that since the Sunday Closing Acts in Ireland and Wales there had been a great increase of drinking in certain localities which came within the purview of those Acts, and a decrease in drinking in towns which were not affected by them. With that experience before them, how could hon. Gentlemen support a Bill of this nature? He was glad nothing had been said in the debate against the magistrates, who, in his opinion, had done their duty, especially within the last 15 or 20 years, in a remarkable manner. Throughout the length and breadth of the country they had done all they could by setting themselves against excessive drinking. It, therefore, appeared to him that without this legislation, and with the good example of the magistrates, and the

increased prosperity of the working classes, in a very few years the drunkenness of the country would diminish to a remarkable extent. It would be better that private enterprize and education should be left to do the work rather than that the House should be called upon year after year to pass some 15 repressive measures. There had been for many centuries past an enormous amount of restrictive legislation on the subject of drinking in this country, and it had had no real effect whatever. The same thing would follow if this Bill were passed. The language used by the fanatics on this subject was remarkable. Not long since, when lecturing in the West of England, Canon Wilberforce said in his opinion a man's salvation depended on his taking or not taking a glass of beer. No wonder the Canon was found to be off his head, and had to be sent to the Continent. He (Mr. Onslow) had had sent to him a pamphlet, entitled *Britain and Bacchus*, in which the author said—

"Banish from power men who have defiled their hands and their consciences by entering into a compact with the immoral traffic."

Those were the sort of exaggerations made use of by the supporters of this Bill, and that was the kind of strong language which had a great effect upon what was called the weaker sex, and which caused them to sign the Petitions in favour of such legislation as this—Petitions upon which such stress had been laid. The Lords' Committee on Intemperance decided unanimously that it would be wrong to close public-houses altogether on a Sunday. This was essentially a working man's question; and the opinion of the householders who signed the Petitions was not of so much consequence. He did not believe that there prevailed among the working classes that almost unanimous feeling which the hon. Member for Morpeth attributed to them. The great danger in the contemplated change was, as it appeared to him, that they would increase in the long run that which they were endeavouring to prevent. He thought the proceedings of the violent teetotalers were very reprehensible. In the villages near where he lived, not long ago, two working men, the one styling himself "The Converted Clown," and the other "The Saved Miner," went about singing songs with such



titles as *We Have Left the Barrel!* and *Hurrah for the Pump!* The effect of their vocal efforts was rather to fill the public-houses than to prevent people going into them, because as the bystanders joined somewhat lustily in the chorus they became very dry after the performance. He hoped, whether they went to a Division or not, that hon. Gentlemen would not be led away by enthusiasm for the temperance cause, but would take a common-sense view of the question, and would agree with him in the conclusion he had arrived at, after much consideration, that by preventing Sunday drinking in legalized houses they would create a worse form of drunkenness than existed before.

Mr. T. FRY: The arguments in favour of this measure for the closing of public-houses on Sunday have been so clearly and so fully put by the hon. Member for South Shields (Mr. Stevenson) that I do not intend to repeat them, and shall only ask the attention of the House for a few moments. So far as the county of Durham is concerned, the principle embodied in this Bill was affirmed last year, and that Bill is again on the Paper for to-day. I desire, as far as I am able to do so, to dispel the idea which exists in the minds of many hon. Members that there is some slight antagonism or rivalry between the county measures and that which is now under discussion as applicable to the whole of England. Those who promote the County Bills are English Bill men first and County Bill men afterwards. It seems to me that the whole, or at any rate the greater part, of the opposition that has been brought to bear against the measure now before the House has been because of the inclusion of the Metropolis; but I may inform the House that I have the authority of my hon. Friend the Member for South Shields for saying that he is prepared, when the Bill gets into Committee, should it reach that stage, to adopt the recommendation made by the Committee of the House of Lords in reference to the opening of public-houses on Sunday in London. The hon. Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. J. G. Talbot) appeared to reason as though there had been no Division taken in the House of Commons on this subject during the present Parliament; and although he was right in alluding to the

fact that a Resolution only was passed in the year 1880, it should be stated that last year we did have a Division on this question when the second reading of the Bill promoted for dealing with the matter in the county of Durham was carried by the large majority of 153 against 57. It cannot be supposed that those who voted in favour of the passage of that measure were actuated by the desire merely to secure the benefits it would confer upon the county of Durham, although we were enabled to present such an enormous preponderance of public opinion showing that we were quite ready for the application of such a law to that particular part of the country. But I may say that, in addition to Durham, the counties of Yorkshire and Northumberland have shown themselves equally desirous of such a measure. Those three counties contain a population amounting to something like 4,000,000, or about one-sixth part of the entire population of England, so that the measure which is now brought forward by the hon. Member for South Shields does not involve any proposition or principle which has not been thoroughly considered and debated in many parts of the country. The fact is that the county measures have only been introduced into this House with a view of impressing upon Her Majesty's Government and the House at large how very large a consensus of public opinion there is in favour of some such measure as this throughout the various parts of the country, and the need which exists for dealing with this question with as little delay as possible. The real question appears to me to be whether the Acts of Parliament which have already been passed for different portions of the country have been successful or unsuccessful; and it would seem that hon. Members who, like the hon. Gentleman who last addressed the House, are of opinion that these Acts have failed to do that with which they are credited by those who are in favour of such measures, and that they really do encourage drunkenness, but who, at the same time, desire that drunkenness should be diminished, ought, as the only logical result of these views, to have the courage of their convictions, and themselves bring in a Bill for the purpose of repealing all the Sunday Closing Acts which are now in operation in various parts of the coun-

try. But, Sir, it would be impossible, and hon. Members are aware of this, to succeed in any such attempt. Her Majesty's Government are already so convinced of the great benefit that has been derived from the application of the Act now in force in Ireland that they are prepared to extend it to the five great cities which have hitherto been excluded from its operation, and have proposed a measure intended to carry out this object. The only other point seems to be whether the people really wish for this measure. The hon. Member for South Shields has surely offered sufficient evidence to show that such is their undoubted desire. It has, however, been stated on the other side that the working men, as a class, are opposed to this kind of legislation. This assertion I distinctly deny. I may say that I have mixed with working men all my life, and that I have at least been in contact with them quite as much as the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow). I have attended a vast number of working men's meetings in different parts of the country, and recently I have been present at some that have been held in this Metropolis on the subject now under discussion; and wherever we have had such meetings, not a single hand has been held up against Sunday closing, or even in favour of the limited hours suggested by the Amendment of the hon. Member for the University of Oxford. I have lately attended two large meetings, one in Bow and one in Lambeth, where the audiences were composed almost exclusively of working men, and I am able to say that the desire expressed at both for the passage of this Bill was unanimous. At these meetings I have been requested to say that the working men of the Metropolis are ready to see this measure passed in its entirety. Nevertheless, I am fully aware that there are some working men in London who are not convinced of the necessity of such a measure; and if the Amendment to which my hon. Friend the Member for South Shields is willing to agree were introduced in Committee, it appears to me that it would, to a large extent, meet all the difficulties with regard to the Metropolis that have been put forward by hon. Members who have addressed the House on the present occasion. I trust, Sir, that Her Majesty's Government will see their way to sup-

porting this measure. It has already been stated that they have among the temperance reformers many of their best and most earnest friends; and if the present Session should be allowed to pass, and the existing Parliament to run its course, without the passage of any measure for largely limiting the hours of drink, very great disappointment will be experienced by a considerable section of those who are the habitual supporters of Her Majesty's Government. I do not propose to occupy the time of the House by going at length into the details connected with this question, as I do not wish to do anything that may prevent a Division being taken on the second reading of the Bill. If hon. Members feel that their constituents will support them in voting against the measure, let them not be afraid to take that course, so that the advocates of the Bill may be enabled to see who are in favour and who are against the principle it embodies. I will only say, in conclusion, that in my opinion this measure, if it be carried into effect, will do more to lessen the misery, the sorrow, and the crime that exist in this country, and more to promote the general welfare and happiness of the great mass of the people, than any other measure that either is or has been before the House during the whole of the present Parliament. I have only further to thank the House for the kind attention with which it has listened to these few remarks.

Mr. C. P. PHIPPS observed, that they were told that public opinion was rapidly ripening for the change which was proposed in that matter. If that were so, he thought the process of ripening was a very slow one, because they had seen far less excitement about that question that year than they had seen last year or the year before. It was a simple thing to get up public meetings to attack; and people who attacked were also far keener than those who defended, probably because the latter thought their position so strong that they need not be so particular to attend meetings. The reason why public feeling was less excited on that subject than it had been was, perhaps, because people were somewhat doubtful about the benefits to be derived from compulsion; while those who had taken up the question very



strongly were, perhaps, those among the masses who were far too ready to believe anything that was told them by the leaders of an agitation, provided only those leaders were sufficiently self-asserting and loud in their talk. They were told that this Bill should not be opposed because it was demanded by the working men. He would like to consider what it was they were told the working classes really wanted. According to the various speakers in favour of this Bill, the working man was made to say that he was a creature of impulse and without control, and that so long as public-houses were not absolutely closed against him on Sunday, he could not resist the temptation of entering them and spending far more money than he ought. They made him say—"Save us from ourselves; do not consider the publicans; do not consider the temperate; consider only us who are drunkards." It appeared to him that this was a very extraordinary statement for the working man to make; and that because he was afraid to submit himself to the temptation of a public-house being opened on Sunday he was willing for the drink he required on Sunday being brought into his house on the Saturday. Would not the fact of his doing this inflict a greater evil? Had it not occurred to him that an enormous amount of mischief would be done supposing that on the Saturday night he brought into his house the Sunday's supply, and had it staring him in the face from his cupboard or from his table? Surely if the working man could not resist the temptation on Sunday, he was not very likely to resist it on Saturday night. But, supposing all that he had said about the working class was simply theory, and that he had stated nothing practicable, he did not think that any hon. Member would rise in his place and tell the House that the experiment tried in Wales had been attended with unmitigated success. They heard some extraordinary stories upon this matter from Wales, from all parts of the territory, and he would advise hon. Members having any doubts on this point just to consider the evidence that was placed before the magistrates at Wrexham Petty Sessions on Monday the 17th ultimo. On that occasion the Court was occupied for no less than eight hours in trying cases of Sunday drinking; and the horrible scenes of debauchery and

iniquity which then came to light were sufficient to startle anyone who gave sufficient thought to the subject. He heard only the other day of another extraordinary story. When he was canvassing in 1880 one of his constituents took up a very strong line against him on the question of Sunday closing, and was one of his strongest opponents. Since then he was told that that constituent—a strong temperance man—had gone to Cardiff; and what he had seen there of the result of closing the public-houses on Sunday had made him entirely change his mind on the subject. In the course of the debate they had simply considered the case of the householder, or the man who rented the whole of the house in which he lived. But there was a very numerous class who did not rent a house, and occupied but one, two, or it might be three rooms. This class had naturally not got very much space to spare under such circumstances. He thought that they should consider this class; because they heard from people who supported this measure that the brewers were prepared to place beer in small barrels for the benefit of the householder deprived of their Sunday beer. The country labourer and the householder had plenty of room to store these barrels; but, still, he could conceive nothing more detrimental to the interests of the working man, supposing he had a weakness for drink, than that he should have this small barrel of beer constantly exposed, not only to himself, but also to his wife and children. He mentioned the wife, for he was afraid that the statistics went to show a lamentable increase in female intemperance, and he could not think that they were likely to decrease that intemperance if they were to introduce the beer in that way into the house. It was all very well for people to say that statistics proved that there was less drunkenness. They might make statistics prove pretty nearly anything. They showed, however, absolutely nothing with regard to secret drinking—the drinking which went on in a man's own house. The gentleman who first caused him to think deeply upon this question was a man who was at one time a Member of that House, and a man who had probably more intimate knowledge of the working man than anyone present—he meant the late Mr. Knowles—and he said—



"If you close public-houses on Sunday entirely you will work an enormous amount of evil—an amount of evil which can never probably be properly gauged until the seed it would be the means of sowing ripened. The consequences would be most terrible."

He was willing, however, to see an alteration in the hours during which public-houses might be opened, and he was disposed that there should be such an alteration as would admit of people getting their dinner and supper beer; but he was not willing to compel people who might be accustomed to drink their beer, or whatever else they liked, every day in the week to be teetotalers on Sunday. He did not believe in compulsion. Compulsion had not done any good, and would not in this case. If they were to believe everything they heard, they should believe that England was a nation of drunkards. He did not believe it was a nation of drunkards. In his opinion the majority of the English people were sober in their habits. Why, therefore, should the House calmly consent to punish the majority for the sins of the minority? He sincerely hoped that the Bill would not be read a second time.

MR. HOULDSWORTH: The hon. Member who has just sat down has expressed considerable doubt as to the opinion of the working classes on this subject. I support the second reading of this Bill chiefly because I believe it is in harmony with the wishes of the great majority of the working classes of the country. It has often been said that this movement for the closing of public-houses on Sunday has been originated and is forced on by persons who will be little affected by it. I believe the very reverse is the case; and that the strength of this movement is to be found in the support of the working classes in our centres of industry, who, if not unanimous, are certainly in a very large majority in favour of this measure. It is they who feel the evil effects of the present system most painfully in their families; and it is they, I believe, who are most anxious to see an alteration of the present law. This is not a new question; it is not a question of theory; it is a question upon which we have had many opportunities, especially those of us who are engaged in the manufacturing districts, of testing and of obtaining the opinion of the working classes; and I think that no one who knows

those districts can have any but one opinion, which is that there has been a steady advance during the last few years of public opinion among the working classes in favour of this proposal, and even amongst the publicans themselves and others who are engaged in the trade. It has always appeared to me that it is not so much incumbent upon those who advocate this measure to give reasons why public-houses should be closed on Sunday, as it is the duty of those who oppose the measure to bring overwhelming proof of a necessity for their being open. It is not a new law that we are proposing to introduce—it is the abolition of a special exception in the law affecting trading on Sunday. As the House is perfectly aware, a law is in operation to prevent trading on Sundays, and it is backed up by custom and is supported by the hearty co-operation of all classes of the community; and, therefore, when we approach this question it is not to introduce a special Act of legislation in reference to this trade. It is rather, as I have said, to remove a special exception which is found, I believe, to work prejudicially to the interests of the community; and it is simply to place this particular trade on the same level with regard to Sunday opening and Sunday closing as the other trades of the country. Therefore, the question before the House is, whether this exception from the general law affecting trading on Sundays is necessary or desirable? I do not wish to detain the House at any great length; but it seems to me sufficient to say that that necessity is absolutely disproved by the example of Scotland, by the example of Ireland—as far as the measure has been carried out there—and by the example of many of our Colonies. In all those places there is absolute closing of public-houses on Sunday, and the necessity for a revision of the law affecting them is not pressed upon this House. Scotland has now had an experience of Sunday closing extending over 30 years; and I am of opinion that every one of the Scotch Members of this House would testify that if a proposition were made for repealing the Forbes-Mackenzie Act in Scotland, it would be absolutely opposed by very nearly the whole population of that country. I come to the question whether it is desirable; and in considering that

question we have to look at the facts and the present state of the law in England in regard to this matter, and compare it with the results which obtain in countries where that law has been altered. I will not trouble the House with many statistics, as I know there is a great suspicion in regard to statistics in this matter. But I will give the following. They are taken from the Report of the Chief Constable of Manchester, and I compare them with the Report which has been presented to the House from Glasgow. The simple figures I would put before the House with regard to Manchester are that the number of arrests for drunkenness on Saturday, on Sunday, and on Monday are 64 per cent of the whole number of arrests. Now, I am quite aware that the Saturday figures are the greatest number; but I think when you look at those Reports, and notice how the large figures are still maintained on Monday and on Tuesday, you cannot fail to see what a link that Sunday opportunity is, and what an immense change would be wrought if that large number of arrests on Sunday, owing to the large amount of drinking on that day, were diminished. Compare this state of Manchester with the state of Scotland. As you are aware, the population of Scotland is ten times greater than that of Manchester; and there you find that the arrests on the Sunday—taking the same hours in the Return laid before this House—the arrests in Manchester for drunkenness are one-half the number of those in the whole of Scotland. But it is said that there is in this Bill some injustice. The points, I understand, on which the opponents of this Bill feel strongly are—first, a feeling that we should be legislating in a different way for the rich from what we were for the poor; and then there is the position of Clubs. Clubs are used by the upper classes, and Clubs are being used more extensively every year by the working population; and the question arises of the position that they would occupy against the publicans, whose trade you are going to interfere with. Now, as to the question of the rich and the poor in legislating on this subject, I think the whole question depends upon what are the real wishes of the working classes. I am quite prepared to say that I would not stand up in this House and support this measure if I did not

feel there was a large support of the working classes behind me; and in speaking to-day I am speaking in their interest. I am not supporting this measure in any way in order to promote my own interests. I certainly do not wish to say a word which would seem to cast the slightest stigma upon those teetotal and temperance societies who, in my opinion, and in the opinion of everybody, are doing such good and immense work in dealing with and ameliorating the great national evil which we all deplore, and against which I am glad to think they are making considerable headway; but the proposed legislation seems to me to be not to force teetotalism on the unwilling masses, but to do that which is in accordance with the wishes and desires of the working classes themselves. When I come to the question of the position of Clubs, I have no doubt, taking the experience of Scotland, there would be a considerable amount of secret drinking in the first two years after the passing of this Bill. You do not change the manners and customs of a people by Act of Parliament, and where the habits of the people are being invaded there will be a tendency to resume those habits. I know something of Scotland; and I believe the experience of Scotland is that although at first, after the passing of the Forbes-Mackenzie Act, there was a considerable amount of private drinking, that stage has almost completely passed away, and there is a general improvement in the drinking habits of the Scotch. I do not myself think that Clubs will take the place of public-houses. The reason I give for that opinion is that at the present moment we have in Manchester a considerable number of Clubs of various kinds. We have a considerable number of Political Clubs and of Working Men's Clubs, and in the Political Clubs it is an absolute rule that they are closed upon the Sundays—closed, simply because the committees of those Clubs desire that they should be closed. I have myself a very large experience of two Working Men's Clubs where members were perfectly free to open those Clubs on Sunday; where drinks were sold regularly during the week. In both cases influence was brought to bear upon them, because it was thought desirable that they should be open; but in both those cases, after deliberate



discussion, the members of those Clubs decided that they would not open on the Sunday; and those two very representative Clubs of working men were absolutely closed by the act of the members themselves. Well, Sir, now I will just say one word to the Amendment that has been proposed. I am glad to find that the Amendment goes a very long way towards the end proposed by the hon. Member opposite, and recognizes a certain curtailment in the hours of opening. But it continues the idea of special legislation and special restriction for the liquor trade, which I think is a mistake. I think the proper view to be taken in dealing with this question is to affirm the general rule to be that these houses should be closed on Sundays as other places of business are. I am quite prepared to admit, and I believe it would be desirable to give, every reasonable consideration to any class of exemption that may be brought before the House. I understand that some arrangement has been come to with regard to the Metropolis, and probably in some way the Metropolis may be exempted from the action of the Bill. I am very glad of that; because I think that in the Metropolis there are very special considerations—the habits and customs of the people are different from what they are in other parts of the country—and I think in affirming the principle of the Bill to-day, that there is to be Sunday closing, we ought to take a reasonable view of any claim which is made on the grounds of necessity or emergency for exemption from the general principle which we have affirmed. Of course, there is an exemption with regard to the *bonâ fide* traveller; and although I am not prepared to say that the *bonâ fide* traveller is not a very suspicious person, and a person who perhaps only travels in order to get drink, still I do not think that even the abuse of that exemption which is said to exist in Scotland outweighs in any way what are the immense benefits of that Act which for the last seven years has been in force. I think it is very desirable—and here I only express my own opinion—that there should be some provision in England which is not necessary in Scotland with regard to the sale of beer for a short time twice a-day, at a time when people want it for their meals. I think this is of very

great importance. I do support that exception, and I lay great stress upon it, because I think that the working classes should learn to do what the upper classes do—take their stimulants when they take their meals. I think it would be important in our legislation on this Sunday question if we did something for the encouragement of that habit. I hope the question will not be talked out; but I trust that some decision will be come to on the subject. I do say that there are great masses of the people, in my opinion, in the Metropolis and also throughout the country, who are in favour of this measure; and I think the people of the country will be disappointed if the House does not come to some decision on the subject, so that they may feel the matter has been carefully brought before Parliament, and has been decided upon its merits by their Representatives.

Mr. EUGENE COLLINS said, he had not intended to have interfered in this debate but for the remarks of the hon. Member who had just spoken. Notwithstanding the various speeches which he had heard, not only upon this occasion, but upon the other occasions when this matter was before the House, he had not seen any reason for altering the deliberate opinion at which he had arrived as to the injustice and inexpediency of closing public-houses altogether on Sunday. He freely admitted—and did so cheerfully and willingly—that all credit was due to the large section of the community who endeavoured, as far as they could, to promote measures having for their object the restriction of intemperance; and more particularly upon this subject, which in itself was so attractive, and which appealed so forcibly to all their feelings and religious professions, one might very well hesitate to refuse to listen to the advocacy of gentlemen who were earnest in their desire to limit and restrict intemperance; but, at the same time, in the independent opinion which he had formed on this subject, he could not help but think that a considerable amount of mischief was often done by attempts to carry out professions of temperance to such an extent as to cause interference by legislative action. He was an advocate for temperance, and would certainly do all he could to promote the consumption of drink in mode-



ration. For 28 years of his life he had tasted nothing stronger than water, and it might, therefore, be supposed that he took considerable interest in the temperance movement; but he was convinced, from experience, that they did a larger amount of wrong by over-restriction than if they allowed the people to use and employ drink according to their wants and requirements. They had 180,000 Licensed Victuallers in the United Kingdom, and the great bulk of them were men whose great interest it was to carry on their business in the most legitimate and the most orderly way possible. They were men who had employed in their trade something like £120,000,000, and, being under State control, the very object and interest of these men was to conduct their business properly. Considering, then, the respectability of the men licensed by the State, and the magnitude of the trade, they ought to hesitate before adopting any measure which would seriously interfere with their position or their trade. Besides, if they were to abolish these men, they would find another class of persons ready to take their places without licences, without any interest in maintaining peace or moderation in their houses, and the result would be that their attempt to regulate and control the Licensed Victuallers would lead to greater evils. The great bulk of the community were utterly opposed to these restrictions. The hon. Members who had just spoken had instanced the case of Wales and Ireland, and had he anticipated speaking he could have furnished a large amount of evidence upon their examples. But Ireland was held out for imitation in this matter. What did he find? In the years between 1877—the year the Sunday Closing Bill was passed—and 1883 there was in the cities exempted from the operations of the Act a decrease of 38 per cent in the cases of intemperance. In the rest of the country, where the Exemption Clauses did not apply, the decrease had only been 7 per cent. The periods between 1873 and 1883, however, showed that whilst there had been a decrease of 40 per cent in the cases of intemperance in the exempted cities, there had been an increase in the rest of the country of 20 per cent. That was his reply to the arguments of the hon. Member who had appealed to the con-

dition of things in Ireland; and if the other parts of his argument were as fallacious and difficult to support as this one he need not trouble the House with attempting to refute them. Reference had been made to the deference which should be paid to the views of the working class. He accepted that view thoroughly and heartily; but was it possible that the working classes—the population they were going to admit to the franchise—that they had so low an opinion of them that they believed them so incapable of protecting their own interests, of preserving their morals, and of restraining themselves from undue indulgence and intemperance. Such a reproach should not have been put forward without finding many Members of that House ready to condemn such an imputation. There was one other point to which he would advert. He saw that the number of convictions of persons arrested for drunkenness on Sundays was, between 1876 and 1879, 46,315. That number dwindled down in the period between 1879 to 1882 to 42,000. But those figures showed that in the first-mentioned periods the convictions were as one to every 72,436 of the population, and between 1880 and 1882 one in every 91,104 of the population. It came, then, to this—that because one person in every 91,004 persons gave way to intemperate indulgences, as they would always find a certain class of men willing to do, they were to control or limit the free action of the other 91,003 who did not give way to over-indulgence. He contended that the decrease in the number of cases of drunkenness was likely to decrease, and would decrease, every day; and in advocating the position he had taken up, he was firmly convinced that a measure of repression and of legislative restriction such as that proposed would have an effect totally opposite to that which all of them were endeavouring to promote—a result which they would all deplore and repent.

EARL PERCY yielded to no one in his desire that this Bill should not be talked out. He represented, and belonged to a district which took a very great interest in this subject, and he held a sort of middle position between the two extremes—the rabid teetotaler on the one side, and the rabid Licensed Victualler on the other. He at once dismissed an

argument that had been touched on very little—namely, the interference with the liberty of the subject in closing public-houses on Sunday—as that argument went very much too far; because, if the public or the Licensed Victualler were entitled to the liberty of sale and purchase on Sunday, they were entitled to that liberty at all hours on that day, and at any hour during the rest of the week. But the main question at issue was the convenience of the public. How did that matter stand? It was useless to go too minutely into statistics; but they did show that a large number of the population of this country, especially in the North of England, were in favour of some further measure for closing public-houses on Sunday; and when the hon. Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. J. G. Talbot) complained that the householders were the only persons who had been canvassed on this subject he was rather surprised, because, in his own district, he discovered the number of votes largely exceeded the number of householders in that district, and he was told that the canvass had been made among all the adults of the district. As he had said, the convenience of the public was the main question; but he admitted there was one other element to be considered, that was the moral effect the Bill would have, and the effect upon the crime of the country. It was a singular fact that the clergy of all denominations were largely in favour of some further measure of this kind, and he thought the House could not close its eyes to that fact. If they were wrong in their judgment, on their heads be the blame. Then, coming to the question of crime, it was found that the magistracy, though not universally in favour of the measure, had certainly supported it to some extent; and where they had been unwilling to sign Petitions in its favour, they had been actuated rather by the hesitation of a class not affected by the measure, than from any definite feeling that the measure was not right in principle. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down spoke of the large number of Licensed Victuallers who would be affected by this measure; but, as he understood the matter, a very large portion of the Licensed Victuallers were in favour of the measure. He knew a town in the North of England, with a population of 6,000 inhabitants or there-

abouts, where there were 49 public-houses; and when a canvass was made by the clergy, in order to find out how many publicans would take out six-day licences, provided the whole of the local trade agreed to do the same thing, there were only three out of the 49 who refused to take out those six-day licences. Of course, however, those three prevented the rest from doing it, because they were afraid that custom would leave them. In the face of these facts, and others which might be quoted of a similar kind, it was useless to say that the Licensed Victuallers were in any large numbers against the measure now before the House, or some measure in the same direction. Looking at the effect of this measure on other countries, he maintained that it could not be denied that it did diminish the consumption of liquor. That had been proved, at any rate, in Scotland. It also diminished the amount of crime; but he was not so convinced that it diminished the amount of drunkenness. It was perfectly possible that a more moderate amount of drunkenness might be extended through a larger population, and the amount of drink consumed diminish; and he was very much afraid that if this Bill were passed there would be more drinking in the homes of the poor, more drinking in the *quasi*-Club, more drinking in the she-beens, and more illicit sale of liquor in that way. Then there was the *bonâ fide* traveller. He was sorry he heard no hon. Member point out how the evil of the *bonâ fide* traveller might be met; but he well remembered that when a deputation waited upon the Home Secretary last year, the Bishop of Newcastle said he hoped a Bill would not be passed for Durham without one for Northumberland, because the population of Gateshead would come across and drink at Newcastle. With regard to the relation between the closing of public-houses on Sunday and the opening of Museums on that day, he wished to point out that in one case they would be diminishing a convenience already enjoyed by the public, and that in the other they would be interfering with the rest at present enjoyed by the *employés* of Museums. He himself had no strong feeling one way or the other on this Bill; he would be guided chiefly by the manifest convenience of the population of this country. In the North of England the feel-



ing was strong; but he could not say so much for the rest of England. He feared that the promoters of the measure were thwarting the attainment of their objects by the extreme position which they assumed. They had always asked for too much in legislation, and they had consequently done nothing. The hon. Member who had charge of the present Bill asked them to pass a measure for total Sunday closing; and he (Earl Percy) did not think he was likely to get it this year any more than in the past. The same might be said of the County Bills; they defeated their object, and put off the legislation that many desired to see. But he wished to put it to the hon. Gentleman whether he would not attain a good many of his objects if he were to adopt some such provisions as those of the Bill of the hon. Member for South Durham (Sir Joseph Pease)? He (Earl Percy) was as anxious as anybody to see some measure passed which should restrict the opening of public-houses on Sunday; but he very much doubted whether a Bill for total closing would have much chance this year, or next, or the year after. Meanwhile, the excess of wretchedness and crime that prevailed would rise up against the advocates of the extreme measure, who would do better if they would, for the present, accept a compromise. He should vote against the Amendment of the hon. Member for the University of Oxford, and for the Bill now before the House; but he should do so in the hope that some Amendments would be admitted in Committee which would make the measure a feasible and practical one. Unless this were done, he was afraid it would not become law for many years to come.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, it was because he was unable to do what the noble Earl (Earl Percy) proposed to do—namely, to support the second reading of the Bill, that he must ask the House for their kind indulgence for a minute or two. But, although he could not go so far as the hon. Member for South Shields (Mr. Stevenson) in voting for the total abolition of the opening of public-houses on Sunday, he had always advocated a great restriction upon the present hours; and, indeed, he would go farther, and say that he thought the House might fairly be asked to pass a measure for

restricting the sale on Sundays to consumption off the premises. In that way they might practically do away with many of the evils which the hon. Member for South Shields sought to abate, and, at the same time, they would be keeping the door open to meet the objections as to the wants of the community which had always prevailed against his action hitherto. Some of the arguments they had heard on the present occasion seemed to him to be, to a certain extent, misapplied. They had heard a good deal about this being the only trade which was allowed practical freedom on the Lord's Day. But was this the case? So far as he knew, most trades—certainly in the Metropolis—for the sale of anything that was eatable were carried on on the Lord's Day. Parliament had always regarded the requirements of the public as the measure of its restrictions; and he much doubted whether these requirements called for consumption on the premises on the Sunday. A great number of publicans wished to be restricted to such hours as would not oblige them to keep their servants in the house the whole day. There would be throughout England a large consensus of opinion in favour of the further restriction if the hours of the law were made universal and obligatory upon all. The reason why closing was not voluntarily adopted in many places was that one or two publicans held out, and so compelled all the rest to keep open. The Bill passed in 1874 made some attempt to meet that question by introducing a six days' licence; but he was afraid that that had been a practical failure. He thought it would be long before a measure for wholly prohibiting the sale of liquors on Sunday would be passed into law. In conclusion, he said he should not like to vote against the Bill now under consideration, without explaining the reasons why he could not support it.

MR. CHESTER-MASTER said, he would merely detain the House for a moment, in order to ask the hon. Gentleman who introduced the Bill why it was that none of the Amendments promised in the past were worked into the measure, so as to allow those who were in favour of partial Sunday closing to give their votes on its side? This Bill had for many years been introduced in the form in which they now saw it, and



towards the end of the debate the introducer had always expressed his willingness to accept Amendments, though these were never found in subsequent years to have been introduced. The hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt), who seconded the Bill, had represented, he believed, that public-houses constituted almost the only trade carried on on Sundays. This, however, was hardly correct. The bake-houses—and this might be abundantly demonstrated in London—carried on a very large business for a class of the public who had not the means of cooking their own Sunday dinners. While he was ready to support a proposal to further limit the hours during which liquors might be sold on Sunday, he could not vote in favour of the present Bill.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have risen thus early because I think there is a general feeling on the part of the House that, whether hon. Gentlemen are in favour of this Bill or whether they are against it, a decision of the House ought to be taken upon it to-day. The country would have the advantage of knowing what is the feeling of Parliament upon the question, and how far in that respect it represents the opinions of the country. We have had a very interesting debate unquestionably upon this subject. We have had statements, shortly and clearly expressed, from Gentlemen representing constituencies who are locally and in every way entitled to express their views upon the matter. Well, Sir, as regards the general question of Sunday closing, I have no hesitation myself in saying that I am entirely in favour of Sunday closing. I believe that it is no longer a theoretical, but that it is a practical question. We have had experience now for many years in different parts of the United Kingdom. We began with Scotland, and nobody, I believe, will be bold enough to assert that the experiment that was tried in Scotland has failed, or that there are any number of persons in Scotland who desire to reverse that legislation. We proceeded to Ireland, and what has been the experience there? Is the feeling a demand for reversing that legislation? Not at all. It is a demand for completing and going further in the direction in which we have already advanced. Well, with reference to Wales, our experience has not been so long. I

know there is considerable dispute on the subject of the opinion of persons in Wales upon that subject; I dare say there may be room for difference of opinion; but, as far as I know, it is not the case that the experiment has failed in Wales. I had a letter only the other day from a gentleman who is the Chairman of the Petty Sessional Division of the counties of Brecon and Glamorgan, which encloses to me the opinion of the stipendiary magistrate at Swansea, one of the most important and populous parts of Wales. He says—

“I send you the opinion of the stipendiary magistrate for the important district of Swansea with respect to the working of the Sunday Closing Act there, stated by him on the Bench on Tuesday. I may also add that the Act has been a great blessing to Wales.”

The opinion is this—

“The learned stipendiary characterized the offence”—which was a breach of the Sunday Closing Act—“as a very bold one, and said it was the duty of the Bench to inflict a substantial punishment. He added that his experience had been for many months past that the Sunday Closing Act was working very beneficially, because on Monday morning there was scarcely ever a case before him.”

Therefore, it is not the case to say that the last experiment in Wales has failed. Both my hon. Friend who moved, and my hon. Friend who seconded, this Motion stated, I think, the case extremely accurately. My hon. Friend who moved the Bill said that opinion was ripening on this question. Can anyone who views the attitude of the country on this matter, aye, and who views the attitude of this House, doubt that? How changed is the language that we hear with respect to the other side. How much support do Motions of this character receive, not only from this side of the House, but from that also, as we have seen by the speech of the Representative of Manchester (Mr. Houldsworth) and the noble Earl the Member for North Northumberland (Earl Percy)? Among the speeches we have just heard, my hon. Friend the Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt), who speaks with some authority on the part of those of the working classes who think with him, made a very wise and a very true remark—that it would be extremely inexpedient to go beyond the public opinion which has been expressed on this subject, and which, as he says, he has watched. To do so, he said, would be

to defeat the objects we have in view. Now, I think the action on this matter has followed public opinion. It followed public opinion in Scotland many years ago; it has followed public opinion in Ireland, and it has followed it in Wales. Some of my hon. Friends here were desirous that it should follow public opinion in other parts of the country; and I supported, on behalf of the Government, the proposal to adopt the Sunday closing in Cornwall and in Durham. Why did I do so? Because I am satisfied—as the hon. Member for Morpeth has said he was—with reference to that part of the country specially, that public opinion was ripe and existed in an overwhelming force and majority in favour of the measure. The evidence that it was so in Cornwall was beyond dispute. People of every religious or political opinion were practically unanimous on the subject. The evidence, I think, was almost equally strong in reference to Durham. Well, what has been the course of legislation in this matter? The course of legislation has been to enact Sunday closing with reference to those communities in which the great majority of opinion was in favour of adopting it. That is what you have done, and I think you did wisely in that respect. Now, if opinion in this country were as pronounced and as clearly defined in respect to all parts of it as it unquestionably is in respect to a great part of it, I think there would be no doubt whatsoever as to what we ought to do. It is a remarkable fact that most of the speeches we have heard to-day have been from the Northern parts of England. We have had speeches from Lancashire, Northumberland, and Durham; and if I may use a general geographical expression, unquestionably there is North of the Trent an overwhelming opinion in support of the principles of this Bill. I cannot say I am satisfied when you come to the Southern parts of England that there is an equal opinion on this subject. I am not now speaking of Cornwall, which has rather an exceptional position on the map. The case of the Metropolis has been referred to, and I have in my official capacity, no doubt, a particular responsibility with reference to that; but I have not heard anything like that expression of opinion from the Metropolitan Members that I

have heard from the Members from Cornwall or Durham on the subject of general Sunday closing. Now, if you are to follow what has been the safe and successful method of dealing with this question, and dealing with it in a manner which shall avoid those dangers of reaction, and of defeating that which you wish to accomplish, it seems to me that you will proceed upon the same principle and in the same manner. In supporting those measures for the Sunday closing in Durham, Cornwall, and other places, I was acting upon a principle which I also, on behalf of the Government, supported when we voted for the Resolutions of my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). We declared then our disposition to support the principle of Local Option, and to that principle I adhere. I believe these are questions which are best determined by—I was almost going to say, which can only safely be determined by—those who are conversant with the feelings and the interests of the particular community, and that, as I understand it, is the principle of Local Option. A difficulty that I feel about this Bill is in its present shape. It is not a Bill upon the principles of Local Option; but, on the contrary, it is a Bill adverse to the principle of Local Option. Because in so far as it is a Bill that gives Sunday closing to those who wish it, I am in favour of it; but in so far as it is a Bill which imposes Sunday closing upon communities adverse to it, it is a Bill contrary to the principle of Local Option. I believe you will only do mischief in these matters by endeavouring to force measures of this character upon communities where the majority would not support them. You hear it sometimes said—"Oh! this should be treated as an Imperial question;" but I think that is generally advanced by people who do not wish it to be done. They feel the difficulty of applying it everywhere, and therefore they say it must not be applied except it be made of universal application. When objection is made in these debates to "piecemeal" legislation, I maintain that all the legislation that has hitherto taken place on this subject has been piecemeal; and "piecemeal legislation," though it may be regarded as rather a dissylogistic expression, is really a sensible phrase to adopt in regard to the principle of Local



Option. On behalf of the Government, last year, I stated very clearly what we understood by that term, and what was the principle on which we thought these measures ought to be dealt with. We thought the right ought to be given to all the organized communities in the country, whether in the boroughs or counties, to determine these matters, which are so closely connected with their moral and material welfare. To that I entirely adhere. I believe that those communities like Manchester—which, by the voice of its Representatives, desire Sunday closing—should have Sunday closing; and that those communities like London—which does not ask for it—should not have Sunday closing, and that that would be far better than to pass a law which proposed to give it where it was not required. It seems to me that the principle of adaptation to the wants of each separate community, as expressed by those who understand and represent its interests, is the sound principle of dealing with these matters. My view is that each community ought to have the power of determining the whole of this question for itself—whether it should have these licensed houses at all; how many, if it had them; for what hours and during what days they should be open; and, in point of fact, that the attempt to lay down a general Procrustean Law with reference to the days or numbers of hours for each part of the country, in which the interest and the desires vary according to the localities, is not a sound principle of legislation at all. If we mean anything by local self-government, we mean that separate communities should have a right to deal with questions of this character according to their several interests and wants. I believe my hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle would approve of those opinions. [Sir WILFRID LAWSON: Hear, hear!] I have said it was a question of areas, and I repeat it, and a question of areas is totally inconsistent with a universal law. But my hon. Friend, much as he might commend my opinions on this subject, might ask—“Why have you done nothing upon it?” Well, that is a very reasonable and justifiable demand; but if there be people outside this House who do not know why we have done nothing on this subject, there is no man in this House who does not

perfectly well know why we have not, and why we cannot legislate upon questions so deeply interesting to the community. [*Laughter, and an hon. MEMBER: The Franchise Bill.*] Yes; the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition laughs. He smiles, I suppose, at his own success. But I would remind the House and the country—for it is to the country we have to look for relieving this—[*Ironical Opposition cheers.*]—yes; I am not speaking in the interest of one Party or another, or of one Administration or another, because you may depend upon it that those who have to succeed us will have to feel this matter quite as strongly as we do—that habits of this kind, when once created, are difficult to cure. I speak in the interest and in the credit of the House of Commons, and I ask what power there is in this House to accomplish any legislation upon very important subjects? We have now passed eight weeks of the Session of the present year—about one-third part of the Parliamentary time—and I think it will be nine weeks that will have expired before the Government will have been able to obtain the opinion of the House of Commons upon their first and principal legislative measure. Well, Sir, is it necessary, under these circumstances, to explain why it is that the Government have not been able, and are not able, to legislate upon matters of great importance—matters of such great importance as those which are raised by the Bill now before us? I should have been extremely glad—indeed, I am extremely anxious—that upon the responsibility of the Government a measure should be introduced upon the general subject—a subject which includes not merely Sunday closing, but the Liquor Question altogether. I think it ought to be dealt with upon the principles upon which I have spoken—that is to say, the principle of giving to each locality power of disposing of these matters according to their own interest and their own wishes; and it is our desire, as soon as it may be possible for us, in the difficulties with which we have to deal in legislative measures in this House, to propose such a measure for the acceptance of Parliament.

Mr. W. H. SMITH said, that the question was one which, apart from all Party feeling, was sure to raise strong difference of opinion and excited feeling.



The House had listened with great interest to the speech of the Secretary of State for the Home Department. As to his closing remarks, it must be remembered that the House spent six dreary weeks in November and December, 1882, in considering the Rules of Procedure, and it accepted nearly all the proposals of Her Majesty's Government which in their wisdom they intended and deemed sufficient to promote the successful conduct of Government Business in Parliament. At that time they had been told that the majority would reign, that the co-operation of an Opposition was not required; and they were assured that a good time was coming, when, if these Rules were accepted by the House, they would restore to the House its ancient reputation for the discharge of public duties. The Opposition, at least, washed its hands of any responsibility for the failure of this anticipation on the part of Her Majesty's Government. He took it that the practical question before them was how they could best promote good order and morality, and effect improvement in social manners in all those matters which tended to give strength to the country. The Secretary of State for the Home Department had asserted, in reference to this subject, that a very remarkable symptom—he was going to say of that agitation, but he would prefer to say movement—was a gradual progress of public opinion. He had referred to a great unanimity of opinion in favour of the Bill on the North side of the Trent, and a great unanimity against it South of the Trent; and he said he could not express the same accordance in the views of the supporters of the measure as they had heard from the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Houldsworth). Speaking for an important Metropolitan constituency, he (Mr. W. H. Smith) would say he believed that all his Colleagues were as anxious to do what they could to help forward the object which the hon. Member for South Shields had in view as the hon. Member himself was. They desired to reduce the amount of intemperance; to reduce the consumption of intoxicating liquor; to promote the orderly observance of Sunday; and to encourage all the habits which were necessary to the welfare of society at large. But would the measure before them

attain in the Metropolis the end they had in view? He owned, that from all the information he could possess himself of, it would utterly fail to secure that object in the Metropolis itself. They were dealing in the Metropolis with what might be described as a province of houses, and with a population closely approaching 5,000,000. They were dealing, then, with a condition of things which, in his view, was such that if they passed the Bill under consideration they could not stop there. There were in the Metropolis many Clubs and other Associations whose members had the undoubted right of consuming liquor independently of all supervision or control, and people had the equally undoubted right of visiting at each other's houses, and of consuming liquor; and that right might be exercised to an extent not realized by hon. Members who were not intimately acquainted with the Metropolis, and to a less extent it would be open to the members of Associations such as those he referred to and the Clubs to obtain any amount of liquor they desired during the whole of Sunday. He could not help saying that if the Bill before the House were passed into law, those rights remaining untouched, it would be absolutely impossible for Parliament to stop there. They would have at once to deal with the matters to which he had adverted, and first of all with the question of Clubs. Then there was another question they would have to deal with—that of the *bona fide* traveller. At present his constituents could go to Greenwich, or Hampstead, or Turnham Green, and could require to be served at any time on Sunday. London was, as he had said, a great province—a province of houses—and it was absurd to say that an Act could be useful that would open the door for any amount of evasion, and that would immensely increase the temptation to evade the law. He was told on authority, on which he could place reliance, that the *bona fide* traveller was a great nuisance to the respectable publican. He must examine a man who came to him representing that he had come from a distance and demanding to be served. He had to get the assistance of persons who were most likely to be able to detect the misrepresentations of the *bona fide* traveller, and the duty was one which there was often

a great deal of difficulty in discharging. To suppose, therefore, that they could deal with the Licensing Law in the simple way the hon. Member for South Shields imagined he could was altogether a mistake. If they resolved to deal with the subject they must deal with it in a comprehensive manner, which would shut the door against evasion of the law, and support the honest and respectable publican, who endeavoured to carry on his business in a proper and respectable manner. But there was another thing. At the present moment the police had a right—and it was their duty—to see that the law was obeyed, so far as they were concerned; but they could not go into a Club and interfere with what they might see there. Any such interference at a Working Man's Club would be as strongly resented there as it would be at one of the Clubs in Pall Mall. They had now a decision given in the highest Court of Law, according to which a member of a Club was entitled to supply himself at the Club with a bottle of beer or spirits, or anything else, and having paid for it, to carry it away, even during prohibited hours. That was the law at the present time, and it was a condition of things that opened the door to any amount of evasions for those who wished to drink, and which those must meet who wished to prevent them doing so; and it was obviously a matter of great importance to the community at large. There was yet another condition in connection with the Licensing Laws that required to be considered. Under the present law the lodger was permitted to have any amount of drink he pleased. Now, they know very well that at the East End of London, and he was sorry to say at the West End also, there were licensed houses not of the highest class, with lodgers not of the highest character, and they would have this peculiarity—under the Bill of the hon. Member for South Shields—that the lodger of bad character, in a house of inferior reputation, might obtain any amount of drink he pleased, and that lodger might then sally forth and make himself the terror of the vicinity on a Sunday; while a respectable lodger in another and respectable house was not to be allowed to obtain the food or drink which, according to his habits, might be neces-

sary for his proper sustenance. That was a condition which involved a man's liberty, and which must not be ignored. He believed the Metropolitan Members desired to go as far as they could with safety, without tempting to evasion or to illicit trading, or leading men to do that in the dark which they would be prohibited doing in the light, in discouraging the habit of drinking, and lessening the number of hours during which drinking houses should be open; but they wished to approach step by step, rather than by one leap, to the end which the Bill had in view. Let them go on slowly and surely, and he was certain the success would be more real, and lasting, and beneficial to the community at large.

MR. ALDERMAN LAWRENCE said, he thought the Bill enunciated a very large principle. It had been stated by many of its supporters that they would not insist on including the Metropolis in its operation; but the Metropolis was included in it. He did not suppose that those who brought it forward supposed it was at all likely to pass, or even desired that it should. He gave them credit for a wish to promote temperance; but he protested against its being imputed to those who were opposed to this Bill that they were in favour of intemperance. The Home Secretary said he could not see his way to including the Metropolis in the list of towns that should be closed on Sunday. He could well believe that; and he did not wish to see the right hon. and learned Gentleman charged with the responsibility of maintaining order in the Metropolis in the event of the Bill becoming law. He was not at all surprised at his saying, therefore, that he was not in favour of the Bill. But the Metropolis protested against being legislated for by the Northern portion of the country. The Gentlemen whose names appeared on the back of the Bill were all of them thoroughly amiable and respectable, and he had no doubt their intentions in promoting it were perfectly estimable; but if their Bill should pass, he told them they would find it impossible to put it in operation in London. The population of the Metropolis at present amounted to 5,000,000. In 10 years' time its population would be vastly larger even than that. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) re-

ferred the other day to the number of splendid institutions that existed in London, which were centres of knowledge, and exercised a most beneficial influence, and he also said that the people of London were the most law-abiding people in the whole Kingdom. That was a very remarkable fact, because the state of things to which the right hon. Gentleman referred existed under the present law for opening and closing public-houses. It was not for him to say what might be most beneficial for the Northern towns; but from his knowledge of the Metropolis he could say that if the Bill became law it would bring down upon the Government an immense responsibility. The measure would not carry out the objects which its promoters had in view; but it would cause a great deal of irritation, and would induce men to drink in secret more than they would be disposed to do in public, and to consume the vilest compounds. He protested against a majority ruling a minority in this matter. A large number of Petitions had, no doubt, been presented in favour of the Bill; but those Petitions were signed by people who did not use public-houses, and who wished to prevent other people having an opportunity of using them. He was most anxious, in every possible manner, to promote temperance; but he certainly did not think that the closing of public-houses on Sunday would have that result. They should be very careful how they restricted the liberty of the people; and he hoped the House would give a vote upon the Bill that afternoon which would settle the question for some time to come.

MR. MARRIOTT: The hon. Member who has just sat down (Mr. Alderman Lawrence) represents a Metropolitan constituency, and though I have not the honour to represent a Metropolitan constituency, I have the honour to represent one that is very close to London, and in the South of England. If the Bill is passed in its present despotic form, utterly irrespective of those principles of Local Option which have been so frequently advocated in this House on both sides—if this Bill were passed in its present form, the pleasures of thousands of people who now seek the sea breeze at Brighton would be immensely curtailed, if not utterly destroyed. A good deal of reference has been made to the

feeling of the Northern towns upon this question. I have great respect for the Northern towns; but if the Northern workmen have not sufficient control over themselves to take only a sufficient amount of alcoholic liquors, is that any reason why they should stop, or attempt to stop, workmen and other people in the South of England from taking them? I have heard that in some of the large towns, famed for their practical intelligence, there is an immense amount of drunkenness; but if their drunkenness thus goes hand-in-hand with their intelligence, are those who have less intelligence to be punished for those who have more, and are yet unable to keep sober? The subject that is brought before the House by this Bill is a very important one. With the object of the Bill there is no doubt that every person must cordially and heartily sympathize. Everybody wants to see temperance promoted and intemperance checked. The real question is, will not this Bill produce greater evils than exist under the present laws? I do not know what other hon. Members of this House may think; but I must say that I watch with very great anxiety the principle that is now finding great favour—that is, of State interference with the private affairs of life. The Liberalism which prevails at the present day is not, I regret to say, of the robust type of the Liberalism of 50 years ago, which had such exponents as Bentham, John Stuart Mill, Sir William Molesworth, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Richard Cobden, and the right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. John Bright). The principle of that Liberalism was that the less the State interfered with individual liberty, and the more it left individuals to control themselves, the better it was for individuals, and the better also for the State. This Bill proposes to take away the liberty of the country at a stroke, and interferes directly with the convenience of the entire working class of the country. That seems to me a very grave step for this House to take. Now, Sir, we know that before this restrictive legislation has been put in force that the habits of drunkenness and of intemperance have decreased enormously during the last few years in this country. What are the causes of drunkenness? Drunkenness, 50 or 60 years ago, was not con-



fined to the lower classes as it is now. The higher classes were contaminated with the vice, and the youth of the country at our Universities were contaminated with it. The reason why it has since disappeared from them is, not that restrictive measures have exercised a beneficial coercion, but because young men have been able to cultivate better and more healthy tastes, through the agency of Associations for promoting sports and amusements, and innocent recreation. What applies to the gentry applies equally well to the working classes; and if we are asked what really are the remedies for drunkenness, I should say that the best remedy is to promote education, to promote recreation, and to open Parks and open spaces, where the poorer classes can have their cricket and other games and amusements of all kinds. We know that 25 years ago there was not a single Working Man's Club in the whole of the United Kingdom. At the present time I believe there are over 1,000, the great majority of which are non-political. The working classes meet there, and amuse themselves at billiards, or in other ways. At a number of them intoxicating liquors are sold. Drunkenness is never heard of at these Clubs, for the rules are against it, and the members enjoy the same privileges as the richer classes have at their Clubs. These are the instruments which we ought to rely upon for decreasing the evil of drunkenness. I am aware that to spend money on educating the people is a more tedious thing than bringing Bills into Parliament which will have a compulsory effect; but it is a much more certain and a much more sure way of dealing with the question. There is no doubt that statistics show that in the last 50 years the condition of the working classes has improved in every way, and in a much greater ratio than the position of the upper classes. For these reasons, I think that we ought not to have regard to any of these compulsory measures. They are sure to fail, and there is one way in which they may fail and work an enormous evil. I have spoken of Working Men's Clubs, and there is no better thing than a legitimate Working Man's Club; but this measure is calculated to produce what I may call a bogus Working Man's Club, or a public-house without a licence, and nothing could be worse than this.

All these, I think, are reasons why hon. Members should vote against the Bill. The hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), who is much interested in this subject, had recourse to a Resolution in favour of Local Option, which I supported; but I know that Resolution was differently interpreted by hon. Members. I consider that the Local Authority should have power over the licensing of public-houses. In 1835 the power of licensing public-houses was given to Town Councils by the Municipal Corporation Bill; but that portion of the Bill was struck out by the Peers. In my opinion, it is a pity it was so struck out. I should like to see the control in this matter in the hands of the town authorities. I do not know that it would diminish public-houses; it may possibly increase them. As regards what was said by the Home Secretary when he asked what power has the House to deal with such legislation, I am sorry the right hon. Gentleman had recourse to that same retort, which, I am sorry to say, the Government have recourse to when they have not done that which they ought to have done. He cast his glances over to the Opposition side of the House, and intimated that those who sit there are responsible for what he calls want of legislation. I distinctly repudiate that. If there is any blame to attach to anybody it is solely and entirely to Her Majesty's Government. Instead of bringing in measures which would interest the whole people, they choose to bring in measures which are political engines for increasing political power, and which cannot tend to the amelioration of the condition of the people. There was one measure promised by the Government when it was returned to power, that was County Government; and if that Bill were brought in, the whole subject of licensing might have been dealt with. That course would have been far more acceptable to Members generally than to compel them to vote for measures dealing with only particular counties. If the Government had brought in a good Bill dealing with the Licensing Question it would have been supported by the majority of the House; but by the course they have pursued we are now compelled to wait for an indefinite period.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, that, as it was not yet 5 o'clock, he could speak without incurring the suspicion

of desiring to talk the Bill out. On behalf of the constituency which he represented (Sheffield), he would vote against the Bill now before the House. He believed that the majority of his constituents were opposed to the Bill. [An hon. MEMBER: No, no!] An hon. Member opposite said "No, no!" but he wished it to be distinctly understood that he had been returned to Parliament in spite of his having refused to give any pledge to support this Bill. He believed the feeling of the borough which he represented had increased against a measure of this character since his election. There existed in that borough a temperance party, which was not behind any other temperance party in any other borough in the extreme character of its action. Not only that, but he would remark, seeing some extremely large Petitions in front of him, that he had himself, two years ago, presented a Petition against the Bill which was a quarter of a mile in length, and which was signed by householders who gave their names, addresses, and occupations. Under these circumstances, he was opposed to the restriction which it was sought to impose on the liberty of the subject by the hon. Member for South Shields. He was aware that it was argued that there was a great public desire in favour of the Bill. That might be; but popular desire should not be allowed to control private liberty. It was only when private liberty was opposed to the public welfare that such restriction would be justified. It was only when the breach of self-regarding duties was carried to excess that the State had a right to interfere. To interfere with the right of private individuals to obtain refreshments was one of those instances in which the right of the State would be pushed to excess. With those views he should vote for the Amendment. It was rather in the direction of restrictions that the House should endeavour to move. If the measure was good for Sunday it was equally good for every day in the week. Such legislation would, he thought, be better directed to the Saturday evenings, when the working man had his wages burning in his pocket. The Bill, too, if good for any time, was good for any place, and, therefore, was just as applicable to London as to any other part of the country. But

the hon. Member found such a weight of public opinion against him on that point that he would not dare to keep London in the Bill.

Mr. THOMAS COLLINS said, he was opposed to the new custom of reading a Bill a second time on the understanding that a totally different measure should come out from Committee; and, as had been pointed out by his hon. Friend (Mr. Stuart-Wortley), the promoters of the Bill were prepared to excise from its scope something like 5,000,000 people within the Metropolitan area. He looked upon the Bill as an electioneering measure. He was an advocate for getting rid of the drinking habits of the people on Sunday, and allowing the publicans to have their Sundays to themselves; but, in his opinion, such an object should be attained by degrees—by gradually diminishing the hours during which intoxicating liquors might be sold. It was not merely on Sundays, but on week-days as well, that additional restrictions should be imposed upon the liquor traffic. He had always looked with disfavour on the alteration which had been made in Lord Aberdare's Bill. It was much more reasonable to close public-houses at half-past 11 than at half-past 12; and, therefore, the last Parliament committed an error of judgment in extending the hours of drinking on week days in the Metropolis. The whole Metropolis, which was seven miles by nine miles in extent, ought not to be made to conform to the tastes of the Strand, and three or four other streets with an inconsiderable population. They should be very cautious in what they did, because instead of bringing about what they all desired—namely, a gradual shortening of the hours during which drink might be sold, they might produce a revulsion of feeling which would throw the matter back for years. Beer was the only good healthy beverage an Englishman could drink. An hon. Member (Mr. E. Collins) had said he drank nothing but water for the first 28 years of his life. He must be a remarkable exception to the general body of mankind, for milk was, he thought, the universal diet in early years. He admitted that there was a strong opinion in the North of England in favour of the Bill, irrespective of politics. But it was to be remembered that a few years ago a too stringent



Liquor Bill had been passed, which Parliament was soon after obliged to repeal. He regretted that this Bill had been pressed forward instead of the measure for curtailing the hours during which public-houses should be open on Sundays, and which would have met with cordial support in all parts of the House. The Home Secretary had complained that the Government had not had an opportunity of dealing with many social questions, owing to the persistent Obstruction that they constantly met with. He regretted the absence of the Prime Minister; but could not refrain from saying that he was certainly the greatest Obstructionist in the House. Only a few days ago he occupied not less than 17 minutes in answering a simple Question. The right hon. Gentleman ought to take a lesson from the Home Secretary and abridge his remarks, thus affording the Government an opportunity of carrying out domestic and social legislation.

MR. CLARE READ: In the course of this debate a great many hon. Members have expressed their opinions as to what would or what would not happen in the event of this Sunday Closing Bill being accepted by the House and passed into law. I think it would, perhaps, be well, and might prove useful to the House, if those who have had some little experience in other countries as to what really does happen when similar measures have been adopted and put into force were to state to the House the nature of that experience. Now, Sir, it happened that in the year 1879 my hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) and myself spent some six months in America; and I remember that on one occasion, when we were at a place called Dallas, in Texas, we went one Sunday evening to the Cathedral, and there heard a very eloquent discourse from the Bishop, who, however, like a good many other eloquent men, detained us for a very long time while he preached his most excellent sermon. The result was that when we returned to the inn where we were staying we found that the room in which the refreshments were usually served had been shut up and that we could not get any tea. On my suggesting to the waiter that instead of a cup of tea it would be possible that a bottle of lager beer or stout might be obtained at the bar, he informed us that

the bar had been shut up all day; and, consequently, we were obliged to go thirsty and supperless to bed. Upon my mentioning to a friend at the breakfast-table on the following morning what had occurred over night, he said to me—"Are you not aware that there are always two doors to the bar?" I replied that I was not aware of that fact; and he rejoined—"On the next occasion when you are told that the bar is shut up, ask to be shown where the back-door is." Well, Sir, it happened that on the very next Sunday my hon. Friend and I were staying at an hotel in a large town in the central portion of America, and we thought we would try the experiment which had been thus suggested by our friend at Dallas. Accordingly, towards the evening of that day, being in want of some refreshment, we asked where the back-door of the bar was, and, to our great astonishment, when we had been shown to the bar by that entrance, we found rather more persons regaling themselves in that portion of the hotel than were to be found there on other evenings during the week. On our happening to observe the singular fact that, although it was then still daylight, the window-blinds were all carefully drawn down and the gas lighted, I ventured to ask the reason for this, and was informed by the proprietor of the place that he had received a gentle hint from the police to the effect that if the officers happened to see that the bar was not closed it would be their duty to issue a summons, and in consequence of this the manager had considerably put down the blinds, so that the police might not be induced to take such a course. That, Sir, is what occurs in America; and I greatly fear that something of the same sort is not unlikely to prevail in this country should the House of Commons be induced to pass such a measure as this. In my opinion, it is the very worst mode of legislation to pass Acts of Parliament which may be thus evaded—laws that are merely called into existence for the purpose of satisfying the tender consciences of a few good men, but which are more or less repugnant to the feelings of the great majority of the people of this country. I may also inform the House—and I think my hon. Friend (Mr. Pell) will confirm what I am about to state—that in the town of Dallas, to which I have already referred,



where such business is supposed to be put a stop to on a Sunday, we saw more drunken men than in any other town we visited while in America. I recollect that it was a very hot day when we were there, and early in the morning we saw a number of men on a common—or what we in England would call a common—just outside the city, regaling themselves with whisky, which they had, of course, secured overnight. Now, Sir, I am one of those who think that the hours during which the public-houses are open on a Sunday might be very usefully and properly curtailed; but I do object—especially in a country like England, where beer is the principal beverage of the people, and where it is impossible to get that beer on a Saturday night and keep it good and fresh until the Sunday morning—to the entire closing of the public-houses, which I think would be a very great hardship to the working classes. I shall, therefore, vote against the second reading of this Bill, and give my cordial support to the Amendment of the hon. Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. J. G. Talbot).

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, he had not heard a single argument in favour of the Bill which would not equally apply to every day in the week. He had been lately asked by a member of a religious body to vote against the Bill because drinking on Sunday was contrary to Divine law. If it was contrary to Divine law on Sunday, it must be so on every other day in the week. Some hon. Members might think it contrary to Divine law to eat hot meat on Sunday; others thought it contrary to Divine law to eat meat on Friday. He thought they might let alone the religious aspect of the question. Then, in regard to the question of drunkenness, it had been proved, beyond the possibility of doubt, that there were far fewer cases of drunkenness on Sunday than on any other day in the week. How was it possible, then, to deduce from that the necessity of passing this unjust law? The hon. Member hoped to carry the second reading by the votes of Members on his own side, many of whom believed there was a strong political force at the back of the measure; and he (Mr. Bentinck) was satisfied that if they only had vote by Ballot in the House they would not get 50 Members to vote for it. The hon. Member for

Guildford (Mr. Onslow) had obtained a Return which was very useful reading. He found that in Cumberland, where he believed there was no desire for this Bill, in a population of 115,000 the number of persons arrested for drunkenness in the year was only 116; but in the city of Carlisle, where the influence of the hon. Baronet (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was paramount, out of a population of 36,000 there were 108 arrests, or nearly as many as in the whole county, with a population of 115,000. He also found that a vast proportion of those arrested on Sunday for drunkenness really got the drink on Saturday night, so that the drunkenness on Sunday was really very much less. There really was hardly time to get drunk on Sunday. The houses closed at 11, and were not open again until half-past 12; then they were closed again at half-past 2, and open again at 6. It was impossible that any large number could get drunk within those times. Drunkenness had decreased among the middle classes, and would in time decrease among the lower. When he was at the University, cases of drunkenness were of every day occurrence; but now it was not so. He remembered being asked to join a Club, one of whose rules was that five toasts should be drunk, and a bottle of port consumed in drinking them; he did not feel that he could carry so much liquor, so he declined to join the Club. Matters were completely changed now, and he should like to ask the hon. Members for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and Drogheda (Mr. Whitworth) whether it was really intended that persons should not be allowed to obtain refreshment on Sunday? He could hardly believe that they would maintain that proposition; but if they closed the public-houses on Sunday he should like to know where men were to get even a morsel of bread—they might be starving and unable to supply their wants. Only last Sunday a man asked him for a penny to buy a bit of cheese, and he asked him where he was going to get it. He replied at the public-house. They were always crying about cheap bread, and were they really going to deny bread to the people on Sunday? If that were not so, he should like them to tell him where it was to be got after the Licensed Victuallers' houses were closed? But the most important point

in the Bill was the injustice which it involved. Why did they deal with the Licensed Victualler only? Why did they not attack Clubs and private houses also? If they deprived the poor man of his enjoyment on Sunday, why did they not also attack the Sovereign in her Palace, or the great Duke in his Palace? Why were they to be treated differently from poor persons? He would put it to the hon. Member whether he did not know perfectly well that in London there were a great many proprietary Clubs; and he asked him if it was proposed by this Bill to close these houses? ["Divide!"] He did not wonder at Members desiring to divide. He was strongly of opinion that in this matter, as in others, force was no remedy. He was as much in favour of temperance as any man in the world, but the present Bill was not consistent; it was only a piecemeal Bill, and for the reasons he had given he should oppose it.

MR. STORER said, he wished to give in a very few words the reasons why he could not vote for this Bill. In the first place, it involved the tyranny of a minority over the majority of the country. Further, he felt that the measure which had been brought forward was only preliminary to a far wider measure—the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquors not only on Sunday, but on every day in the week. If there had been an increase of drunkenness there might be some reason for the measure; but there was nothing of the kind. He was in the habit of going about a good deal in the country on Sunday, and he saw nothing but perfect order on that day; a case of drunkenness very rarely came under his notice. As to Petitions, they knew how they were got up, and the power that was behind the agitation. Sunday closing, where it had been introduced, had not produced any diminution in drunkenness. The Report of the Inland Revenue showed that in England, where Sunday closing was not in force, there had been a decrease in the quantity of spirits consumed of 1·73. In Scotland, where Sunday closing was in force, the decrease was only 0·7 per cent; and in Ireland, where it was also in force, there had been an actual increase. If these Returns proved anything, it was that in places where Sunday closing prevailed there was an increase in the con-

sumption of alcoholic liquors. There could be no doubt that the influence of temperance was causing a diminution in the drinking habits of the country. Why, then, was it necessary to interfere in the manner proposed by the Bill? He protested against the proposal to treat the working man as a child, by assuming that he could not pass a public-house without getting drunk.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he had been waiting in his place all the afternoon to catch the Speaker's eye, but had not succeeded. He desired to contradict the statement, which had been made by several hon. Members representing the Southern constituencies, that the reason why the feeling in favour of the Bill was strong in the North of England was that the people there were more given to drinking habits than others. That notion was quite unfounded. The working classes of Lancashire would compare well with the working classes in any other part of the country. With regard to his own constituency, he had been pressed by both sides; but he must bear testimony to their sobriety, for he had lately passed an evening with a large number of the working classes where there was opportunity to drink to excess, and the conduct, on the whole, would have done credit to an assembly of any social class. The intention of the Bill, as expressed in the Memorandum, was to make the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sundays illegal. But the Bill itself, instead of this, proposed that licensed houses should be closed on Sunday. He thought that in making that proposal they were going on a wrong principle. It would be better to seek to encourage the sale of non-intoxicating drinks by confining the prohibition during certain hours to the sale of alcoholic liquors. It must be admitted by hon. Members who supported the Bill that they were rather shy of referring to the experiment in Wales. The Home Secretary had obtained a somewhat favourable expression of opinion; but it certainly did not agree with the information which had reached him, which was of the kind to which other Members had access, and he believed that most of them had arrived at the conclusion that the experiment had been by no means successful.

MR. GILES said, his breakfast-table had been covered every morning with pamphlets on both sides of the question,

and if he had read everything it would have taken the whole day. The conclusion to which he was driven was that anything could be proved by figures. There were, however, many enthusiasts in the good cause who thought no one ought to drink a glass of beer. He had himself heard it said in Exeter Hall that a moderate drinker was worse than a drunkard; and when he heard such a statement, he could not help thinking that the speaker had lost his own common sense by drinking too much water. The claim of the advocates of Sunday closing to place to their credit the diminished amount of drinking which took place was not well-founded. Other causes were at work, and especially the general tendency to sobriety which existed. The lower classes followed the lead of the upper. In former times drunkenness was considered no disgrace; but if a man in society now exceeded the bounds of moderation, he soon found that he had made a serious mistake. If the House passed that Bill they would lay themselves open to the charge of making one law for the rich and another for the poor. The poor man, having no Club to go to, should not be deprived of his reasonable privilege. Let them punish the drunkard, and punish him heavily; but let them leave the sober man in possession of his privileges, so that he might be an example to his weaker brethren.

Mr. WARTON said, he hoped the Bill would not pass, because they were all in a false position with regard to it. The Mover, because he had brought in a Bill without any reflection whatever, which was clear from his willingness to exclude the Metropolis from its provisions. The Government were in a false position, because under an engagement to bring forward the question of Local Government, in which was to be included the question of Local Option; and the House was in a false position, because they had two propositions before them in regard to neither of which were they agreed. With reference to the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, he must say, without having time to go through them in detail, that his observations in the case of Wales were very slight indeed. He only quoted one opinion—that of the stipendiary at Swansea. He (Mr. Warton) could quote many cases to show that the Act had not worked success-

fully there; but he would content himself with the case of Cardiff. In April, 1883, seven months after the Act had come into operation, the Chief Constable of Cardiff reported to the Watch Committee that the convictions for drunkenness on Sunday had increased 60 per cent. The Home Secretary did not say a word about Cardiff. During those seven months there were established 12 additional Clubs, and the Chief Constable stated his belief that no fewer than 48 persons were engaged in carrying on an illicit trade. In October a still further increase was reported.

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

### MOTIONS.

#### GAS PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JOHN HOLMS, Bill for confirming certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade, under "The Gas and Waterworks Facilities Act, 1870," relating to Colwyn Bay and District Gas, Crays Gas, Fleetwood Gas, Frome Gas, and Hull Gas, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JOHN HOLMS and Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

*Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 162.]*

#### WATER PROVISIONAL ORDERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JOHN HOLMS, Bill for confirming certain Provisional Orders made by the Board of Trade, under "The Gas and Waterworks Facilities Act, 1870," relating to Dyke District Water, Hoddesdon Water, and Thirsk District Water, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JOHN HOLMS and Mr. CHAMBERLAIN.

*Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 163.]*

#### CHARITABLE TRUSTS ACTS.

*Ordered*, That it be an Instruction to the Select Committee on Charitable Trusts Acts to inquire into the working of "The Allotments Extension Act, 1882."—(*Mr. Jesse Collings.*)

#### PUBLIC HEALTH (MEMBERS AND OFFICERS) BILL.

On Motion of Sir JOHN KENNAWAY, Bill to amend "The Public Health Act, 1875," with respect to the Members and Officers of local authorities, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir JOHN KENNAWAY, Mr. COWEN, and Mr. LONG.

*Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 164.]*

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.



## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Thursday, 3rd April, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Settled Land \* (52); Public Notaries \* (53); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (The Labourers Act) (Carrick-on-Suir) \* (54); Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Naas, &c.) \* (55).

*Second Reading*—Criminal Law Amendment (45).

*Committee—Report*—City of Norwich (Mousehold Meath) Provisional Order \* (35); Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order \* (36); Isle of Man Harbours \* (47); Dublin Museum of Science and Art \* (38).

*Third Reading*—Medical Act Amendment (34); Intestates Estates \* (46), and *passed*.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE  
OF ALBANY.

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

THE LORD STEWARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD (The EARL SYDNEY) reported the Queen's Answer to the Address of Monday last as follows:—

"I return you My sincere thanks for your loyal and dutiful Address, and for your sympathy with Me in the great trial and loss which I have sustained in the death of My beloved Son.

"I am deeply sensible of your loyalty and devotion, and I have received with satisfaction the assurance of the interest you take in all that concerns the happiness of Myself and My Family."

## CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

(*The Earl of Dalhousie.*)

(NO. 45.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, called attention to the fact that it was a much milder measure than the Bill which passed through their Lordships' House last year; many provisions of that Bill were omitted, and many additional safeguards introduced. It differed also in form. The present Bill was divided into three parts—the first relating to the suppression of prostitution, the second to the suppression of brothels, while the third contained definitions and other miscellaneous matter. With regard to the first part, some of

the clauses were in the same form as last year; others had been modified. The Government, in framing the measure, had endeavoured not to go beyond public opinion, and many persons, on that account, might consider the Bill inadequate; but it had been their object to keep their efforts within such limits as would be approved by public opinion as represented by 12 jurymen. Their Lordships would judge how far the efforts of the Government had been successful; at the same time, they would admit that the necessity for some measure was beyond all doubt—a fact which was affirmed last year in that House by reading the Bill a second time without a Division. In other countries female chastity was protected up to the age of 21; in this country it was not, and it was admitted that juvenile prostitution was largely on the increase, especially in London. There was a good deal of evidence to show that the Contagious Diseases Acts had worked beneficially in some respects. Since the beginning of the year 22 Memorials and Resolutions had been presented bearing testimony to the beneficial working of those Acts in reducing disease and juvenile prostitution. Those Memorials appeared to be spontaneous, and fairly to represent the state of opinion in the districts from which they came; and the second portion of the Bill was founded, in some degree, on the Report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, which expressed the opinion that the Contagious Diseases Acts had diminished prostitution and suppressed juvenile prostitution in the subjected districts, and which recommended that additional and more absolute powers should be given to the police. Of course, these recommendations were not sufficient to justify a Bill of this kind if it was wrong; but a recommendation of a Select Committee of that kind raised some presumption in its favour. In their Lordships' Committee evidence had been given that juvenile prostitution had been carried on chiefly in low-class brothels, and that it was impossible to deal with the question unless additional powers were given for dealing with these brothels. The powers given to householders by the Act of George II. upon the subject were very seldom used, because of the opprobrium which their exercise brought on those who made use of them. This Bill created no new offence

whatever. Under the law as it now stood, keeping a brothel was an offence punishable by fine and imprisonment; it was now proposed to make it an offence liable to summary proceedings. The 12th clause provided for the determination of tenancies by the landlord in the case of the premises being used as a brothel. In the 13th clause of the Bill there was an error in the wording; the words "there is reasonable cause to suspect" should be left out. Those words had been cut out last year as being too drastic. In dealing with this question, Her Majesty's Government knew that it was impossible to deal with vice of any kind by legislation in the present state of society and of human nature, and this Bill was not intended to be a measure for the suppression of vice. All they could do was to compel brothel-keepers to carry on their business so that, on the one hand, they should not be an annoyance to their respectable neighbours, nor, on the other, hold out any open temptation to either sex. For this reason the Government proposed, by the 13th clause, to make the keeping of such a house an offence which should be dealt with summarily. It was not intended that the police should attempt to put down all brothels forthwith. The clause empowered a Justice of the Peace to issue a search warrant on the information by oath of any Superintendent or Inspector of Police. In attempting to deal with these houses in such a manner, they had not been without the results of experience in the matter. Acts of Parliament had been passed dealing with the subject, more especially for the towns of Leamington and Glasgow. Those Acts had worked satisfactorily; and with regard to the proposal of the noble Earl (the Earl of Milltown) to refer the measure to a Select Committee, he trusted that their Lordships would not agree to it. He did not pretend that the Bill as it stood was a perfect measure; in fact, one part of it the Government intended to amend. The whole subject was a very difficult one; and it was not so much a question of principle as of degree. He would ask their Lordships not to refer the Bill to a Select Committee on three grounds. In the first place, the Bill did not deal with any new question at all, but with one which had been before their Lordships last year, and had been discussed at

*The Earl of Dalhousie*

very great length. Secondly, the subject-matter with which it dealt had been already investigated by two Select Committees, and he did not think that any fresh evidence would be brought out. If the Bill did require any amendment, he did not see why that should not be done in its passage through their Lordships' House. A third reason was the delay which would thus be caused; a similar measure had been lost last year in the House of Commons through the lateness of the time at which it was introduced into that House. The Bill was one in which a large number of persons were deeply interested; and he hoped that it would not be delayed by being sent to a Select Committee.

*Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>d</sup>."*  
*—(The Earl of Dalhousie.)*

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, that, although the measure before them was not so severe as that of last year, it was so extremely faulty in construction that it was absolutely impossible to amend it in Committee of the Whole House. Nothing could be more unjustifiable than to pass a Bill of that character, simply because the noble Earl appeared to think that any Bill was better than no Bill at all. The first two clauses of the Act were much the same as passed last year; but in the 3rd clause there was a considerable enlargement, because, while the present law applied to women under age, this clause applied to women of any age. The 4th clause was simply the law as at present existing. It was identical with the 3rd section of 38 & 39 *Vict.*, c. 94. He thought that if that enactment should be repealed, it would be most desirable to provide adequate punishment for the attempt to commit the felony. While making an outrage on a child under 12 years of age a felony, it left the attempt still only a misdemeanour entailing a really inadequate punishment. This was all the more extraordinary, since in the next clause they had met the attempt and the actual crime with the same punishment. Although the crime so dealt with was only a misdemeanour, there would be nothing novel in making it a felony to attempt to commit a felony, as this had been done in several instances. Clause 7 extended the protection at present given in the case of girls under



16 abducted for any purpose to girls of 18 abducted for an immoral purpose. He could not see why, supposing that extension was adhered to, an unmarried girl of that age should be the only one who was protected. Why should not a married servant girl, for instance, be as much protected as an unmarried one? Clause 8 extended the power of the Metropolitan Police by enabling them to arrest any woman who importuned persons in the street, whether she annoyed the passengers or not. No doubt something should be done to rescue the streets from their present shameful condition; but that Bill would put an enormous power in the hands of the police. He wished to speak of that force with every possible respect. It was an admirable body, which, as a whole, did its duty efficiently, humanely, and well. But at the same time it was a large army of more than 10,000, and in such a host there must be some men of indifferent character; and their Lordships should be careful not to place in their hands an engine of extortion upon those unhappy girls. The Bill said that the Court, in the case of any girl under 16 so offending, might, if she was under no guardianship, send her to a certified home. Surely any girl under 16 who was found to have so acted should be sent to a certified home—if there was such a thing—whether she was under the power of any guardian or not. Then he came to the question of the homes to which they were to be sent. There were no such places in existence; but in Clause 9 of the Bill there was a provision for constituting them. One of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State might, subject to certain conditions, grant to any person, or to two or more persons jointly, a certificate authorizing them to keep a home, he supposed, for the reception of those outcasts; but there was no provision made for any inspection of those homes, or with regard to their management. What the girls were to do when incarcerated was not stated. Above all, the Bill gave what the people of this country strongly objected to—namely, power to private persons to become gaolers. Every one of those girls would be reluctant prisoners. Moreover, there was no provision for making the parents of those children contribute to their support, thus holding out a premium to such parents to send

their children into the streets. If, again, the police did their duty under that section, the number of those waifs and strays whom they would have to arrest would be counted by the thousand; for it was estimated that at present in the Metropolis there were over 80,000 of those wretched females, a large proportion of them being children. He now came to the part of the Bill relating to brothels. After their Lordships had decided last year, upon full consideration, by a majority of 28, that it was inexpedient to overload the Bill with provisions respecting such houses, he was surprised to find those provisions—or provisions very nearly to the same effect—again introduced into the present Bill. The noble Earl said that the object of Clause 11 was to give summary jurisdiction to magistrates over persons who kept brothels, instead of dealing with them by indictment, and to inflict imprisonment without the option of a fine; but on conviction any such person was made liable for the first offence to any penalty not exceeding £20, or, in the discretion of the Court, to imprisonment for any term not exceeding three months, with or without hard labour. Was there any public demand for fresh legislation on that subject? Under the present state of the law, to keep a disorderly house of that character was a misdemeanour at Common Law, because it was a nuisance; and there existed no difficulty whatever in putting a stop to those nuisances and getting those houses suppressed whenever the inhabitants of the neighbourhood desired it. Therefore that attempt to do more in the matter seemed to him Quixotic. Section 13, giving power to a constable to obtain a search warrant over any householder's premises seemed to him a very extraordinary provision. To keep a disorderly house was, as he had said, a misdemeanour at Common Law, because it was a nuisance; and yet it was supposed that to discover that nuisance it was necessary to examine and pry all over the house. There was no necessity for anything of the kind; nothing was more easy than to get the evidence of the neighbours, or to place a constable near the door to notice those who came and went. Nothing more objectionable than to grant a search warrant to enter everybody's house and try to discover what was going on there



could well be conceived. Nor was the remedy of an action, as suggested by the noble Earl, in the event of a house when searched turning out not to be of the character that had been supposed, a very certain or satisfactory one. He very much doubted whether any such action would lie, unless express malice could be proved. These were among the chief reasons why he thought the Bill could not be properly amended in Committee of the Whole House. He yielded to no Member of their Lordships' House, or to anyone out of it, in his anxiety to remedy, and, if possible, to suppress the terrible evils which the evidence before their Lordships' Committee had disclosed; and, so far as this Bill proceeded in that direction, it had his humble and most hearty support. It was with the object of rendering the Bill more efficient for that purpose, to make it a reality and not a sham, and also to get rid of provisions which now overloaded it, and which might lead to its shipwreck "elsewhere," that he ventured to ask their Lordships to refer the Bill to a Select Committee. He felt bound to add, however, that in his judgment it was not by penal legislation of this kind, however severe, or however drastic, that their Lordships would remedy those terrible evils which had been found to exist. It was rather by such measures as those which had been so nobly inaugurated by the noble Marquess who sat below him (the Marquess of Salisbury), in rendering decent the homes of the inhabitants of our great cities, and whose present condition was a dark blot on our boasted civilization, and anything but a credit to our wealthy Established Church. In thousands of thousands of those miserable homes—to use the word in such a connection seemed but a mockery—decency was impossible, morality was unknown, and the name of the Most High was never used, except for the purposes of blasphemy or obscenity. It was from such polluted sources that those horrid streams of vice which offended the eyes of their Lordships and the public flowed; and while these terrible sources of evil were left uncared for, to increase and multiply day by day and hour by hour, all such legislation as that now before the House would, he believed, prove but another delusion, mockery, and snare.

*The Earl of Milltown*

Motion agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly.

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN begged to move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee."—(*The Earl of Milltown.*)

EARL CAIRNS said, with regard to the subject-matter of the Bill, a criticism of the wording of it would be more usefully conducted in the proposed Committee than in a Committee of the Whole House; but he did not see any reason why there should be any delay in disposing of criticism of this kind. In any event, he hoped that the Bill would not be delayed by the reconsideration of the whole matter.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he was glad to hear what had been said by the noble and learned Earl who had just spoken, because it was not possible for him to foresee what the decision of the House might be upon the Motion of the noble Earl (the Earl of Milltown). It would certainly be matter for regret if the House should think fit to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, and allow the whole subject and the evidence to be re-opened. Whatever objections there might be to the course suggested by the noble Earl, it would occupy very much less time and delay than if the whole grounds of the Bill were investigated by the Select Committee. While recognizing the excellent spirit of the speech made by the noble Earl who proposed this Motion, yet he must remark that the noble Earl had, in his opinion, furnished good arguments against his own Motion. He had gone through the clauses of the Bill, and his criticisms of the measure had been as able as they usually were. These criticisms, however, had not suggested any questions which it would be difficult for the House in full Committee to discuss. That course was followed last year with a larger and more difficult measure. The House had plenty of time to dispose of at present, and he could not help thinking it unnecessary to follow the course suggested by the noble Earl.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, with reference to the question of time, their Lordships were not oppressed by Business, and there was no danger of

Obstruction arising at a later period which would prevent the Bill going forward until it reached "another place." The delays in "another place" were such that it was not likely that the measure could be considered there for many months. He, therefore, thought there was some hollowness in the plea of time. With reference to referring the Bill to a Select Committee, he confessed that he should prefer that course. The noble Earl last year expressed an opinion in that sense, which he was not, however, in a position to grant. His feeling was, that it was a matter of very great difficulty to discuss this question in the Whole House and with the reporters present. He earnestly hoped, with a view to the probability of this Bill passing and securing the assent of the House, the objections made by the noble Earl who had moved this Motion would be tested in a Select Committee. They seemed to be, as far as he could judge, sound and full of force. They must not conceal from themselves that in parts of this Bill they were entering into new legislative territory, in respect to which considerable antagonism might be aroused. Formerly they had always dealt with the question of brothels as nuisances, and claimed the right to repress them; but the ground they were now taking was that of attacking these houses from a moral point of view, and dealing with them as an evil in themselves. There was, undoubtedly, a very wide logical chasm between the law as it was sought to be passed and the law as it existed.

EARL GRANVILLE said, he thought there were certain difficulties in going into a Select Committee with a Bill of this kind. He thought the measure was much more likely to be favourably received in the House of Commons, and its progress through that House would be much more facilitated if the arguments in reference to the Bill were urged from both sides of their Lordships' House rather than that there should be any secret conclave without any person knowing what had been said.

Motion (by leave of the House) withdrawn.

Bill committed to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday the 29th instant.

# MEDICAL ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

(The Lord President.)

(NO. 34.) THIRD READING.

Order of the Day for the Third Reading read.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL), in moving that the Bill be now read a third time, said, he had received a Petition from the British Medical Association, which was a body of great importance, containing the names of 10,000 registered members of the Medical Profession, and comprising a large proportion of the physicians and surgeons in the hospitals, and the physicians and lecturers attached to the various medical schools throughout the Kingdom, praying that the Bill might be passed into law during the present Session.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>d</sup>."  
—(The Lord President.)

THE EARL of CAMPERDOWN said, he wished, before the Bill left their Lordships' House, to make a few observations in regard to a topic which had been alluded to slightly in the House, and which, he thought, was very likely to meet with some discussion elsewhere. This Bill was undoubtedly a compromise between the opinions of those who held that all medical authorities ought to preserve full liberty to issue medical licences, and those who considered the licences ought to be given only after State examinations. He did not suppose the Lord President was so sanguine as to expect that under these circumstances the Government Bill would meet with the approbation of all the persons and authorities and interests concerned. At the same time, he thought there could be no doubt that the Bill met with a considerable amount of general approbation; and it was very much to be desired, both in the interest of the public and the medical authorities themselves, that the measure should be passed into law during the present Session. A point was raised by the noble Lord (Lord Balfour) the other night, with reference to Scottish Universities. He (the Earl of Camperdown) did not say anything, because he did not wish to say anything disagreeable to those Universities, and also because they discussed this question last year, and the arguments in support of the matter



were exhausted. He was not without hope that the Universities made their statement through the noble Lord merely as a protest, and not with any intention of opposing the Bill in "another place." If there was any intention of that kind, he hoped they would not fail to realize the true meaning of their objection. That objection went to the very root of the whole Bill. If the Scottish Universities were to be allowed to retain the power of giving licences, was it to be expected for a moment that the English Universities or the University of Dublin would be contented to resign a privilege to which they attached so much value? No demand was being made upon the Scottish Universities which was not being made on the other Universities of the United Kingdom. It was only the other day that the Scottish Representatives were urging in "another place," with reference to the extension of the franchise, that it was absolutely necessary to treat the Three Kingdoms exactly in the same manner. If that argument held good, he hoped it would also be remembered in connection with the question of medical licences. He was certain that this contention of the Scottish Universities, if it were acceded to by the Government, would occasion the overthrow of the Bill; and, moreover, he thought the Scottish Universities were not well advised in taking the objection. He believed they suffered more than any other body from the present system of licensing. One of the reasons why medical students had preferred to go to the Medical Corporations for their licences had been owing to the excellence of the examination of the Scottish Universities; but now that there was to be an approximately equal standard of examination in all the Three Kingdoms, it was only reasonable to suppose that many students would go where they could get the best education. He thought the Lord President had treated the Scottish Medical Corporations with the fullest extent of conciliation. He had given them more representation in proportion to the Scottish Universities than he proposed to do in the Bill of last year. He had raised no objection, because he knew very well that in a Bill of this sort it was very desirable that the Privy Council should do everything it could to conciliate all the important existing

interests, and they had a guarantee that in the future the examinations of the Scottish Corporations would be more satisfactory. Supposing that were not the case, there was a provision in the Bill to empower the Privy Council and the Medical Council together to make a change hereafter in the representation of the various authorities on the Medical Boards. Under all these circumstances, he was quite willing to agree to the change proposed to be made in the Bill; but, at the same time, he wished to say that the Scottish Medical Corporations would be very ill-advised indeed if they proposed to force the change further in "another place." The evidence before the Royal Commission, including testimony of the most incontrovertible character—that of the "crammers"—showed that hitherto the examinations of some of the Scottish Medical Corporations had been very inferior. The proposal put forward by the Irish Medical Corporation for compulsory affiliation he hoped would not be listened to for a moment. He cordially agreed with the decision as to the inexpediency of making any addition to the existing titles. This decision would indirectly support and enhance the value of those titles; but if the medical authorities proposed to push this matter further, and to insist that every medical student should belong to one of their Bodies, they would impose a considerable additional cost on them, and place a very strong argument in the hands of their opponents. Nearly all the Universities and Medical Corporations had been so good as to accede to the proposal of taking away the power of giving licences; and there was every reason to believe that the Bill in its present form would receive the approbation both of the Universities and the Medical Corporations. He hoped the Government would press the Bill forward as much as they possibly could in "another place." He did not believe the opposition to it would be of a strenuous character. The delay which had taken place in regard to medical legislation had been very damaging to the institutions connected with medical education and the Medical Profession generally; and he hoped the Government would do all in their power to push on the Bill, which, if passed, would, he thought, be found to be of great advantage to the Medical Profession.



LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he was glad that the Bill had received the blessing of the noble Lord before it proceeded to encounter the dangers of "another place." He was also glad to have the weight of the noble Lord's authority and of the Royal Commission against certain changes which had been talked of in certain quarters, and which it seemed were likely to be attempted in that other place. One of the suggested Amendments—suggested by the noble Lord (Lord Balfour)—was really opposed to the essence of the Bill. The Royal Commission considered the views of the Scottish Universities, and for cogent reasons came to the conclusion that it was absolutely impossible that the Scottish Universities should be treated upon an exceptional footing and given exceptional privileges, not obtained by the Universities of England and Ireland. He felt convinced that the Bill ran no danger so far as public and professional opinion was concerned. Whatever danger there might be would proceed solely from the unfortunate jealousies and fancied interests of certain of the licensing bodies. He hoped that public and professional interests would prevail over such attempts, and that the Bill would in "another place" be treated in the same public spirit as that with which it had been received in their Lordships' House.

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 3<sup>d</sup> accordingly.

On Question, "That the Bill do pass?"

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) moved a series of Amendments, providing that the Representatives of the Royal University on the Irish Medical Board be four in number instead of three.

Amendments *moved*, in Clause 9, page 4, line 3, leave out ("Three"), and insert ("Four"); in lines 3 and 4, leave out ("voting as a separate elective body"); in line 5, leave out ("Three"), and insert ("Four"); in lines 5 and 6, leave out ("voting as a separate elective body"); and leave out lines 7 and 8.—(*The Lord President.*)

THE EARL OF MILLTOWN said, the Irish Medical Corporations did not object to the old University of Dublin being

given four Representatives; but they did not think that the newly-established Royal University was entitled to so large a number.

EARL CAIRNS said, he should support the Amendment.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he had been unfortunate in his attempts to gratify the Irish Medical Corporations. There was a very strong feeling on the part of the Irish College of Physicians to be put on a footing of equality with their sister Corporation, the College of Surgeons, and he had satisfied himself that would be better; but it was always assumed that the Irish Universities should be maintained in a majority. He had attempted to deal with the matter by giving a Member to the Universities, to be elected by them conjointly or alternately; but that plan was thoroughly distasteful to both of those Bodies, and he could only settle the matter by giving a Member to each. That change simply came this—that the majority was a majority of two instead of one.

Amendments *agreed to*.

Bill *passed*, and sent to the Commons.

## THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION.

### MOTION FOR A RETURN.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK, in moving for a Return showing the number of applications to fix judicial rents filed in the Office of the Land Commission Court, said, he moved for it because it was impossible to get the information he required from the Returns at present supplied by the Land Commission, which ran from one month to another.

*Moved*, That there be laid before the House a Return of—

"(1.) The number of applications to fix judicial rents filed in the office of the Irish Land Commission Court (a) up to the last day of June 1883, and (b) during each of the nine months ending 31st March 1884;

"(2.) The number of judicial rents fixed by the sub-commissioners during each of the same months, giving the average percentage reduction of rent for each month;

"(3.) The number of applications remaining to be disposed of on the 31st March 1884."—(*The Earl of Limerick.*)

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, he was not going to oppose the Motion, as he understood the preparation of the Returns

would not involve much labour, though he believed they would be perfectly useless. If the Returns were to cost any considerable amount of labour, he would feel compelled to protest against the proposal. Everything the noble Earl wanted was contained in the Returns presented monthly to Parliament, and the Returns sometimes presented annually. It would be impossible, at present, he believed, to make out Returns to the end of March; but they might be made out up to the end of February.

THE EARL OF LIMERICK said, he would prefer to have the Returns up to the end of March.

Motion agreed to.

Return ordered to be laid before the House.

#### SETTLED LAND BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend "The Settled Land Act, 1882"—Was presented by The Earl CAIRNS; read 1<sup>a</sup>. (No. 52.)

#### PUBLIC NOTARIES BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to amend the law relating to the admission of persons to practise as public notaries in England; and for other purposes—Was presented by The Lord MONSON; read 1<sup>a</sup>. (No. 53.)

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDER (THE LABOURERS ACT) (CARRICK-ON-SUIR) BILL [H.L.] (NO. 54.)

A Bill to confirm a Provisional Order of the Local Government Board for Ireland under the Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1883, relating to the Carrick-on-Suir Union: And

LOCAL GOVERNMENT (IRELAND) PROVISIONAL ORDERS (NAAS, &C.) BILL [H.L.] (NO. 55.) A Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board for Ireland relating to the Naas Burial Ground and the Town of Thurles: Were presented by The LORD PRESIDENT; read 1<sup>a</sup>; and referred to the Examiners.

House adjourned at Six o'clock, till  
To-morrow, a quarter past  
Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 3rd April, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1883, appointed and nominated.

Lord Carlingsford

PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—First Reading—Board of Works (Ireland) (No. 2)\* [165]; Land Improvement and Arterial Drainage (Ireland) [166]; Burgh Police and Health (Scotland)\* [167].

Second Reading—Representation of the People [119] [Fifth Night], debate adjourned.

Committee—Army (Annual) [144]—R.P.

Committee—Report—Trustee Churches (Ireland) [157]; Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment\* [155].

Third Reading—Summary Jurisdiction over Children (Ireland) [75], debate adjourned.

## QUESTIONS.

### METROPOLIS—HYDE PARK CORNER— SITE FOR THE WELLINGTON STATUE.

MR. RYLANDS asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether it is still the intention of the Government to give effect to the decision which he announced to the House on the 9th of August last in the following terms:—

"Having carefully considered the Report of the Committee on the Wellington Statue, the Government have decided to invite a competition of sculptors for a new statue of the Great Duke, to be placed in front of Apsley House in lieu of the present statue?"

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he can now inform the House what decision has been come to with regard to Wyatt's equestrian statue of the late Duke of Wellington, and who is responsible for the decision; whether a new equestrian statue of the Duke is to be erected in the vicinity of Hyde Park Corner; whether the commission for this new statue is to be given to a Foreign artist, and whether there is no native British artist to whom this national work could be entrusted; whether it is intended to erect at the public expense a so-called "Quadriga" on the top of the triumphal arch on Constitution Hill, and by whom this "Quadriga" is to be designed and executed; and, whether the opinion of the "Institute of British Architects" has been taken as to the removal of Wyatt's statue from London, and as to whether the erection of the "Quadriga" would improve the artistic effect of the arch in its present position?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I think, Sir, it would be more convenient that I should first answer the Question of the right hon. Member for Whitehaven (Mr.

Cavendish Bentinck). I stated some weeks ago that the Government had consented to a proposal of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with respect to the decoration of the new place at Hyde Park Corner, the removal of the present statue of the Duke of Wellington to Aldershot, and the erection of a new statue in its place. Since then a full Report has been made by an important Committee, of which the Prince of Wales acted as Chairman, and has been published in the newspapers. I need not, I think, repeat it here; but substantially it carries out the proposal originally made. The Government, therefore, will submit a Vote to Parliament for an instalment of £2,000 on account of a sum of £6,000, which they have promised towards the new statue. Mr. Boehm has been selected by the Committee to which I have referred as the sculptor, and the Government have approved the choice. I must decline to canvass the relative merits of living sculptors. Mr. Boehm is a member of the Royal Academy, and has, therefore, been adopted by the Profession as an English artist. It is true that in August last I stated that the Government would invite a competition of sculptors for the new statue, which was intended to be limited to a certain number of the leading sculptors. After making this statement I received several letters from the present Duke of Wellington, protesting in the strongest manner against this course. It was also represented to me that it would be impossible to get a good work of art in that way, as some of the leading sculptors would not compete. The Government has, therefore, thought it best to act upon the suggestion of the Prince of Wales, and to leave the selection of the artist to the Committee, by whom Mr. Boehm was unanimously chosen. The Report of the Committee recommends, among other matters, the erection of a quadriga on the arch on Constitution Hill, in accordance with Mr. Decimus Burton's original design. Its erection will depend upon whether sufficient funds will be subscribed in answer to the appeal of the Prince of Wales; but it will not be undertaken at the cost of the Government. I have not thought it necessary to consult the Royal Institute of British Architects upon any part of this scheme.

MR. PULESTON asked whether the act of banishment of the present statue was irrevocable?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The Government has decided to carry out the recommendations of the Committee, and the removal of the present statue is part of that recommendation. The amount will be involved in the proposal I shall make to the House to vote the £2,000 I have referred to.

MR. RYLANDS said, that, in consequence of the reply of the right hon. Gentleman, he should ask him to be good enough to give the House an assurance that this Vote would be taken at a time of night when it could be fully discussed; because, as the right hon. Gentleman appeared to have departed from the terms of the original understanding, he should raise the question when the Vote came to be discussed in Committee of Supply.

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK said, that the right hon. Gentleman had not answered a very important part of his Question. He wished to know who was responsible for this decision? The right hon. Gentleman said that the Committee were responsible. He should like to know who were the Members of that Committee? If the right hon. Gentleman was not able to give the House the names of the Committee at once, perhaps he would lay them upon the Table.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The Government is responsible for the whole thing. I have no objection to lay the names of the Committee upon the Table. Among them are those of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Wellington, Lord John Manners, Sir Thomas Brassey, Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Lord Hardinge, Lord De L'Isle, Sir Frederick Leighton, Mr. Fergusson, Mr. Mitford, and others, which I do not for the moment recall.

MR. MONK asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would give an order for the removal of the present statue until the Vote had been passed by the House?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: No order will be given until after the money has been voted by Parliament. As to the removal of the present statue, no expense has yet been incurred.

MR. RYLANDS asked who appointed the Committee?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: The Committee, as originally constituted, was



appointed by myself; but several Members were subsequently added on the suggestion of the Prince of Wales.

MR. MAC IVER gave Notice of his intention to move the rejection of the Vote, on the ground that no sufficient answer had been given to the Questions that had been put to the Government on the subject, and that the historical interest attaching to the present statue far exceeded any artistic value of any new statue.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked whether it was true that the name of Hyde Park Corner was to be changed?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I mentioned some time ago that the name of Hyde Park Corner is to be changed to Wellington Place.

#### ARMY (INDIA)—THE MEDICAL SERVICE.

MR. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Is the number of surgeons of the Indian Medical Service under and up to five years' service, as shown by the recently issued Bengal Army List of December 1883, who are employed on "unemployed" pay, in Bengal alone, twenty-eight out of a total of fifty-nine surgeons; is it a fact that all these twenty-eight surgeons employed on "unemployed" pay are not only supernumerary to the actual number of appointments, but are even also supernumerary to those surgeons who are only "officiating" for officers who really hold these actual appointments, but are at present on leave; is it a fact that, considering only the cases of all surgeons under and up to five years' service, as shown by the Bengal Army List of December 1883, fifty-four surgeons, out of a total number of fifty-nine joined, would have to retire from the list in question before any candidates who compete for the "appointments" offered for competition in February can obtain any of the rates of pay now termed "substantive;" what is the nature and value of the five "appointments" advertised for competition for February 1884, and what is the nature and value of the five "appointments" that have been advertised for competition in August 1884; is there, in the whole Indian Staff Corps, one instance of an "unemployed Lieutenant" drawing the pay of 256 rupees per mensem, as alleged by

him; and, is it a fact that when being "instructed," or doing duty, the officers of the Indian Medical Service actually receive less pay than their brethren of the same standing in the Army Medical Department?

MR. J. K. CROSS: Sir, I will answer the right hon. and learned Gentleman's six Questions as follows:—(1) Yes; of 53, not 59, surgeons of five years' service and under, shown in the latest Bengal Army List, 28 are on unemployed pay. (2) Yes; these 28 gentlemen, who form a portion of the Reserve needed for the Medical Service, are in excess of the officiating and substantive appointments. The ordinary reserve to meet furloughs and casualties is 20 per cent on the number of appointments; but the actual number of furlough absentees this year falls considerably short of that proportion. (3) I am not sure that I understand this Question, though I have spent two hours over it. It is obvious that substantive appointments must be vacated before new men can fill them; but the retirements will be at the top, and not at the bottom of the List. The average number of casualties for the last 10 years in the Indian Medical Service has been 31. Assuming this average to be continued, it will be the number of substantive appointments annually vacated. (4) This Question is asked under an evident misapprehension of the nature of the appointments to the Indian Medical Service. The Secretary of State advertised that an examination of candidates for five appointments in Her Majesty's Indian Medical Service would be held in February, 1884. These are simply appointments to the Indian Medical Service, and five candidates were selected from 21 who presented themselves, the whole 21 being duly qualified. (5) No, Sir; so far as I know, there is not one, nor have I ever made any allegation to that effect. There is no need for a Reserve for the Indian Staff Corps; but if there were any unemployed lieutenants, they would receive 256 rupees per mensem. (6) Yes; while merely doing duty with British or Native troops, officers of the Indian Medical Service draw less pay than officers of the Army Medical Department of the same standing in India; but for the remainder of their service their prospects are much better, and their average salaries much higher.

*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—  
SUPERVISION IN BELFAST.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the only police supervision over Newtonards Road, in the borough of Belfast, a leading thoroughfare nearly a mile long, which, with the streets running into it, contains a population of about 10,000, is one constable; whether complaints have been made of the lawlessness of some of the frequenters of the locality; and, whether he will take measures to have the grievances remedied?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Police Supervisor on the road in question employed six men on patrol duty and two Superintendents, and two men do the duty at night and one in the day. The head constable and sergeant visit the place at various times. No general complaints of the character mentioned have been made. There was some stone-throwing on the 17th of March; but the police made the offender amenable, and he was fined by the magistrates. The Constabulary authorities of Belfast do not consider it necessary to strengthen the Police Force in this locality, which they describe as the quietest part of the town.

NATIONAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND)—THE  
SLIGO NATIONAL SCHOOL—PAY-  
MENT OF RESULT FEES.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the result fees arising out of an examination held on 28th November last, at Quay Street, Sligo, National School, have yet been paid; and, if not, what is the reason of the delay?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that, owing to circumstances over which the education authorities had no control, the order did not reach the person in question until it had lapsed. A new order had been issued.

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF  
GUARDIANS—REFUSAL OF MAGIS-  
TRATES TO SIGN PROXIES.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether on 21st March Dr. Babington, J.P., and Captain Thompson, J.P., both for county Cavan, refused to witness proxy papers for Poor Law election in

favour of a person named Leddy, the reason given for these two magistrates to witness the documents being that Leddy was a Land Leaguer; and, whether such refusal was a breach of duty?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am informed that Dr. Babington and Captain Thompson refused to witness the proxy papers for the Poor Law election in favour of a person named Leddy. Neither of the magistrates gave as a reason that Leddy was a Land Leaguer. Captain Thompson assigns as a reason the lateness of the hour he was asked, and Dr. Babington does not appear to assign any intelligible reason at all. I am informed that there is no statutable provision requiring a magistrate to attest by his signature such papers.

MR. HEALY: Well, what are magistrates for.

MR. TREVELYAN: I am sure I do not know.

POST OFFICE OFFICIALS—SURVEYORS  
CLERKS.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Postmaster General, Is it a fact that not fewer than fifteen on the second class of surveyors' clerks in the Post Office, or nearly one-half, are sons or relatives of surveyors or officers holding high positions in the Post Office; whether eight other officers, who are employed as surveyors' clerks, are also sons or relatives of surveyors or other high Post Office officials; whether, of the eight officers last referred to, two were appointed to these duties after a service in the Post Office of less than one year, and the other six after a service of from one to three years; whether two of them were under seventeen years of age when first employed; whether two of them are sons of the surveyors under whom they serve; whether, for the most part, the eight officers referred to entered the Post Office service at wages of about 12s. a-week, to qualify for which they were required to pass a non-competitive examination of an elementary character only; whether these officers are drawing allowances of 15s. per day, in addition to their pay and first-class railway fares; and, whether, seeing that the surveyors exercise control over Postmasters and others, and that these appointments carry with them a salary commencing at £150 a-year, and rising through two classes to £800 a-year, in addition to allowances of 15s. a-day and

upwards, some means can be devised for throwing open these appointments practically, as well as nominally, to the whole Service?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, some time before the hon. Member placed his Question on the Paper I noticed the facts to which he now directs my attention, and which are, in the main, correct. I came to the conclusion that it would be desirable to adopt some plan which would give to the Service generally a freer access to employment, whether temporarily or permanently, on the Surveyor's staff. I have not yet decided the best plan to adopt to secure this object; but there shall be no unnecessary delay in arriving at a decision.

#### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS FOR DUNFANAGHY UNION.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that at the recent elections of Poor Law Guardians for the Dunfanaghy Union, five of the National candidates who were sufficiently qualified in respect of valuation, and entitled to vote in the Union, at the time of nomination were disqualified by the Returning Officer's refusal to place their names upon the voting papers; whether landlords were permitted to vote by proxy without having lodged the necessary claims; whether Captain Hill, who is not in occupation of any portion of the Mienacaddy Division, and who is only entitled to vote there by proxy, nominated a candidate for that Division; whether the nominations for Ards Division was made by a landlord whose initials were misprinted on the voting papers; whether a person named Edward Lafferty has been declared by the returning officer to be elected, although his name does not appear on the voting papers for that Division; whether the vote of James Mitchell was rejected on the ground that his name was Anglicised, the Irish spelling of the name being Meidhghall; and, whether an inquiry will be granted into the truth of these and other charges of irregularity preferred against the returning officer in connection with these elections?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the persons referred to in the 1st paragraph were qualified to vote, and did vote, but were

not qualified as Guardians, or else their nomination papers were invalid. Landlords were not permitted to vote by proxy without lodging the necessary claims. Captain Hill, who is described as not being in occupation of any land in the division referred to, is in occupation of 1,100 acres. The error as to the names of the persons was discovered and corrected by the Returning Officer before the voting papers were issued. A voting paper purporting to be signed by James Mitchell was rejected because there was no corresponding Irish name on the register. These circumstances do not afford any ground for inquiry.

MR. O'BRIEN: On the Motion for Adjournment I shall have something to say again on this subject.

#### NAVY—PAYMASTERS.

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether, in view of the facts that the present senior Assistant Paymaster has over fifteen years' seniority, and is thirty-six years of age, that no compulsory retirement of Paymasters will occur during the present year, and that it is inevitable that some of the first fifty Assistant Paymasters now on the list, the junior of whom has thirteen years' seniority, must reach twenty years' seniority before being promoted, the Admiralty will take some steps, either by increasing the Paymasters' list, or otherwise, to ameliorate the condition of these officers; if not, what seniority may Naval Assistant Paymasters look forward to reaching before expecting any improvement in their prospects?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, I have within the last three weeks answered a number of Questions on this subject, and my answers cover all the particulars in the hon. Member's Question. I would especially beg to refer him to my answers to the hon. Members for the City of London and for Limerick on the 20th and 27th of March. In replying to previous Questions, I have stated that we do not contemplate taking any steps in view of the temporary nature of the present slackness of promotion.

#### ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND—EXAMINING BOARDS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

*Mr. O'Brien*



Whether, at the examinations of the Royal University of Ireland, each examiner always takes up the same subject, or course of study, and whether this is the subject usually taught by him to students attending his class; whether students unable to attend such classes are expected to compete on equal terms with those who have the benefit of practical acquaintance with the examiner's special method of dealing with his subject; and, whether, at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, and Dublin, a different custom is followed to guard against the undue advantages arising out of the circumstance of invariably appointing the same examiner in the same subject to make awards to his own pupils as well as to other students?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I forwarded the hon. Member's Question to the Secretaries of the Royal University, and I have received the following observations from them thereon:—

"The examinations of this University are conducted by Boards of Fellows and Examiners corresponding to the various departments of the courses of study. Some of these Boards consist of several persons. Every examination paper is required to be approved by at least two or more Examiners. The members of each Board apportion among themselves the branches of the subject in which candidates are to be examined, and we believe that it is the regular usage that the same person shall not examine at the successive examinations in the same branch or portion of the subject. All answers to honour papers are adjudicated upon by two or more Examiners, and in the course of the examination every candidate usually passes through the hands of all the Examiners in the department concerned. In this way every opportunity for possible unfairness or unevenness of examination is guarded against as far as practicable."

I may observe that at Oxford and Cambridge Examiners examine the young men who have attended their own lectures, as well as others; but the endowments being very much larger, and the number of Fellows very much greater, the variety of choice of Examiners is greatly increased. With regard to the University of London, the Examiners are paid specially.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Government are prepared to grant the Returns, of which Notices stand upon the Notice Paper, relating to the Queen's Colleges (Ireland) and the Royal University (Ireland)?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Government have come to the conclusion that it is desirable to hold an inquiry into certain matters connected with the Queen's Colleges, of a nature the result of which can be laid before Parliament. The inquiry will be by a small Commission appointed by the Lord Lieutenant. The exact terms of reference are under consideration; but I am of opinion that they will cover, as I think they ought to cover, all the points on which hon. Members have applied for information by Questions or Returns. Here I would observe that I do not think the inquiry will take in the special Questions relating to anatomy put by the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy). With regard to the Returns and Questions put on the subject, it is the intention of the Commission to afford full information. With regard to this, I need not repeat what I said the other day—that the Queen's College, Cork, asks for an inquiry. I hope that, under those circumstances, the hon. Member will not consider it necessary to press for the Returns.

MR. HEALY: May I ask if any information is to be given with regard to the *personnel* of this Commission? There are strong grounds for thinking that this inquiry having been asked for by the Queen's College, it is proposed to make it a whitewashing inquiry.

MR. TREVELYAN: That is hardly a proper supposition to make until there are some grounds for it. I have always been very frank with the House, and I have stated that a thorough inquiry was wanted. There are serious matters to be cleared up, and these are the serious matters that hon. Members have been agitating about.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: Are we to understand that there will be an inquiry into the whole system of the University and Colleges?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I do not know that I need trouble the House by going into particulars; but perhaps I may just state the three principal points to be inquired into. Points of pure discipline the visitors must deal with. There are three important points, however, about which complaints have been made. First, that notwithstanding the amount of these endowments, the students of the Colleges do badly at the Royal University. Second, that the

number of students is kept up by educational tests being unduly lowered. Third, that the College prizes, especially in the Scholarships and Exhibitions, are not fairly distributed amongst the various branches of learning. Thorough inquiry into these matters will cover all matters referred to in the Question and Returns.

MR. O'BRIEN: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether a Commission appointed by this House would not satisfy the public better than one appointed by the Lord Lieutenant?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Government would be unwilling to resort to that course unless compelled to by a Vote of the House.

MR. GRAY: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he intends, in the Estimates for the current year, to ask that the same amount shall be granted for the maintenance of the same Scholarships and Exhibitions in the Colleges as heretofore?

MR. TREVELYAN: Yes, Sir.

MR. GRAY: Then, will the right hon. Gentleman insist on getting this Vote without giving the House the information asked for in these Returns, or does he expect that the Commission will report previous to the Vote being taken? Are we to understand that the right hon. Gentleman declines to afford the House the information contained in those Returns, which can be obtained at practically no expense beyond the cost of printing?

MR. TREVELYAN: I will hurry on the appointment and operations of the Commission, and when we come nearer the time when the Votes for the Queen's Colleges will be taken, I will be prepared to answer any Questions put to me by the hon. Member.

#### POOR LAW (IRELAND) — ATHLONE BOARD OF GUARDIANS—ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, By whose authority, and at whose request, was the election of Chairman, at the Athlone Board of Guardians postponed from the 29th March to the 5th of April; and, is it the fact that this election takes place in the neighbouring unions on the 29th March, and was it for the purpose of enabling ex-officio guardians, who attended these other unions on the 29th March to vote for the

Tory candidate, to attend at Athlone, on the 5th of April, to vote for Lord Castlemaine, that this change was made?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the election of Chairman was not postponed. It could not legally be held on the 29th of March, three days not having elapsed since the return of the Guardians of the Union. There is no foundation for the suggestion in the 2nd paragraph of the Question.

MR. HEALY: At whose request was it postponed? That is the point of my Question.

MR. TREVELYAN: It was postponed in order to comply with the law.

MR. HEALY: My Question is:—[*Cries of "Order, order!"*].—At whose request was this election postponed for several days? I am entitled to an answer. [*"Order, order!"*] The Question has been now on the Paper several days.

[No reply.]

MR. HEALY: I shall put the Question again to-morrow.

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed that neither Lord Castlemaine nor anyone on his behalf made any suggestion about fixing the election for the 5th of April.

MR. HEALY: Did he make a request that it should not be held on the 29th of March? [*Loud cries of "Order, order!"*] I am perfectly in Order. The House did not object a while ago to 10 minutes' talk about the Duke of Wellington's Statue; and in spite of the interruptions of hon. Members opposite, or the sneers of the Home Secretary—[*Loud cries of "Order, order!"*]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member should put his Question, and not make these remarks.

MR. HEALY: I shall put the Question again to-morrow.

#### EXCISE—BONDED GOODS (IRELAND).

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he would explain why it is that the new system of warehousing Bonded Goods is not yet applied to the Irish ports except in Dublin and Belfast, and is it intended only to apply it to those ports, and are Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Londonderry, and Newry, to be abolished as warehousing ports?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the new system of warehousing bonded goods already exists in the Excise warehouses at Cork and Limerick, and will probably be introduced elsewhere in Ireland in

two or three months, as soon as some questions of detail are arranged. There is no intention of abolishing the five ports named as warehousing ports.

SCIENCE AND ART DEPARTMENT—  
WORKING MEN'S INSTITUTE,  
BELFAST.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that about £80 has been transmitted as result fees to Belfast in connection with the Science and Art Department, South Kensington; whether, of that sum, only about £21 has been paid to Messrs. White, Ross, and Cumming, three of the teachers, and remainder has been retained by Mr. Robert Barklie, teacher of chemistry, and who is also a trustee of the Belfast Working Men's Institute; if the facts are as stated, does he approve of the distribution; and, if not, will he try to have it rectified; and, is the Mr. Robert Barklie above referred to the same Mr. Robert Barklie who was suspended from his position as a science teacher in 1867, for an attempted fraud on the department?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, I will answer the Question, as it is connected with the Science and Art Department. The facts of this case are as follows:—£437 5s. was paid to the Committee of the Working Men's Institute, Belfast, through Mr. T. H. Browne, their Secretary, on the results of the science examinations of the Institute, in May and June, 1883. Mr. Barklie is one of nine teachers on account of whose instruction this sum was paid; but the Science and Art Department does not know how much of this was paid to Mr. Barklie, or how much to each of the other eight teachers. The arrangements between local Committees and their teachers are a matter of private contract between the parties. The Department only looks to, and pays, the Committees. The Mr. Barklie referred to in the Question is the person who, when a young teacher, was suspended in 1867 for some irregularity; but he has subsequently proved himself an able and energetic teacher, and it seems cruel that an offence, for which he suffered 17 years ago, should now be raked up against him.

In further answer to Mr. BIGGAR,

MR. MUNDELLA said, that when instruction was given by several teachers

the Department paid the Committee of the Institution, and not the individual teachers.

IRELAND—THE CORPORATION OF  
NAAS—ALIENATION OF THE  
CORPORATE PROPERTY.

MR. LEAHY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is the fact that, prior to the passing of "The Municipal Corporation Act, 1840," the Corporation of Naas was possessed of property of considerable extent and value; whether, three weeks before the Act of 1836, restraining alienation, a deed purporting to be executed some months earlier was registered whereby the Corporation granted without consideration, except the nominal rent to which the property was subject, the entire of the Corporation property to trustees for the maintenance and education of Protestant orphans from the town and neighbourhood of Naas; whether the value of the property so alienated is between £300 and £400 a-year, and is likely to be soon largely augmented by the falling in of old leases; whether evidence upon this subject was taken before the Local Government Board Commission in February 1877 and the Municipal Boundaries Commission of 1878; whether it appears from that evidence given chiefly by Protestant gentlemen and the Petition unanimously adopted by the Town Commissioners, Protestant and Catholic, that it is the wish of all creeds and classes in the locality of Naas that the Corporation property should be restored; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will institute an inquiry with a view to giving effect to the prayers of the Petition already referred to?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER): Sir, I believe it to be the fact that some time prior to the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act, 1840, the Corporation of Naas was possessed of property of the value of about £350 per annum. A deed of fee farm grant appears to have been executed on 19th November, 1835, to nominees of Lord Mayo, of the then residue of the corporate property, producing over £322 per annum, at a rent of £12 per annum, in trust, as I believe, for the maintenance and education of Protestant orphans from the town and neighbourhood of Naas. Some evidence



was given on this subject before the Commissioners mentioned in the Question; and I have no reason to doubt there is a regret, largely entertained, that the Corporation property was not preserved. The deed of 1835 is stated to have been executed in pursuance of a Resolution of 29th September, 1832. Prior to 1836 a Corporation was quite at liberty to convey away property owned by it as any private individual could. If the deed of 1835, carrying out the Resolution of 1832, was in the then state of the law a valid transfer, I do not think it is a case in which the Government could interfere. If it was not, the transaction may be still impeachable by the Corporation. I recommend to the perusal of the hon. Member the Report of the Municipal Commission of 1835, which contains, if correct, a strange and interesting history of the mode in which the Resolution of 1832 was drawn up, and afterwards carried.

#### STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT LONDONDERRY—MR. FORREST REID.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Crown Solicitor, Mr. Forrest Reid, who attended on behalf of the Crown at the magisterial investigation in Derry, is also family solicitor to Mr. M'Corkell; and, whether Mr. Forrest Reid and Mr. D. B. M'Corkell attended and represented Mr. M'Corkell, senior, at a Board of Trade inquiry into the loss of the *Nokomis*?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he was informed that Mr. Forrest Reid was the family solicitor of Mr. M'Corkell, and as such represented him at the Board of Trade inquiry referred to. Mr. Reid attended, on behalf of the Crown, the magisterial investigation at Derry; and he was informed by those who knew that gentleman that he was quite incapable of being influenced in the discharge of his duties by family ties.

MR. HEALY asked whether the Government could not have got anybody to represent them except the family solicitor of one of the accused?

MR. TREVELYAN: He is the Crown Solicitor.

#### NORTH SEA FISHERIES CONVENTION—THE INSTRUCTIONS.

MR. BIRKBECK asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether, in conse-

quence of the ratification of the North Sea Fisheries Convention, which comes into force on 15th May next, British fishing vessels engaged in the herring and mackerel fisheries on grounds frequented by Belgian and French trawling vessels on the East Coast of England, will, for the future, be more adequately protected by cruisers than has hitherto been the case; and, whether a sufficient number of cruisers will be employed to enforce Articles 26 to 33 inclusive of the said Convention?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Sir, Instructions for carrying out the provisions of the North Sea Fisheries Convention have been drawn up by the Admiral Superintendent of Naval Reserves in communication with the Board of Trade, and the necessary cruisers have been ordered to be ready.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT— FLOGGING IN NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

MR. S. MORLEY asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, If his attention has been drawn to the treatment received by two boys named Haffenden, scholars in the National School at Speldhurst, near Tunbridge Wells, who were flogged, in the presence of the entire school, by the master for having, on the previous Sunday, the 2nd of March, attended a service in a dissenting chapel in the village; and, whether, as this is a school receiving Government aid, he will take such steps as he may deem necessary to prevent a repetition of such proceedings?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, the matter involved is so serious, that I have directed a local inquiry to be made into the facts of this case by an experienced officer of the Department, and I shall be prepared in a few days to communicate the result to the House.

#### POST OFFICE—INTERNATIONAL PARCEL POST.

MR. BLAKE asked the Postmaster General, If he can state when he will have the arrangements completed for connecting the English Parcels Post with that of the Continental?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, I regret that I am not yet in a position to fix the date when the International Parcel Post will be introduced. The arrangement of such a post involves many complicated details, which have been for some time

engaging the careful consideration of the Department.

MR. WARTON: Is it not the case that the post referred to in the hon. Member's Question is the Parcel Post, and not the Parcels Post, just as we say letter carrier, and not letters carrier?

[No reply.]

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)  
ACT, 1878—CLAUSES 27 AND 32—  
UNIFORMITY OF ACTION.

MR. GRAY asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether, under Clauses 27 and 32 of the "Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1878," the Privy Council have power to make regulations with regard to animals "while in transit or in course of being moved by land or by water," which will secure uniformity, and prevent the prohibition of the sale in public markets of fat animals from healthy areas, by local authorities, for the purpose of enhancing the price of meat in their districts?

MR. DODSON, in reply, said, the Privy Council had made Orders for regulating the treatment of animals in transit under certain sections of the Contagious Diseases Act. These Orders secured uniform action. Local Authorities had no power to prohibit the sale of fat or store animals, except within five miles of an infected place.

LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—RE-ARRANGEMENT OF CIRCUITS.

VISCOUNT NEWPORT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, before any action is taken respecting the re-arrangement of Circuits, an opportunity will be given to the localities affected to state their views?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that no action with respect to the re-arrangement of Circuits could be made except by Statute or Order in Council, which would be laid on the Table of the House. In either case Parliament would have cognizance of the matter. He was authorized to say that the Lord Chancellor would be glad to receive any representation from localities which might suppose that they would be affected by any change made.

TRAMWAYS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES (IRELAND) ACT, 1883—GUARANTEES.

MR. MAYNE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

If his attention has been drawn to the fact that the Grand Jury of the County Tipperary have refused a guarantee for the construction of a Railway from Gooldscross to Cashel; whether the guarantee was refused, on the plea that there was not unanimity on the part of the ratepayers, although both the proposals on the subject submitted to the grand jury were supported by an overwhelming majority of the ratepayers proposed to be taxed; whether the need for the line of Railway was admitted by the grand jury in granting the concession to make it; whether, in order to protect the public interests in a case of this kind, the Government will consider the advisability of establishing a right of appeal from the grand jury to the going judge of assize, or to the Board of Works; and, whether the doubt expressed by one Irish grand jury, as to the sufficiency of the protection afforded to the ratepayers by section ten of the Tramways Act of last year, is held to be valid by the Law Officers of the Crown in Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have not yet received any Report of the proceedings before the Grand Jury; but, from such information as has been supplied to me, it appears that the Grand Jury considered and decided the case upon what they regarded as its merits. It would be premature as yet for Government to review the working of the Act, and propose amendments, should such be required. I do not quite understand the last paragraph of the hon. Member's Question. The Attorney General informs me that he is not aware what is the "doubt" to which the hon. Member refers, and therefore cannot express any opinion as to the validity of the point raised. If the hon. Member will confer with me, I will have inquiries made.

MR. GRAY inquired if the right hon. Gentleman had any objection to grant a Return setting forth the applications made under the Tramways Act, and how they had been treated by the Grand Juries?

MR. TREVELYAN: Perhaps the hon. Member will put a Question to me on the subject at the beginning of next week.

ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1882  
—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL DIGBY.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

If his attention has been drawn to a case heard on Friday last, at Ballymore, county Westmeath, in which Lieut.-Col. W. B. Digby, J.P. appeared in answer to a charge of having made a false affidavit, with intent to substantiate a false claim, in order to obtain a sum of money, under the provisions of the Arrears Act, from the Irish Land Commission; whether, upon the evidence produced by the Crown for the prosecution, the resident magistrate, Mr. John T. Dillon, held that the case should be sent on for trial, but was overruled by the other two justices present, who refused the informations and dismissed the case, though it was not alleged on behalf of the accused that his affidavit was true; whether the Irish Law Officers agree with the resident magistrate that the question of the intention to defraud, is a question, not for the justices, but for a jury; whether any further steps will be taken towards bringing the case to trial; and, whether Lieut.-Col. Digby will continue to act in the Commission of the Peace?

MR. GIBSON: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers that Question, I would like to ask him, if he is aware that Colonel Digby, immediately after discovering the mistake, himself countermanded the application for money, and waited on the Controller of the Arrears Department of the Land Commission, and fully explained the entire circumstances?

MR. SEXTON: Upon that Question of the right hon. and learned Gentleman I would ask, further, if Colonel Digby allowed five months to elapse before he took any steps to retire from the fraudulent position?

MR. HEALY: When he was found out.

MR. TREVELYAN: I am informed, Sir, that it is the case that Colonel Digby appeared to answer such a charge, and that the Resident Magistrate differed from the ruling of the other magistrates, by whom the case was dismissed. The Crown Solicitor is furnishing a Report to the Law Officers, who will consider the case.

MR. GIBSON: I would like the right hon. Gentleman to answer my Question.

MR. TREVELYAN: It is perfectly impossible for me to answer Questions put that way without Notice.

MR. GIBSON: Has the right hon. Gentleman read the Question which di-

rected attention to the facts without making himself acquainted with the circumstances to which I refer?

MR. TREVELYAN: The right hon. and learned Gentleman may ask that Question, and think that it establishes a point against me; but he must know that a reference by the Chief Secretary to the Law Officers at their own requisition would preclude the Chief Secretary from asking any more questions until he had got that Report.

MR. SEXTON: Immediately on the re-assembling of the House after Easter I shall ask the effect of the Report of the Crown Solicitor, and what steps the Government intend to take to punish the fraud?

#### INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS (IRELAND)— RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Her Majesty's Government will take steps this Session to give effect to the recommendations relating to Ireland of the Royal Commission on Industrial Schools?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I stated a few days ago, in replying to a Question asked by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), that I could not pledge the Government to legislate on the subject this year; but that as the inquiry was not confined to Ireland, but was for the United Kingdom, I thought that the Irish Government could not act independently of the English Government.

#### REGISTRY OF DEEDS (IRELAND).

MR. HEALY asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he can state approximately the value of property annually dealt with by the Registry of Deeds, Ireland; whether, as it would appear from the Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Registration of Deeds, dated 30th October 1880, the landed property of Ireland is dependent on the Department for the security of its title, and that the nature of the duties necessitates the office being filled with a superior class of clerks; whether, by the Act 2 and 3 William 4, c. 87, sec. 28, every official in the Registry is made individually responsible at law for damages arising through negligence or default; if he will state the



grounds on which the salaries of the Registry of Deeds Office are fixed on a lower scale than those of every other Irish Department of similar importance; and, if he will give any assurance that the Registry of Deeds shall, in point of salaries and annual increment, be placed on an equality with such Departments as the Constabulary Office, Education Office, Board of Works, Local Government Board, and Paymaster General's Office?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, I am afraid the amount of the property annually dealt with by the Deeds Registry cannot be given, as the amount of "consideration" is not necessarily stated when an instrument is registered. The Report of the Royal Commission contains a paragraph to the effect stated in the Question. The officers of the Registry are, by statute, liable for damages in respect of loss caused by their own negligence or misconduct; but it is a question whether this statutory obligation should not be removed. The salaries are fixed with reference to the nature of the work to be done, and the scale of this Office compares favourably with that of other Departments of Registration in Ireland and Scotland.

#### CRIMINAL LAW (SCOTLAND)—CASE OF LACHLAN M'LEOD.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Lord Advocate, with regard to the Skye prevarication case, if he could state whether Sheriff Substitute Speirs based his sentence on Lachlan M'Leod upon Statute Law or upon a fiction of Law; and, if upon the latter, whether he will at once introduce a measure defining the powers of the sheriffs and minor judges in dealing with and punishing those guilty of prevarication on oath or of contempt of court; and, is it a fact that Mr. Spiers does not know Gaelic, and Lachlan M'Leod does not know English?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (MR. J. B. BALFOUR), in reply, said, he had not had time since the Question appeared on the Paper to ascertain fully all the particulars. He had no doubt that Sheriff Spiers must have given his judgment knowing well that that judgment was liable to revision by the Superior Courts. He did not see any cause to propose separate legislation on this matter defining the powers of the Sheriffs and minor Judges. He was not aware that

Sheriff Spiers had acquired a knowledge of Gaelic.

#### CUSTOMS—EXTRA MESSENGERS.

MR. RITCHIE asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is the case that a number of extra messengers permanently employed in the Customs, some having between twenty and forty years' service, have no annual or sick leave, and do not receive pay for the usual official holidays, although they are precluded from being employed on those days, and whether they are paid fortnightly instead of weekly; whether the messengers at the Admiralty, similarly placed, do have annual and sick leave, and are also paid for the usual official holidays, and are paid weekly; whether the Treasury has received, through the Board of Customs, a Petition from the Customs' extra messengers, dated 26th April 1883, asking to be paid weekly instead of fortnightly; and, what is the reason why the extra messengers in the Customs are treated so differently from similar servants in the Admiralty?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the Treasury have received no Petition from any men of the character described. I am informed, however, that they belong to the class of Customs extra men, who are employed by the Board only when required, and are paid for every day so employed. Some of them have been fortunate enough to continue on the list of extra men for many years, but are in no sense established. I do not know anything about the Admiralty *employés* referred to; but the system of extramen in the Customs' Service appears a good one, and there is no intention of altering it.

#### STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT LONDONDERRY—TRIAL OF DOHERTY—EVIDENCE OF SUB-CONSTABLE DALY.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why the evidence of Sub-Constable Daly was withheld at the trial of Doherty, in Sligo; and, if it is the intention of the Crown to proceed against those who were identified by Sub-Constable Daly as taking part in the Derry Town Hall disturbances?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am advised that Constable Daly was not examined

because he could give no evidence against Doherty. With regard to the second inquiry, the Attorney General does not consider he has sufficient evidence to support a prosecution.

COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—MEETINGS OF NATIONAL TEACHERS.

MR. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland have issued a circular prohibiting in future

“Meetings of National teachers, or the attendance of National teachers at meetings, unless for purely educational purposes,”

and declaring that the Commissioners have resolved further that—

“At any and every such meeting each teacher present shall be responsible for all things said or done by any of those present, unless he at once publicly disavows anything which may be said or done of an objectionable character, i.e. anything bordering upon political controversy or criticism of the administration of the Board, or the conduct of its officers, or the action or policy of the Government,”

and that—

“This public disavowal must be followed by an open withdrawal of the teacher from the meeting;”

whether it is intended to interfere with the customary congress and meetings of National teachers, or with the organization of the teachers’ association now existing for many years under successive administrations, and which have been instrumental in obtaining some amelioration of the admitted grievances of the Irish National teachers; whether open public agitation for the improvement of their pay and position by the teachers will now be prohibited or permitted as heretofore; and, what proof will be required that “things of an objectionable character were said or done” at a meeting at which a teacher may have been present before he will be held to come within the penal terms of the circular?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is quite true, Sir, that the National Education Commissioners have issued a Circular in which they state that they have resolved—

“Not to sanction in future meetings of National teachers, or the attendance of National teachers at meetings, unless for purely educational purposes” —

but then they go on to explain what they mean—

*Mr. Trevelyan*

“For freely, but temperately, discussing their own position, rights, privileges, and claims; the provisions which affect the school programme of instruction, the organization of schools, the methods of teaching, the selection of subjects of instruction suitable to the wants and tastes of their pupils; the employment and training of monitors; literary, moral, or scientific subjects; in short, all branches of the educational question which can be considered without political discussion.”

If the hon. Member had dwelt upon this passage, in which the Commissioners extend their sanction to meetings of teachers “for freely, but temperately, discussing their own position, rights, privileges, and claims,” he would have seen that the holding of a congress, or the establishment of a teachers’ association, or any proper effort to improve their pay, would not be inconsistent with either the spirit or letter of the Circular. As to the proof that will be required that “things of an objectionable character were said or done” at a meeting, the Commissioners must be the judges of it, and must, of course, decide every case on its merits.

MR. GRAY: Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether the Circular does not go on to prohibit any discussion or criticism of the administration of the Board and the conduct of its officers? I would direct his attention more particularly to these words, “or the action or policy of the Government.” Will the right hon. Gentleman explain how they may discuss “their whole position and claims,” while they must avoid discussing the action of the Government, which may refuse to recognize their claims?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is not for me to speak for the Commissioners of National Education, or to explain their policy. We have no doubt that they can be perfectly trusted to distinguish between what is legitimate educational controversy and what is political action.

PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—KINSALE PIER AND QUAY.

MR. DEASY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will order a Copy of the Report of Messieurs Brady and Johnston, Pier and Harbour Commissioners, on the Kinsale pier and quay, to be laid upon the Table of the House forthwith?

MR. COURTNEY: This Report is not in the knowledge of any Department with which I am connected; but I

presume it rests with the Pier and Harbour Commission, over which the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake) presides. As the whole question is under consideration, I do not think it is at all expedient to take any action at the present stage.

#### LAW AND JUSTICE—SALE OF CLEMENT'S INN.

MR. FIRTH asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether he is aware that the right of the Principal, Ancients, and Commoners of Clement's Inn to dispose of the property of the Inn, has been submitted to the opinion of an eminent Counsel; whether he is aware that in the opinion of such Counsel the sale of such property and the division of the proceeds constitute a breach of trust for which an information may be brought; and, whether he proposes to bring such information?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES), in reply, said, he had received from the Council of the Incorporated Law Society counsel's opinion on the proposed sale of Clement's Inn. He believed that opinion was to the effect that, on the whole, there were good grounds for an inquiry into the right of the Principal, Ancients, and Commoners to dispose of the property. The Incorporated Law Society thought the proper course was to communicate with the Charity Commissioners; and if they reported to him (the Attorney General) with respect to the endowment the matter would receive due consideration.

#### POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—THE POSTMASTER OF DUNGANNON.

MR. DEASY asked the Postmaster General, Whether, on 1st January last, Mr. Jacob Orr, the Postmaster of Dungannon, county Tyrone, allowed Thomas Hodgett, one of his subordinates in the office, to be absent from his duty all that day in order to take part in an Orange demonstration; whether Hodgett on that morning carried an Orange flag in front of a procession through the streets of Dungannon, and accompanied the Orange expedition to Dromore; whether Mr. Orr obliged the telegraph messenger, whose duty it was to remain constantly in the telegraph office, to discharge Hodgett's duty by carrying con-

signments by parcel post to and from the railway station; and, what notice will be taken by the Department of the conduct of the Postmaster in this matter?

MR. FAWCETT: In reply to the hon. Member, I have to state that Hodgett, the man employed by the Postmaster of Dungannon to deliver parcels, sought and obtained leave of absence for the 1st January. The Postmaster, however, was not only not aware for what purpose the leave was required, but afterwards, finding that Hodgett had been to Dromore, rebuked him for his indiscretion. Hodgett, I am assured, carried no flag and was not in the procession. He has since left the Service. On the 1st January the parcels were delivered by the Telegraph messenger.

#### HARBOURS OF REFUGE—CONVICT LABOUR.

MR. MAC IVER asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether Her Majesty's Government have considered the many influential Petitions which have been presented to the House praying that the whole of our able-bodied convicts, or any other National resource which may be necessary, shall be applied without delay to constructing or improving harbours of refuge or ports of shelter round the coasts of these Islands to save the lives of our sailors and fishermen; whether they are aware that the French Nation is expending the sum of five and a half million pounds sterling for a similar purpose over a district of only 250 miles; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have it in contemplation to expend any considerable sum of money in providing similarly improved harbour accommodation on dangerous coasts in Great Britain and Ireland?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, the House had already authorized the employment of convict labour on the harbour at Dover, and that absorbed all the labour of that kind that was at present available. There appeared to be a general impression that such labour could be employed in many parts of the country at the same time upon works of this kind; but this was not the case, for convict labour could only be employed when the size of the works and the length of time they would take to carry out justified the



building of a large prison in the vicinity for the accommodation of the convicts.

#### PATENT MEDICINES—LEGISLATION.

MR. WARTON asked the Vice President of the Council, When the Government intends to introduce, in the House of Peers, their Bill relating to Patent Medicines?

MR. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, that the Government would introduce the Bill as soon as possible after Easter.

#### CUSTOMS CLERKS—OUT-DOOR DEPARTMENT.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the Treasury has received a Memorial from certain ex-redundant clerks in the Customs pointing out that they were induced to accept appointments in the out-door department, involving an average additional daily attendance of over twenty-five per cent with only a trifling and temporary increase of salary, by the issue of a classification holding out improved prospects of promotion immediately before the appointments were offered to them; whether it is the fact that the Board of Customs have now decided to reduce the number of surveyors by compelling the First Class examining officers to do the work hitherto done by clerical surveyors, thereby withdrawing from the Memorialists their chief inducement to accept the obligation of increased daily attendance; and, whether, under these circumstances, reasonable compensation will be granted to them for the withdrawal of those prospects; and, if not, whether the Board of Customs will continue to exact the additional labour while withdrawing the inducement which led the Memorialists to accept it?

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, the matter was still under the consideration of the Treasury.

#### ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND—ARTS STUDENTS.

MR. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with regard to the Return of last Session relative to the Royal University of Ireland (180 H. 7. 6. 83), Whether there were in each of the three Queen's Colleges, at the date of the Return, two classes of Arts Students, ranking as

"Matriculated Students" of the Royal University, some who had become so by passing the Matriculation Examination of the University, others who had become so merely by the provisions of the University Act (42 and 43 Vic. c. 65), which conferred this status on those who were Matriculated Students of a Queen's College at the date of the dissolution of the Queen's University; whether the Return moved for explicitly set forth that what was to be stated was the number of Students of the former class, those who had "passed the Matriculation Examination of the Royal University;" whether the number of Students returned by the responsible official of Galway College, in answer to this query, was 3, the number who really had passed the University Examination; whether the number returned by the responsible official of the Belfast College was 77; whether this Return, in the case of Belfast, was accompanied by a footnote stating that the Return made did not really give the number of the class of Students ordered to be returned, but to a totally different class, those, namely, who had become University Students, not by passing the University Examination, but merely by the operation of the Act of Parliament; whether the Return in the case of Cork, supposing the same footnote to refer to it, was equally defective; whether the Government obtained at all, from those Colleges, the number of the class of Students to which the Order of the House of Commons applied; who was responsible for the failure to produce to the House the Returns really moved for; and, whether he can state the correct numbers which should have been given in the Return in the cases of Belfast and Cork?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the hon. Member is correct as to there having been two classes of Art students ranking as matriculated students of the Royal University. The accidental omission has been already stated at length to the House. From the information now before me, it appears that the number of Arts students who actually passed the matriculation examination of the Royal University in 1881 from the several Colleges were, from Belfast, six; from Cork, none; and from Galway, three. In reference to these very low numbers it is well to observe that the Royal University examination was deferred to

December, and that the usual matriculation examinations had been held in the Colleges in the previous October.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)—  
EXCLUSION OF IRISH FAT CATTLE  
FROM MARKETS IN ENGLAND AND  
SCOTLAND.

MR. KENNY asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If it is a fact that Irish fat cattle have been excluded from the Newcastle-on-Tyne market since February 1883, by the local authority of that city; if Irish cattle sold in the Salford cattle market are prevented by the local authorities of the county of Chester from being removed after slaughter to any part of said county, while animals from all other countries may be brought freely; if the local authorities in Glasgow and Greenock have excluded Irish animals from landing at their respective ports from 20th August to 3rd October 1883, and, in case of shipments from the port of Dublin, from 20th August to 17th December 1883; if in such instances the local authorities acted under instructions from the Privy Council; and, whether he will consider how far such instructions, if given, would be in accordance with the spirit of the assurances given by his Grace the Duke of Richmond during the hearing of evidence in the 1878 Commission?

MR. DODSON: Sir, I believe cattle from Ireland have been excluded from the Newcastle-on-Tyne market, though I cannot say since when. With reference to the alleged action of the local authorities at Chester, Glasgow, and Greenock, I cannot give the dates between which certain local regulations were in force. The local authorities do not in those matters act under instructions from the Privy Council. They have full power to prohibit or regulate the movement of animals into their district from the district of any other local authority in England, in Wales, in Scotland, or in Ireland.

MR. KENNY intimated that on Monday he would put a further Question on this subject to the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. GRAY: Have these local authorities power to exclude cattle from a different country? Ireland is treated not as a country, but a district, although it is sub-divided into several districts.

MR. DODSON: Each local authority has power, if it pleases, to exclude animals from all the rest of the United Kingdom.

INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE  
(IRELAND)—DRAINAGE OF THE  
LOWER BANN.

MR. T. A. DICKSON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, When he expects to lay upon the Table of the House the Report of the Board of Works in connection with the Drainage of the Lower Bann?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, this Report, which is of a very elaborate character, only reached the Treasury yesterday. It will receive the immediate and careful consideration of the Government; but I cannot at present say what Papers on the subject it may be necessary or desirable to lay before the House.

DISTRIBUTION OF PARLIAMENTARY  
PAPERS—FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

MR. MAC IVER asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he can arrange for the distribution, free of cost, to the Birkenhead Free Public Library, as well as to other similar institutions who may wish to have them, of a complete set, as issued, of Parliamentary Papers and Documents and other works which are printed at the expense of the public?

MR. COURTNEY: The Parliamentary Papers can be purchased through any bookseller at a price which represents only the cost of printing and paper. Having regard to this fact, and also to the very large public expenditure for printing, I see no reason for subsidizing free libraries in the manner proposed.

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—  
ALLEGED CASE OF FIRING AT THE  
PERSON—MR. JAMES WHITE.

MR. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. James White, of Sligo, lately swore an information before Mr. Mayne, R.M. against Mr. Griffith Henry Perrott, charging the latter with being one of a party who assaulted him when driving on a car near Ballaghaderreen, and with being the man who on that occasion presented a gun across his chest, and fired,

and threatened to put the contents through him; whether Mr. White further swore that, when he went to the Police barracks, the policeman "said he would arrest him if he did not go away;" whether a summons was granted, and Mr. White bound over to prosecute; whether, on the adjourned hearing on 10th March, the Prosecutor did not appear, and Mr. Mayne discharged the informations; whether, on that occasion, the Magistrate produced a Document and telegram which he showed to the representative of Mr. Perrott, but did not produce in Court; whether Mr. Perrott did not assert his perfect innocence of the grave charge made against him; whether Mr. White's recognizance has been estreated; and, whether he can give any explanation of the affair, and will state what steps, if any, the Government will take in the matter?

MR. TREVELYAN: Mr. White swore an information, as stated, and the summons against Mr. Perrott was granted, and Mr. White was bound over to prosecute on the next Court day. On that day Mr. Perrott appeared, and on behalf of Mr. White an application was made for adjournment. The Resident Magistrate granted the adjournment on the distinct understanding that the case should be proceeded with on the next Court day, the 10th of March. On that day, however, a further application was made on behalf of Mr. White for adjournment by letter from himself and a telegram from his solicitor. These documents the Resident Magistrate showed in open Court to the only person who had a right to see them—namely, the representative of Mr. Perrott. This gentleman opposed a further adjournment. The Resident Magistrate thought his opposition reasonable, and refused the adjournment. Mr. White's recognizances would not be estreated.

MR. GRAY: Will the Government take any steps in the matter? I want to see whether perjury has been committed on one side, or an outrage of a very grave character on the other.

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he understood from private information that a person who was with Mr. Perrott on the occasion of the alleged assault fired at a widgeon on the public road somewhere near where Mr. White was walking.

#### INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE CENTRE SUPERINTENDENTS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many Centre Superintendents were appointed by the Board of Irish Intermediate Education for the years 1881, 1882, and 1883; what was the proportion of Catholics to those of other denominations; and, how many teachers of Irish Intermediate Schools were appointed?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Reports of the Intermediate Education Commissioners for 1881 and 1882 are already before the House; and the hon. Member will find stated there the number of Centre Superintendents employed in each year—181 in 1881, and 175 in 1882. The number for 1883 has not yet been published; but the Assistant Commissioners inform me that it is 169. Of these about a fourth, one year with another, are ladies. The Commissioners have not afforded me any information as to the proportions of the religious, and I am not prepared to press them. I have not received any reply to the third paragraph of the Question; but I hope to hear further on the subject.

#### THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—(SUB-COMMISSIONERS)—MR. EVANS.

MR. JUSTIN MC CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether one of the Sub-Commissioners in the Land Court now sitting in Longford was formerly employed to value property in the county of Longford by a landlord in respect of whose rents several claims for reduction are listed for hearing in this Court; and, whether it is true that in all these cases the tenants have refused in consequence to proceed with their claims?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Land Commissioners inform me that Mr. Evans, a member of the Longford Sub-Commission, was formerly employed to value property in Longford by Lord Granard, from whose estate there are cases listed for the present sitting of the Sub-Commission. Mr. Evans has been directed to take no part, and will take no part, in the trial of these cases, either by hearing evidence in Court or by inspecting the farms, or by fixing rents. There can, therefore, be no reason of this kind



why the tenants should not proceed with their claims.

# INDIA—THE MADRAS CIVIL SERVICE —MR. MACIVER.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he can account for the publication last month, throughout the Indian press, of the confidential letter addressed, on the 4th November 1882, by Mr. MacIver, Madras Civil Service, to Mr. Master, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras; whether, as this letter charged the Madras High Court with "playing to the gallery," and taking the part of the Natives against the Government of Madras, Mr. MacIver was reprimanded, on receipt of the letter, by Government; and, if not, whether he will ask the Governor of Madras to give an explanation of the case?

MR. J. K. CROSS: No, Sir; I cannot account for the publication of the letter in question, nor do I know anything more about it than is contained in *The Madras Times*. Nor do I see any reason to ask the Government of Madras to give any explanation.

# THE RAILWAY COMMISSION— LEGISLATION.

MR. R. H. PAGET asked the President of the Board of Trade, When he proposes to introduce the measure dealing with the Railway Commission?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, the measure was not yet finally drafted; but he hoped to introduce it very early after Easter.

MR. STUART - WORTLEY asked whether it was proposed to refer the Bill to a Grand Committee after it had been read a second time; and, if so, to which?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, he should ask the House to refer the Bill to the Grand Committee on Trade.

# PRISONS (IRELAND)—DEATH IN WATERFORD GAOL.

MR. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that a man named James Commins was sentenced to fine or imprisonment, at Tramore Petty Sessions, on the 10th March, for allowing sheep to trespass on the public road; whether he asked for time to pay the fine and was refused, was imprisoned on

the 11th, on the 12th was found attempting to climb the cell walls and talking to himself about his sheep which, in consequence of his imprisonment, were left on the road without any person to care for them; whether he was thereupon treated as a lunatic, and put into a strait jacket; whether having burst same on following day he was strapped and tied down, and was subjected to this treatment until the 24th instant; whether he was so bad on this day that warders were ordered to visit him every two hours; whether, on being visited at six o'clock on the following morning, he was found lying uncovered; whether, on being visited again at half-past seven, he was dead; whether, at the inquest, the prison doctor said deceased died of heart disease; whether two other doctors swore he died of congestion of the lungs; and, if, under these circumstances, the Government will order an independent inquiry on oath?

MR. TREVELYAN: James Commins was convicted on the 25th February for allowing cattle to wander on the public road. There were nine cases against him, and he was ordered to pay a fine of 5s., or in default to be imprisoned for 48 hours. It is not true that his application for time to pay the fine was refused. It was granted. Subsequently he refused to pay, and warrants were executed on the 7th March. Farmers of the locality had frequently complained to the police of the injuries to their crops, by this man's cattle being persistently allowed to wander on the public road. With regard to the more serious part of the hon. Member's Question, I cannot at present say anything, as an Inspector of the Local Government Board has been sent to hold a sworn inquiry into the whole circumstances.

MR. SEXTON asked whether the Government would order the body of this unfortunate man to be exhumed, in order that they might have an opinion as to whether he died from heart disease or from congestion of the lungs, brought on by exposure?

MR. TREVELYAN said, that if hon. Members would communicate to him all these particulars, he would send them to the Local Government Board.

MR. GRAY asked whether the inquiry would be public?

[No reply.]

MR. GRAY said, he would put the Question on another day.

#### ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES) — THE ANTRIM ARTILLERY—MAJOR JOHNSTON.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will lay upon the Table of the House the Correspondence that passed between the Military authorities in Dublin and Belfast in March 1883, relative to an alleged misstatement, alleged to have been made by Major Johnston, Antrim Artillery, in his communication to the Adjutant General, Dublin, in March 1883?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I can only refer the hon. Member to my reply of the 5th March last year, and repeat that I see no possible good in reviving discussion on an incident which was of small moment 10 years ago, and has now almost passed from the memory of those concerned.

MR. BIGGAR said, that on the Vote for the Irish Militia he would call attention to the matter.

#### SCOTLAND — THE HIGHLAND CROFTERS — REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, If he can explain the delay in issuing the Report of the Royal Commission upon the conduct of the Crofters, which was promised before the end of last month?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (MR. J. B. BALFOUR), in reply, said, that the compilation and printing of the Report and Appendix was a work of great labour; but he understood it would be signed to-day in Edinburgh and issued to-morrow.

#### MERCHANT SHIPPING BILL.

MR. E. STANHOPE asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether there is any truth in the reported "arrangement" between the Board of Trade and certain shipowners with respect to the Merchant Shipping Bill; if so, whether its terms have been correctly stated in the newspapers, and what course he proposes to take with regard to the Bill?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, he had already answered the first part of this Question in the reply he gave the

other day to the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst); but he might repeat that no "arrangement" had been made between the Board of Trade and the shipowners. Certain suggestions for the amendment of the Bill, which had been correctly reported in the newspapers, had been made to the Board of Trade, and communicated through the Solicitor General to the hon. Member for North Durham (Mr. Palmer), with an intimation that the Board of Trade had no objection to these proposed Amendments in principle, as they were not inconsistent with the objects of the Bill. At the same time the Amendment appeared likely to remove some of the chief objections taken to the Bill in its present shape. In answer to the second part of the Question, he could say he should endeavour to obtain the earliest possible day after Easter for the second reading of the Bill.

#### AFGHANISTAN — CENTRAL ASIAN PAPERS.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for India, How soon Papers on Afghan Affairs, promised some weeks ago, will be laid upon the Table?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The Papers in Question are included in the "Central Asia" Correspondence which my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs laid on the Table on Tuesday last.

#### INDIA—SIBI AND QUETTA RAILWAY.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Her Majesty's Government have yet definitely decided to construct the Railway from Sibi to Quetta; and, if so, how soon operations will be commenced?

MR. J. K. CROSS: No, Sir. It is a matter which, as I informed the hon. Gentleman on the 3rd March, requires communication with the Government of India; and I am not yet in a position to make any further announcement on the subject till we hear fully from that Government.

#### POST OFFICE (TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT)—CHEAP TELEGRAMS.

MR. PULESTON asked the Postmaster General, When the new arrange-

ment for cheap Telegrams is to come into operation?

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, I have already answered a similar Question earlier in the Session, when I stated that the decision as to the time when the reduced charge for inland telegrams would be brought into operation would be announced by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer when introducing the Budget.

#### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)— GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is true that the Mahdi has sent three dervishes with a defiant message to General Gordon, returning the robes of honour which had been sent, declining the position of Sultan of Kordofan, and offering General Gordon the choice between the sword and the Koran; whether the Government have asked General Gordon if he needs British Troops; and, whether they will communicate to the House General Gordon's statements as to his position and power of defending Khartoum?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the account telegraphed by Sir Evelyn Baring is that General Gordon received a letter on the 22nd ultimo, brought by messengers who behaved in an insolent manner. The letter proposed that General Gordon should become a Mussulman and asserted the writer's claim to be Mahdi. General Gordon replied, styling him Sheikh, thereby cancelling the Sultanship of Kordofan, and said that there was an end of the matter.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—QUESTIONS TO MINISTERS.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the increasing share of the time of this House which is occupied in putting and answering Questions, Her Majesty's Government would support the Resolution for arranging Questions, of which Notice has been given, and which stands on to-day's Paper?

MR. HEALY: I rise to Order. Is there not a Rule of the House that controversial subjects should not be allowed to be put in the form of a Question? This Question refers to the increasing delay of Public Business which

arises from the time occupied in putting Questions to Ministers. I have heard it alleged that the delay arises from Tory Obstruction.

MR. SPEAKER: There is nothing irregular in the Question.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the increasing delay in the transaction of Public Business, which arises from the time occupied in putting and answering Questions, Her Majesty's Government would support the Amendment to the Resolution for arranging Questions, of which Notice has been given, and which stands on to-day's Paper; and, whether Ministers have at present the power, practically, to arrange for all Questions of an ordinary character being put on Tuesdays and Fridays by replying to a Question put on Monday or Thursday that the answer will be given on the Tuesday or Friday following?

MR. GLADSTONE: My hon. Friend the Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth) has a Question on the same subject, and I will reply to all three.

MR. WARTON: I rise to Order, and I will ask your opinion, Sir, whether the Question of the hon. Member for Chelsea can be answered when it had not yet been put? I wish to take an objection to that Question.

MR. FIRTH asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will consider the feasibility of proposing a Rule of Procedure similar to that suggested in November 1882 by the honourable Member for Devonport, whereby Government business may be taken at four of the clock on Mondays and Thursdays, without any preliminary business except such Questions as may, in the opinion of Mr. Speaker, be of immediate and urgent importance; and, whether he will further consider the propriety of so far modifying the rule as to the blocking of Bills as to prevent the abuse of such rule which now takes place?

MR. WARTON: As Question No. 61 has now been asked, my point of Order is this, whether the word "blocking" mentioned in this Question is a recognized Parliamentary term; whether it appears in any Paper or Standing Order of the House; and whether it is not a piece of vulgar slang?

MR. SPEAKER: In regard to the point of Order, the term "blocking" is a colloquial expression recognized in



this House. It has been used from the Chair with the approval of the House, and the import of it is fully known to the hon. and learned Member for Bridport and to the House.

MR. GLADSTONE: With respect to the three Questions put to me, I have one and the same answer to make. I conceive that they are really intended to indicate a feeling that is widely spread, and, I am sorry to say, is only too well-founded. That feeling relates to a matter which is of very considerable importance, affecting the efficiency of the House in the conduct of its Business; but it is not in my power properly to bring the matter under consideration, as it does not rest with me unless at the time when the Government called attention to the subject of Procedure.

SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE: May I ask the Prime Minister whether the Government would have any objection to the preparation of a Return in reference to the putting of Questions to Ministers? I venture to throw out this challenge, that these Questions are the direct outcome, and may be directly referred to the Rule of Procedure called the "gagging" Rule, which places it in the power of the majority to silence the minority.

MR. GLADSTONE: If the right hon. Gentleman thinks that any useful information on the subject of Questions can be given in the form of a Return, probably he will be kind enough to put his suggestion in such a shape as to show its scope and purport.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD: I beg to give Notice that I will, on the earliest opportunity I can obtain, move the Resolution of which I have given Notice to-day.

#### PORTUGAL—THE CONGO RIVER TREATY.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, in view of the fact that, on the 3rd of April last year, the honourable Member for Manchester was permitted by the House to withdraw his Motion relative to the Congo Treaty, on the distinct understanding that facilities would be given by the Government for its discussion, Whether he can now renew the assurance then given by him, in these words—

"The pledge he had given was well understood, and if they (the Government) availed themselves of the crowded state of business, for

the purpose of escaping discussion, they would be guilty of violating that pledge?"

MR. GLADSTONE: I am at a loss to know why this Question is put after the answer given the other day, which appears to me to completely cover it. I believe the words quoted in the Question are accurately quoted, and I have no doubt they were words used by me. On referring to a previous debate I see that what we engaged for was the allowing of adequate opportunity for discussion, and I said nothing with reference to giving facilities.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—LOCAL TAXATION.

MR. PELL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will afford facilities for the consideration of the Motion relating to the Resolution of this House of the 28th March on the subject of Local Taxation, of which Notice has been given?

MR. GLADSTONE: I regret that it will not be in my power to afford the hon. Gentleman facilities by an appropriation of the Government's time for the discussion of the Motion he has put on the Paper.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—A FRIDAY'S SITTING.

MR. M'LAREN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, considering the large number of Members on this side of the House desiring to speak on the Second Reading of the Franchise Bill, there will be a Morning Sitting on Friday?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I have already said that Her Majesty's Government have no plan upon the subject. What I understand to be the full intention of the House is that before the Recess—that means practically on Monday night—they will take the Division on the second reading of the Franchise Bill. It is supposed that to-night and Monday will afford sufficient time for closing the debate; but should anything occur to interfere with that, it would be for this House to consider whether a Morning Sitting should be proposed to-morrow, which we hope will not be necessary. In the case of a Morning Sitting the pledge I gave would hold good, that the Government would be bound to use their best efforts to procure a House at the Evening Sitting.

## EGYPT—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Her Majesty's Government have decided on the line of policy which they propose to pursue in Egypt, with reference more especially to the following points:—The government of the Eastern Soudan; the relations which are to be maintained with the Western Soudan; the Government of Khartoum; the relations between the Soudan generally and the Egyptian Government; and, the general relations, political, military, and financial, between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Egypt; whether he can give any information as to General Gordon's present position and views; and, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to afford him any material support?

MR. FRANCIS BUXTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether General Gordon has yet reported, either to Her Majesty's Government or to the Khedive of Egypt—

"On the best means of giving effect to the resolution of the Khedive to withdraw from the interior of the Soudan,"

for which purpose, according to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, he was allowed to proceed to Khartoum; and, whether such Report can be laid upon the Table, or whether, in the absence of any such Report, the time has not now come to recall him from Khartoum, and thereby prevent any further risk of his own life, and put an end to all doubts of the intentions of the Egyptian Government with regard to the Soudan?

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether the Government regarded General Gordon as representing at Khartoum the authority of Her Majesty's Government or that of the Khedive?

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON complained that his Question as it appeared on the Paper of Business upon this matter had been so altered as to make it mere nonsense, and he would therefore ask, Whether, with the view of avoiding anarchy, as resulting from the immediate retirement from the Eastern Soudan, the Government would modify their instructions to General Gordon so far as to empower him to administer the affairs of that province, with regard to which the revenues of the country were quite

sufficient, until some authority had been established there competent to take over the reins of government.

MR. GLADSTONE: The Question of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) is one which, I think, has been answered by the information authentically communicated to the House—namely, that General Gordon was sent from this country by Her Majesty's Government, and under the authority of Her Majesty's Government, to ascertain the best means of executing the evacuation of the Soudan. The House was also informed that, upon his arrival in Egypt, he likewise received from the Egyptian Government executive powers, and these powers he exercises in the name and by the right of the Egyptian Government, although they are powers with regard to which Her Majesty's Government feel both great interest and responsibility. Then I come to answer the Question of my hon. Friend behind me (Sir Alexander Gordon) by saying I do not believe there is any modification at all requisite in General Gordon's instructions. I apprehend his instructions would cover whatever powers of administration he might find it expedient to assume in the Soudan, as they do cover, in fact, at the moment his administration and his proceedings at Khartoum. Now, with respect to Question 63 of my hon. Friend (Mr. Francis Buxton), I would assure him that I entirely enter into the spirit of that Question. Her Majesty's Government are very sensible of their obligations with respect to General Gordon, and they have no disposition unreasonably to stint them. But it is not the case that we have yet received from General Gordon any full Report, nor do we believe that the Khedive of Egypt can have received any full Report from General Gordon as to the best means of giving effect to the resolution of the Khedive to withdraw from the interior of the Soudan. And, although I cannot be surprised at the anxiety of my hon. Friend for such a Report, yet I think, when it is considered what the Soudan is, how it is inhabited, what a range of country it covers, and what diversities of population not organically united together it contains, and that General Gordon has been but a bare two months in the Soudan, we cannot feel very great surprise that no conclu-



sive Report has come from him up to the present time on that subject. Of course, therefore, no such Report can be laid on the Table. So much for the first part of the Question of my hon. Friend. With regard to the second part—

“Whether, in the absence of such Report, the time has not come to recall General Gordon from Khartoum, and thereby prevent any further risk of his own life, and put an end to all doubts of the intentions of the Egyptian Government with regard to the Soudan?”

I hope that it is not necessary to take any step for the purpose of putting an end to doubts as to the intentions of the Egyptian Government. I believe there is no question whatever in regard to their intentions; and undoubtedly there is not the smallest change, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, with respect to the execution of our intentions. But I am bound to say that we do not think that the time has come for sending a peremptory order to General Gordon for the purpose of recalling him from the Soudan. The principle upon which we should act in all matters relating to him is never to interfere except in a case of clear necessity. Now, I believe the matter stands thus with regard to General Gordon, and, perhaps, this may be important intelligence to my hon. Friend—at any rate, it is a very material part of the case—General Gordon is under no constraint and under no orders to remain in the Soudan. As far as his instructions or orders are concerned, General Gordon is authorized to use his own discretion, and to withdraw from the Soudan if he thinks proper. I stated that General Gordon was under no orders requiring him to remain in the Soudan; neither, as far as we are aware, is he under any inability to leave the Soudan at this moment if he chooses. As far as our information goes, he may exercise a free judgment upon that matter. Further, we gather quite distinctly from such reports as have reached us that General Gordon believes himself to be safe in Khartoum, where he is at the present time; and he has held out to us no anticipation of danger. Therefore, what we presume is this—that General Gordon does not conceive that the time has come either when he considers that the purpose of his mission is accomplished, or when he ought to despair of carrying that purpose forward; and we should be very reluctant indeed to in-

terfere with his judgment on that subject. I think I may say it might be warrantable, or it might even be a duty incumbent upon us, to order General Gordon to withdraw if his work were at an end, or if he was seen to be in probable danger. But, according to all the information before us, that case has not arisen, and consequently there is no occasion for our intervention; nor is General Gordon in any way hampered as to the prosecution of his work or as to desisting from it if he thought the time for desisting from it had arrived. With regard to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman, I have asked my noble Friend—in the first instance, at any rate—to answer it, because some part of what the Government has to state to the House will come best from him, as it relates to military particulars, and likewise because the threads of former transactions for the last two or three weeks have been in the hands of my noble Friend.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I hope, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman and the House will not think that I or the Government are guilty of the slightest disrespect to himself or to the House for the course which has been suggested by my right hon. Friend. I am conscious that, even under the circumstances of the temporary absence of my right hon. Friend from the House, the statement which I have to make would come far better from him. But as it has been my duty on more than one occasion to make a promise that on the first opportunity we should make to the House any statement it might be in our power to make, my right hon. Friend has thought it would be the most convenient course that I should endeavour to reply to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman. In doing so I am afraid I shall have to trespass on the attention of the House for a much longer time than is usual in answering a Question; but I shall try to condense what I have to say as much as possible. In the first place, I must observe that, although I have been asked to reply to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman, there is a great deal in that Question which appears to me and to the Government it would be utterly impossible for us to answer at the present time, and, further, a great deal which, in the opinion of the Government, ought not to be answered. There are, how-



ever, certain points upon which I have undertaken that we should, at as early a date as possible, endeavour to give the House some information; and although our information, even upon these points, is not as complete as could be desired, and although I am free to confess that, even as regards some subjects upon which I shall have to touch, it may possibly be premature to say anything as yet, still I will endeavour, as fully and completely as I can, to redeem the pledge which has been given. The first point upon which I wish to say a word is as to communications that took place between the Government and Sir Evelyn Baring and General Gordon on the subject of the appointment of Zebehr Pasha. On the 10th of March I informed the House that General Gordon had recommended the appointment of Zebehr Pasha as Governor of the Eastern Soudan. His recommendation was that Zebehr should be sent to Khartoum with the moral support of the British Government, but with nothing more; that certain engagements should be taken from him as to the extent of the country over which he was to exercise authority, and as to his proceedings at Khartoum and certain other matters. As I informed the House upon that occasion, the Government felt the strongest objections to the proposal which was first made—objections in the main founded upon reports received both formerly and recently from General Gordon himself with regard to the character and antecedents of Zebehr. I said on that occasion that we thought it due, both to General Gordon and Sir Evelyn Baring, to ascertain fully, before we came to a final decision on the subject, on what grounds that recommendation was made. Further information that we received tended to show that General Gordon's advice was founded mainly on the conviction that in order to secure quiet in Egypt and the pacification of the Soudan it was necessary that the Mahdi and the rebellion of which the Mahdi was the head should be completely subdued and crushed; and that Zebehr Pasha was, in his opinion, the only man possessed of sufficient authority and military talent to accomplish that object. It appeared to the Government that General Gordon had somewhat overrated the danger to be apprehended in Egypt from the Mahdi, and the insurrection of which he was the

head. The Mahdi had not, in our opinion and so far as we had information, exhibited any pre-eminent military capacity, and although, of course, it could not be disputed that he had exercised considerable authority over the tribes in certain districts of the country, and had obtained several successes over the troops sent against him, he had not shown any great capacity in utilizing the fruits of his victories. We also thought that, while General Gordon appeared somewhat to overrate the danger to Egypt from the insurrection of the Mahdi, he had somewhat underrated the dangers which would be involved in installing Zebehr at Khartoum, altogether irrespective of the slavery and slave-hunting antecedents of Zebehr. I am referring to the danger which we thought existed in installing at Khartoum, in a position of authority, a man who, according to General Gordon's own account, was a man of great military character and boundless ambition, who had a grievance against the Egyptian Government, and who appeared, from all the information we could obtain, to be the one man under whom it was not improbable a great and aggressive slave-holding trade might be formed on the borders of Egypt. We thought also, from the tenour of General Gordon's communications, that he appeared to give undue weight to the assumed necessity for the immediate evacuation of Khartoum; and in informing him that we could not be parties to his recommendation as to the institution of Zebehr as his successor in Khartoum as Governor General, we asked him to remain there as long as he might think necessary, and as long as he should think it possible to carry out the original objects of his expedition, those objects being, as has been stated, to effect, peaceably if possible, the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops, and the reform of Egyptian affairs in the Soudan, and, in fulfilment of his original policy, to hand the country over to the representatives of those Rulers who existed at the time of the conquest of the country by Mehemet Ali. Since the sending of this despatch to General Gordon, through Sir Evelyn Baring, the communication with Khartoum, as the House is aware, has been greatly interrupted. As yet we do not know what General Gordon proposes under these circumstances to do, and we

have no intimation as to how far his plan of proceeding is modified by the refusal of the Government to comply with the suggestion that Zebehr should be nominated as his successor.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: What was the date of this communication?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I have not the Papers before me, and I cannot tell the actual date on which the final decision of the Government was sent to General Gordon. We are not aware as yet whether the communication of Sir Evelyn Baring, containing the final decision of the Government, has reached General Gordon; at all events, we have not got his views on the subject, nor a statement of his policy as affected by the refusal of the Government with regard to Zebehr. Reference has been made to the suggestion which emanated from General Gordon that a small British force should be despatched to Berber, and a British, or Indian, or Egyptian force to Wady Halfa, on the Nile, for the purpose of effecting a diversion against the Mahdi. As far as we can ascertain, these suggestions have been made by General Gordon in connection with his proposal that Zebehr Pasha should be sent to Khartoum as his successor in the Government, and also in relation to the policy, which he appeared to consider at that time necessary, of subduing and crushing the revolt of the Mahdi. If he said that Zebehr should be sent at once on his suggestion, in our opinion that would not then have been in itself sufficient. It was the delay which, in General Gordon's opinion, caused the necessity for a military diversion. But General Gordon has never suggested, to my knowledge, the employment of troops for the relief of Khartoum. He left this country with a most distinct and clear understanding, repeated over and over again by himself, that the mission which he was going to undertake was one which he was prepared to undertake with such resources as he might find on the spot; and he distinctly understood that it was not a part of the policy of the Government in despatching that expedition to risk having to send a fresh expedition for the relief of Khartoum or any similar garrisons. I have said that General Gordon has never, to my knowledge, suggested the employment of British

troops for the relief of Khartoum. We have no knowledge that he considers the employment of troops there necessary. We have no knowledge that he even desires that troops should be sent. Nevertheless, the possibility of taking advantage of General Graham's Force and sending it to Berber, and thus effecting a diversion that might be of advantage to General Gordon, has been carefully considered by the Government. After the victories of General Graham, it is probable that a small force, a force of Cavalry at all events, might be sent from Suakin to Berber without any great risk from a military point of view. But the information which we have received is that, although the military risk of such an operation might not be very great, the physical difficulty—the difficulty caused by want of water, the difficulty caused by the intense heat, the risk of the health of the troops, and other physical difficulties of that kind to be encountered—would be enormous. On the other hand, the advantage of sending a small force to Berber, even supposing that it should arrive there, appears to be extremely doubtful at this season, when the river communication between Berber and Khartoum is very difficult, if not impossible, and when there are surrounding Berber, and between that place and Khartoum, tribes in numbers which are entirely unknown to us, apparently in a more or less disturbed state. As to the position of General Gordon at Khartoum, I have already given the latest information which we have received from him. That information was to the effect that the tribes under his command at Khartoum had gained one success of some importance against the rebels threatening him, but that on a later occasion those tribes had suffered a considerable reverse, which appeared to be due to some extent to the conduct of certain officers in command of the force. General Gordon's latest report is that he thinks that Khartoum is now safe, and he states, though I do not know exactly what meaning is to be attached to the expression, that "as the Nile rises he will be able to account for the rebels." That is the news of the 23rd of March. He also reports that provisions are coming in freely from the White Nile. In fact, the tenour of the latest reports from him is satisfactory. Further, although,



as I have said, the country between Berber and Khartoum is more or less disturbed, communications, although they are slow, are not altogether interrupted, and it is possible to send and receive messages from General Gordon at Khartoum or Berber. Under these circumstances, because the Government, after fully considering all the bearings of the case, have declined to send to Berber at the present season a small force at very great risk, and with no evident advantage either to General Gordon or to anyone else—because we have refused to do this at a time of year when it would be utterly impossible, in any circumstances, to send a large or adequate force, we are charged in some quarters with abandoning General Gordon. The Government have accepted—my right hon. Friend, both to-day and on previous occasions, accepted—the responsibility for General Gordon's actions so far as they have sanctioned them, and they feel also that they are greatly responsible for General Gordon's safety. But, at the present time, with the imperfect knowledge which we possess of General Gordon's policy in view of the decision not to send Zebehr Pasha as his successor to Khartoum, in ignorance as we are of his own wishes and desires, it is impossible for the Government to state what measures may ultimately have to be taken for discharging that responsibility which they feel for the safety of General Gordon. The Question which the right hon. Gentleman has placed upon the Paper assumes that the Government undertook to establish a system of government in the Eastern Soudan, and to regulate its relations with the Western Soudan on the one side and with Egypt on the other. Sir, the Government have never undertaken any such obligation. They adhere to their opinion, which has been stated over and over again in this House, that the re-establishment of Egyptian authority over the Soudan is neither possible nor desirable; but they have never undertaken to establish the authority of this country over the Soudan. General Gordon himself believed, when he undertook his mission, that with time and patience it would be possible for him, without any material assistance, either from the Egyptian Government or the British Government, to effect an arrangement for the withdrawal of the garrisons, and that it would be

possible for him to establish some form of Native Government. He may fail or he may succeed in his undertaking; but certainly, in our judgment, the time has not yet come when it can be said that General Gordon has definitely failed in his mission; and certainly nothing, in our judgment, has occurred to induce the Government to think that it is necessary, either in the interests of Egypt or of this country, to engage in military operations for the establishment of any Government whatsoever in the Soudan. My right hon. Friend has already said, in reply to the hon. Member for Andover (Mr. F. Buxton), and to other hon. Members, that General Gordon has the fullest possible discretion, either to remain at Khartoum should he think that a more permanent government by himself would result in greater success, or to withdraw should he consider his mission to be incapable of success. But, as I have said, we are at present without any recent information as to General Gordon's own views, and as to the policy which he thinks ought to be followed after the refusal of the Government to support him in the measure which he thought would be the best measure for the ultimate settlement of the Soudan and for the protection of the Frontier of Egypt. With regard to General Gordon and his position in Khartoum, I have said all that I think is necessary; but I may be allowed to refer to one or two points, to which allusion has been made on one or two previous occasions, with reference to the retirement or to the return to Egypt of General Graham's Forces without securing the road from Suakin to Berber. I have never said, and my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has never said, as was suggested the other day, that General Graham's operations were in any degree directed to the securing of that road by an advance of British troops, or holding possession of the road by British forces. What we said was that when Osman Digna's force was dispersed an attempt would be made to open up communication between Suakin and Berber by means of negotiations with the tribes. Attempts in that direction are being made. As long as Osman Digna's forces were unbroken there was no possibility of that road being opened for peaceful purposes, or trade purposes, or for the



passage of troops. But now that the destruction of the power of Osman Digna has been completed, the position is altogether changed. Major Cherm-side, who was sent specially to assist General Graham with this object, has been directed to enter into negotiations with the friendly tribes, and by arrangements which are perfectly understood in that country, and which are perfectly easy of accomplishment, to secure, as far as possible, their services for opening, protecting, and maintaining the security of the road for peaceful purposes. As a further step in the same direction, Major Kitchener, an officer in Sir Evelyn Wood's force, was sent some time ago, at the suggestion of General Gordon, to inquire into the state of the country and the condition of the troops at a point lower down the Nile than that at which Major Cherm-side was engaged. Major Kitchener's Report has been received, and it is to the effect that emissaries from the Mahdi have been at work among a powerful tribe which inhabits that part of the Nile Valley; but, as far as he was able to ascertain, they have not had any success, and the Chiefs of that tribe are perfectly ready to be employed for the purpose of assisting in operations such as I have described, with the eventual object of opening and securing the Berber road. We are in communication with Sir Evelyn Baring in order to ascertain whether the services of these tribes can or cannot be utilized; but it is an example of the inconvenience of making a full statement on a subject of the kind at the present time, that only since I have been in the House this evening I have received a telegram from Sir Evelyn Baring pointing out the extreme caution with which any negotiation of the kind with one tribe, and the risk of alienating other equally powerful tribes, should be conducted, and the danger of making too abrupt an announcement of the negotiations which are going forward. A Question has been asked by the noble Lord the Member for Essex (Lord Eustace Cecil) with regard to the future garrisoning of Suakin. Some time ago Sir Evelyn Baring reported that arrangements would shortly have to be made for such garrisoning; and he recommended that an Egyptian force from General Wood's troops should be sent to Suakin after the departure

of the British Forces. He said at the time, in his opinion, the period had come when the idea ought to be abandoned that the Egyptian Government should have two forces—one for service in Egypt and the other for service in the Soudan; his view being that in the future the only positions which would require to be held in the Soudan would be the Red Sea ports, and he thought that General Wood's force might be properly and usefully employed in garrisoning the necessary positions.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: What is the date of the Report to which the noble Lord refers?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: It is impossible for me to state the date precisely; but our reply was that if Sir Evelyn Wood saw no objection to his troops being so employed, and the troops themselves were willing to engage in the service, the Government saw no reason to disapprove the suggestion. Preparations are, therefore, now being made to send a portion of Sir Evelyn Wood's Army to garrison Suakin on the departure of the British troops. Some questions have arisen as to the civil and military command at Suakin after the change of the garrison takes place; there are also questions as to some other matters which are still under consideration, and with regard to which final orders have not as yet been given. Until the arrangement to which I refer has been completed, a small British force will remain at Suakin; and the Admiralty have also made arrangements that for a time—perhaps for some considerable time—a force of Marines shall be detained at Suakin, partly on shore and partly in what I may describe as barracks afloat. They will be detained there for the purpose of giving support, if necessary, to the troops who will constitute the main force in garrison at Suakin. Finally, the right hon. Gentleman has asked further for a statement from the Government in regard to the relations which they hold—political, financial, and military—with Egypt. In the presence of my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, I need hardly say that it is not my intention to undertake a reply to that part of the Question. If the right hon. Gentleman will be good enough to specify in somewhat more of detail, and in a more precise form than

he has done, the nature of the information which he wishes to obtain, I have no doubt that my right hon. Friend will, as far as he can, reply to the Question. I will say, however, that in my view it is neither possible nor desirable to make any further statement of a general character such as is asked by the right hon. Gentleman. No such statement ought, in my view, to be made until, in the first place, the Government and the House have more definite knowledge of the course of events in the Soudan, and the result which those events will have upon the government and the administration of Egypt. Furthermore, I think that such a statement ought not to be made until additional progress has been made in the examination which is now being conducted by the Government as to the financial position of Egypt, and of the changes which may become necessary in view of that position. It has been already my duty, in the course of this statement, to repeat the disclaimer which has been made by the Government on former occasions of responsibility for establishing a Government in the Soudan. We have never made any such disclaimer with regard to Egypt, and we make no such disclaimer now. We have acknowledged our responsibility in this respect both to Europe and to the people of Egypt itself; but it would not, in our view, render the fulfilment of those pledges more easy—on the contrary, it would render that fulfilment more difficult—if we were to make declarations of policy from day to day whenever we were asked to do so. The affairs of Egypt are constantly changing and are constantly liable to change, and contingencies are almost always arising, the full effects and bearing of which it is impossible, in our opinion, at the present moment to foresee.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the First Lord of the Treasury, with reference to the following statement, made in a Letter signed by his secretary, and addressed on his behalf to the Workmen's Peace Association, in reply to a Resolution condemning "the wholesale slaughter of thousands of brave men in the Soudan," "the covenants under which this Country has been acting in Egypt were not made by the present Government," Whether he will state what are the covenants under which Her Majesty's Government have sanc-

tioned the Military expedition to the Eastern Soudan; and, whether Her Majesty's Government are precluded by such covenants from relieving General Gordon at Khartoum?

MR. GLADSTONE: The covenant to which the Question of the hon. Member refers was one made by the late Government earnestly to support the Government of the Khedive. There are no other covenants. If the hon. Member does not think that covers our operations in the Soudan, the hon. Member is at liberty to retain his own opinion.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked in what diplomatic document that covenant was contained?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have stated over and over again in the hearing of Members of Her Majesty's late Government what I have now said in answer to the hon. Member, and I can go no further.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether the covenant to which the right hon. Gentleman alluded was not undertaken by Her Majesty's Government in conjunction with the French Government, and how far Her Majesty's Government thought it necessary to adhere to that covenant after the French Government had withdrawn from it?

MR. GLADSTONE: I apprehend, Sir, that the title of the French Government, of the French Chambers, and of the French people to interpret for themselves their own obligations is absolute and indefeasible, and it would be an impertinence and a piece of presumption on our part if we gave an opinion as to the course which they have taken. Whatever they may have done has not absolved us from our duty to interpret our engagements according to the best of our lights, which is what we have endeavoured to do.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS asked the right hon. Gentleman how he connected this matter of the covenant with that part of his Question which referred to the "wholesale slaughter of thousands of brave men in the Soudan," and whether he would state to the House what the covenant really was?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have already stated in distinct and express terms what the covenant was. The hon. Gentleman must see, and the whole House must see, that the Question which is now put is a matter of argument, and



if he is of opinion that the covenant does not cover our proceedings in the Soudan, it is open to him to call the attention of the House to the matter.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: What covenant?

MR. GLADSTONE: The covenant earnestly to support the Government of the Khedive. If, as I have said, the hon. Member does not think that covenant covers our proceedings in the Soudan, he is perfectly at liberty to call the attention of the House to it.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I wish, Sir, to ask the Prime Minister whether Her Majesty's Government have not themselves carried out the covenant to support the Government of the Khedive; and, if so, how it is that they throw the responsibility for the massacres in the Soudan upon some other Government? [*Cries of "Notice!"*]

[No reply.]

EGYPT (MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE SOUDAN)—VOTE OF THANKS TO GENERAL GRAHAM AND ADMIRAL HEWETT.

MR. ONSLOW asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he proposes to ask the House to agree to a Vote of Thanks to General Graham and Admiral Hewett for the recent operations in the Soudan; and, whether, according to the recent precedent of Lord Wolseley and Lord Alcester, he intends to advise the Crown to grant peerages on these two distinguished Officers, or to propose a grant to either of them in the shape of pension or "lump" sum?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is no part of my duty, and I have no authority, to limit the discretion of the hon. Member or of any other hon. Member in the House as to the Questions which they shall put to Ministers. But I really must appeal to the House whether in regard to Questions which are peculiarly matters of grace and favour on the part of the Crown the initiative is to be taken by Members of this House by putting Questions to the Executive Government. I do not suppose that it is the intention of the hon. Gentleman, but, in effect, his Question is a direct attempt to transfer the functions of grace and favour from the Crown to Members of this House. Upon all occasions of great military operations there are matters which the Executive Government has to consider when the proper time comes. I

do not speak now of the particular services to which the hon. Member has referred in his Question, but I may say with regard to them that when the proper time comes Her Majesty's Government will take the course which seems to them fitting in the circumstances without waiting for Questions to be put to them in this House. We are deeply sensible of the obligations of this House and of the country to General Graham and Admiral Hewett, and also to their gallant companions in arms.

MR. ONSLOW wished, in justification of his Question, to remind the Prime Minister that a similar Question was put with regard to the services which General Roberts and General Stewart rendered to their country in the Afghan War. He should repeat the Question on Monday next.

EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—SUPPLIES TO GENERAL GORDON.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, What supplies of money have been furnished to General Gordon; whether further measures are being adopted to meet his requirements; and, what sums he has demanded?

MR. GLADSTONE: With regard to supplies of money, that is a matter between the Egyptian Government and General Gordon himself, and I have no information on the subject.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether General Gordon has requested that Troops may be sent to his assistance; and, whether such request, if made, has been complied with or refused?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think this Question has been fully answered by my noble Friend near me. He has referred to what took place in respect of Berber, and subject to that explanation General Gordon has made no request for troops to be sent to his assistance.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the right hon. Gentleman to give a more specific reply to the Question whether the Government had asked General Gordon if he needed British troops?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that General Gordon had been asked as to his views generally with regard to the business in which he was engaged, but he did not think it necessary to answer more fully than he had already done any further Questions on the subject.



PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE  
HOUSE — SALE OF INTOXICATING  
LIQUORS ON SUNDAYS BILL.

MR. CARBUTT asked, considering the great interest felt in the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays Bill, which was talked out yesterday, when the Government would give facilities for a Saturday Sitting for the consideration of the Bill?

MR. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, that after the answer which he had been reluctantly obliged to give to the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) in regard to his Motion on the subject of local taxation, he was afraid that, to say the least of it, a considerable amount of jealousy would be created if he, on behalf of the Government, gave any sort of a promise that a Saturday Sitting would be devoted to making further progress with the Sunday Closing Bill.

DEATH OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE  
DUKE OF ALBANY.

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

THE COMPTROLLER OF THE  
HOUSEHOLD (Lord KENSINGTON) re-  
ported Her Majesty's Answer to the  
Address [31st March], as followeth:—

*I have received your Loyal and Dutiful Ad-  
dress.*

*I thank you sincerely for the expression of your  
deep concern and condolence with Me in the loss of  
My beloved Son, and for the assurance of your  
abiding interest in everything that affects the  
happiness of Myself and My Family.*

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE  
BILL—DEBATE ON SECOND  
READING.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: I ask the permission of the House to say one word with reference to a statement made by me on Monday last; and, as the matter is of some importance to me personally, I am sure the House will kindly allow me to do so. I have been asked to represent a constituency of many thousands of working men, and, therefore, the matter is one of personal importance to myself. My right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board stated yesterday that I said in the House with regard to this Reform Bill that it dealt with 2,000,000 of the most ignorant and, therefore, inexpe-

rienced people in this country, and he infers that I included the pick of the London artisans in that ignorant class. Now, it will be in the recollection of the House that I said that I had not only voted for the Bill of 1867—that not only was I ready to support any measure of legislation—but that I also said that I was prepared to give the electoral power to all those who by their industry, by their intelligence, and their character had a stake in the country. I am sure my right hon. Friend, who made some ungenerous remarks about me, cannot have meant to convey that I included the pick of the London artisans in the class to which I referred.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: As the right hon. Baronet has used the word “ungenerous” in reference to my remarks upon his speech, perhaps the House will permit me to explain that I had quoted the words of that speech from the best report of it I could find. The right hon. Baronet had certainly said that the Prime Minister proposed to enfranchise 2,000,000 of the most ignorant people in the country; and as the Prime Minister had stated that the 2,000,000 which the Bill proposed to enfranchise would include the pick of the artisans of London, I had drawn the natural inference from the right hon. baronet's words that he included the pick of the artisans of London in the 2,000,000 of the most ignorant people in the country whom it was proposed to enfranchise.

EGYPT—POLICY OF HER MAJESTY'S  
GOVERNMENT.

NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—AD-  
JOURNMENT OF THE HOUSE (RULE 2).

SIR STAFFORD NORTH COTE, Member for North Devon, rose in his place, and asked leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the purpose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance, viz., the present policy of Her Majesty's Government in relation to the affairs of Egypt and the Soudan, and the position of General Gordon at Khartoum.

The pleasure of the House not having been signified—

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman asks for leave to move the Adjournment of the House for the pur-

pose of discussing a definite matter of urgent public importance—namely, the present policy of Her Majesty's Government in relation to the affairs of Egypt and the Soudan, and the position of General Gordon at Khartoum. Is it your pleasure that leave be given to the right hon. Gentleman to make the Motion? ["No, no!"] Is the right hon. Gentleman supported by 40 Members?

And not less than 40 Members having risen in their places—

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I shall make no apology for raising this question; and if I had had any doubt as to the propriety of my doing so, I must confess that that doubt would have been removed by the statements that we have just heard from the Prime Minister and from the Secretary of State for War. I need not say that the subject is one which receives and deserves the attention and that it commands the interest of this House and of the country. I do not question the right of the Government to exercise reticence upon any points in reference to which they think that it ought to be observed; but I beg to say that the statements which we have just heard from the Government are not only unsatisfactory with regard to what they do not feel themselves at liberty to do, but what I fear very much from them is that the present policy of Her Majesty's Government is tainted with exactly the same faults which has tainted their policy throughout, and which has been the cause of great trouble to us as a nation. It appears to me, from those statements, that there is the same desire to avoid responsibility, and to cast that responsibility upon others, and the same disposition to close their eyes to important matters which are passing and which must affect our position and our future relations in Egypt, which we have noticed in their previous policy with regard to that country. The Questions which have been put with regard to the general relations that exist between Her Majesty's Government and the Egyptian Government, and with regard to the political, military, and financial affairs of that country, are undoubtedly Questions of great interest and importance; but the question that most immediately presses itself upon our attention is that which relates to the

position of General Gordon at Khartoum, and that is a question which connects itself very closely with other questions; but, at the same time, it is the one upon which the attention of the country is and ought to be fixed. The noble Lord has taunted us, or rather has made some observations upon the cry which he says he has heard in some quarters in this country, as to the abandonment of General Gordon. I do not make the statement as to the abandonment of General Gordon from anything I have heard in this country; but I make it from what is reported to have been said in Khartoum itself, and reported upon authority which it is very difficult indeed to dispute. The statement rests upon the authority of Mr. Power, our Consular Agent at Khartoum, one of the three Englishmen who alone are in that city, and who tells us that he is in constant communication with General Gordon; and if I may venture to refer to private matters, I may say that I learn that General Gordon has assured his friends in this country that anything that Mr. Power states concerning him may be taken as authentic. Mr. Power says—

"We are daily expecting British troops, and we cannot bring ourselves to believe that we are to be abandoned by England."

Whether that statement comes from General Gordon or from one of his few compatriots there, it is equally important. That which presented itself to the mind of Mr. Power is no doubt that which presents itself to the minds of every other Englishman at Khartoum. This distinguished man, General Gordon, has gone with the authority of Her Majesty's Government, and has placed himself in a position of great danger. Hon. Members are aware, from what has been stated in this House, that the expedition was undertaken by General Gordon, not on his own account, but at the request, and by the authority, of Her Majesty's Government. They are also perfectly aware that Her Majesty's Government, when their action in Egypt has been questioned, have, from time to time, sheltered themselves behind the authority of General Gordon; and we have been taught to rely upon him as the agent who was to get us out of all the terrible difficulties in which we were placed. We were told, with considerable confidence and with some little air of

mystery, that General Gordon had plans which could not properly be disclosed, which always appeared to me to be rather vague and extravagant, but which the Government thought were plans that ought to have a trial, and plans that, in their opinion, promised success. As far as we are able to see, however, the attempts which General Gordon has made have not met with success. His attempts to conciliate the tribes in his neighbourhood, and to come to an arrangement with the Mahdi, seem to have led to results different from those which we had a right to expect. In the meantime, we see General Gordon with the honour of England engaged in his safety. ["No, no!"] Some hon. Gentlemen opposite, when I say that the honour of England is engaged in the safety of General Gordon, answer "No!" I cannot attempt to argue with Gentlemen who take that view; but I want to know whether that is the view of Her Majesty's Government? We have had ambiguous language used by the Prime Minister. We have had language used by the noble Lord which I think was not altogether clear nor altogether consistent with the language of the Prime Minister with regard to General Gordon's position. According to the Prime Minister, General Gordon is free to leave Khartoum to-morrow if he pleases, as I am free to leave London to-morrow; but, according to the noble Lord, he has been asked by Her Majesty's Government to remain there until he has accomplished some scheme. When I speak of General Gordon as being bound to Khartoum, I do not say that he is bound to it in such a manner that he would be subjected to any punishment if he left it; but, knowing what General Gordon is, and knowing also the nature of his relations with the Government, we cannot say that he is there entirely of his own free will, and that his being there has nothing to do with that which is expected and asked of him by Her Majesty's Government. Therefore, I maintain that he is there as our Agent; that he is the Representative of England; and that he occupies a position in regard to which the honour of England is pledged. I do not say that General Gordon—Heaven forbid!—is in actual danger there. I trust that he is not; but if language is used which seems to indicate that England is careless of his safety, you do put him in a

position of considerable danger. What I want to know, however, is what is exactly the position of General Gordon? Whose officer is he? We are told by the Prime Minister that, to a certain extent, General Gordon is an officer of Her Majesty's Government, and that, to a certain extent, he is an officer of the Egyptian Government. In so far as he is an officer of Her Majesty's Government, he appears to have gone out simply for the purpose of drawing up a Report; but in so far as he is an officer of the Egyptian Government, he has much larger functions, and very important functions. He has the command of the administration of a very large province and a very important town. These are two positions which, I think, are not very easily reconcilable with each other. There is the old saying, that "No man can serve two masters;" and we want to know which master it is whom General Gordon is bound to serve? We know perfectly well that whichever it is nominally it must really be the English Government. We know perfectly well that by the action which the British Government have taken in regard to the affairs of the Soudan, they have overruled the Government of Egypt in most important matters, and we know that they are supreme, and, in the last resort, responsible. Therefore, it is a most dangerous thing, considering how deeply the honour of England is concerned, to leave matters on such a footing that by some action of the Egyptian Government which you do not choose to control you make it possible that events may take place which, if you had interfered earlier, you might have prevented. It is the old story of Hicks Pasha and declining responsibility. In that case you chose to say that you would not be responsible in the matter: you left things to take their course; they took a very wrong and a very unfortunate course; and then, at the last moment, you proceeded to action far beyond what you need have taken in the first instance—action which has been of a strong, a violent, and an overruling character. You will come to the same thing now, and will bring upon yourselves the very responsibility which you are endeavouring to avoid and to escape. I do not desire to go into details as to the course you are pursuing. It may, or it may not be, the right thing to send troops to Wady



Halfa, or to Berber, or to open up the road between Berber and Suakin. All these are matters of great importance, in regard to which, under ordinary circumstances, one would say—"Trust the Government, and let them carry on their operations." But I wish to know what is the line on which they are proceeding, and what is the general scope of their policy with regard to Egypt? The noble Lord seems to think that by putting the Questions which I addressed to him I was asking the Government to undertake the settlement of the Government of the Eastern Soudan, or the relations of the Western Soudan with Khartoum. I do not ask him to do these things; but I ask him what is the policy of the Government in regard to these matters? Is it their policy to let things drift entirely, or are they going to stir? If they are not going to interfere at all, what are they doing at Suakin or anywhere else? Either they are responsible, or they are not responsible, for laying down some line of policy which is to be pursued by the Egyptian Government under their authority with regard to these important matters. You cannot, in dealing with the affairs of Egypt, cut off the consideration of the state of the Soudan. You have tried to do that already, but you found it was impossible. You may try to do it again; but if you leave the Egyptian Government to deal with all these matters entirely by themselves, who is to say that you will not have fresh invasions and risings, and will not be obliged to take very strong measures? I venture to say that if that should take place you would have your responsibility very quickly indeed called forth, not only in connection with the honour of England, but with regard to the financial relations in which you stand towards Egypt. In regard to those relations I wished to have had some explanation. The only explanation we have had is that an important financial examination is going on. If so, we might have been told a little more about the circumstances which led to the examination, by whom it was conducted, and to what particular objects the examination is directed. From all we know at present the financial position of Egypt is extremely unsatisfactory, and it is possible that an examination, and even something more than an examination, into the financial affairs of Egypt has

become necessary. We ought to have information on that subject as early as possible; but we believe that, with reference both to its foreign and its domestic affairs, the financial condition of Egypt depends largely on the administration of Egypt, and we want to know whether this sort of double Government is to be carried on; and, if so, on what terms it is to be carried on, and whether you can insure that it can be so carried on as to avert the danger we must apprehend of a double Government leading to large expenditure and great responsibility? That is the case in all that may be called Egypt in reference to the defence of the frontier, and all that may happen in regard to administration in Egypt Proper. We feel that we are left in an unsatisfactory position in regard to the information which the Government has given to us on this matter. What I wish particularly to obtain from the Government is some clearer explanation than we have yet received of the relations which this country now recognizes as existing between herself and the Government of Egypt. The right hon. Gentleman made reference to the policy of the Predecessors of the present Government, the inheritance and legacy which was left to them, and the rest of it. I have more than once answered the right hon. Gentleman on that point, and I should be ready to do so again if I did not think it would be a waste of time. I do not now ask what brought us here, but what are you going to do in the position in which we stand? Are we to go on doing nothing at all, or are we to go on keeping up a sort of double Government? I do not wish to detain the House any further. I have pointed out what appears to me to be the particularly unsatisfactory condition of our relations with Egypt, the uncertainty of General Gordon's position, the uncertainty of how far we are responsible for his actions; and we ask for some further information as to the gallant General's plans. The Government must have such information. They must be aware whether General Gordon is or is not of opinion that the plans he has been pursuing are such as he can hope to carry into effect with success. He must have informed them how far those plans have hitherto succeeded; and I think we have a right to ask for more information on that subject from the Government.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—  
(*Sir Stafford Northcote.*)

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the right hon. Gentleman in his statement to the House has not raised many points on which it is my duty to make a reply. I am afraid that the substance of what I say will be a complaint of the course which has been taken by the right hon. Gentleman, and a pretty strong complaint too; and I propose to make clear the grounds upon which I found it. Now, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman says that he thinks that General Gordon must necessarily have informed us what are his views and plans, and the right hon. Gentleman makes that a main pillar of his statement, just after he has been informed by my noble Friend in his clear and masterly statement, from which I do not intend to deviate by the breadth of a hair, and to which, in substance, I have nothing to add—after he has been informed by my noble Friend that the Government have found it their duty to decline to accede to an important recommendation proposed by General Gordon for giving effect to his plans, and that we had not yet received the acknowledgment by General Gordon that he was aware of that decision of the Government and the effect that it had produced on his mind—it is in these circumstances, when there has not been what I may call a return of post from General Gordon acquainting the Government with his views about Zebehr Pasha, the right hon. Gentleman comes down to the House and says—"You must be perfectly aware of all the plans of General Gordon." The right hon. Gentleman says—"This is the old story of Hicks Pasha and declining responsibility." I thought the right hon. Gentleman had had enough of Hicks Pasha after the five nights we had on that subject. But this case, Sir, is exactly the reverse of Hicks Pasha and declining responsibility. The right hon. Gentleman is only able to draw upon his imagination by saying that our doctrine as to Egyptian government is that in the Soudan we have no responsibility. Sir, we have said no such thing. We have said, with regard to the proceedings of General Gordon, that, although in his executive capacity he is the officer of the Egyptian Government, yet we have not only a

great interest with regard to his proceedings, but a great responsibility also. Then the right hon. Gentleman gets up, coolly overlooking and setting aside the clearest and plainest words we could use, and, forsooth, he complains of the ambiguity of our statements and of the lamentable want of information. Sir, I go further. This is the 17th night on which the House has been introduced to an Egyptian debate. I want to know whether that is a course which is beneficial to the country? As the Head of Her Majesty's Government, I enter my protest against that course. I say there is no precedent for it. There is not in all the annals of Parliament anything in the slightest degree resembling the conduct that has been pursued by the Opposition, and by the Leader of the Opposition, with respect to these Egyptian transactions. Now, Sir, I say plainly this—with regard to the bulk of the House on this side, or the bulk of the House on that side, I think they are perfectly entitled to exercise the most jealous scrutiny over all we do. I have never claimed indulgence at their hands. They know well the difficulties—though only part of the difficulties—under which we have to labour in this Egyptian Question. I admit that we have never claimed indulgence at their hands; but there is one set of men from whom we had a right to expect indulgence and co-operation, and that is the Members of the late Government. But these are the men who have not only exercised their faculty of criticism—as though they, forsooth, had nothing to do with this matter—but have set an example of which they may hereafter have to pay the price. They will have made a precedent of pushing a question of this kind in a manner and to a degree to which I declare, Sir, so far as my knowledge goes, there is nothing approaching a resemblance in the whole history of the House of Commons. You have had your discussion for 17 nights out of the two months which the House has, as yet, been able to give to the affairs of the Empire. Has it been for a beneficial purpose? Has the Government attempted to meet the reasonable wishes entertained by the nation? [*Cheers and "No!"*] Well, Sir, I believe the opinion of the majority of the House is the direct reverse of that negative, which proceeds from a few. Ire-



gard the speech of my noble Friend to-night as having indicated the most anxious desire to convey, as far as public duty would permit, to the minds of the House the clearest ideas of the position. He has told all we know ourselves with respect to the Soudan and with respect to Egypt. He has told you that it is impossible to enter upon any new statement of policy. The policy and position of the Government in Egypt are perfectly understood. ["Oh, oh!"] They have been explained—but I am not saying that they are perfectly understood by every Gentleman in this House. There are some Gentlemen in this House who never will understand it. I say this—they have been explained over and over again in the most solemn documents known to us—namely, the Speeches from the Throne; and the relations established in virtue of our military occupation, which were undoubtedly, I will not say modified, but, at any rate, interpreted in a more clear and developed sense, by the proceedings which took place about four months ago when the Egyptian Administration was changed, that position of the Government and that high responsibility which my noble Friend himself was the first to state to-night, had been laid before the House in language as clear as we could use. If we have any change to announce in that policy, we shall not wait for the Question of the right hon. Gentleman and for the repetition of the Motion for Adjournment, which, I confess, appears to be a clear and sheer abuse of the Privileges of Parliament. We shall ourselves make known to the House any change that our convictions of public duty may induce us to think it right that we should adopt. But, Sir, my noble Friend went further. He said we were busy with the questions of Egyptian finance. He said that an examination had been proceeding into the subject of Egyptian finance; and, so far as we are concerned, we hardly overstate the case if we say that that examination is virtually complete. But the right hon. Gentleman says—"We want to know what it is? You completed your examination yesterday, and to-day you should come down here and tell us all the particulars."

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I only asked to what point the examination was directed.

*Mr. Gladstone*

MR. GLADSTONE: To the balance of account between Receipt and Expenditure, which the right hon. Gentleman did not think very much of when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer of this country. ["Oh!"] I am quite ready to give my reason for what I say. Be so good as to look to "Fifteen Years' Statistical Abstract," and to the little minus mark against the years of deficiency in this country, and Gentlemen will find that what I say is no vague political rhetoric, but is a sorrowful reference to unquestionable facts. But the right hon. Gentleman knows better than we do, in this particular case, that Egyptian finance is not a matter to be settled between this country and Egypt alone. And then the right hon. Gentleman says—"Having made your examination, why do not you come down here and tell us all about it?" [Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: No.] Well, I may have misunderstood the right hon. Gentleman; but he said he wanted to know to what point the examination was directed. Well, I will only say that if there is reason and equity on all sides, there need be no fear as to the future of Egyptian finance; but the matter is one of great difficulty. Egyptian finance was in great difficulty eight or ten years ago, when the late Government afforded relief by the purchase of the Suez Canal Shares; it was in a state of difficulty two years ago before the Dual Control had come to an end; and it is in difficulty now, which renders it necessary for us to endeavour to consider what measures should be taken with a view to its thorough rectification. The right hon. Gentleman knows that there have been special causes which have operated unfavourably on Egyptian finance—the destruction of property in Alexandria and the enormous awards with respect to that destruction. But another main cause, I am sorry to say, has been the now sufficiently revealed costliness of that singular and extraordinary attempt which will hereafter be regarded as a political paradox—the attempt of Egypt to exercise political supremacy over the Soudan. I see no reason why, with fair intentions on all sides, this problem should not be solved. It is a problem in which other countries are concerned as well as ourselves. There are the rights of the Sultan and the rights of the Powers. You can hardly stir a step



with regard to Egyptian finance without finding that you are absolutely blocked by the engagements which have been made in former times for the purpose, as was then supposed, of securing Egyptian credit. It is in these circumstances that we say it is absolutely impossible for us, with this question of finance in hand, with the immediate duty incumbent on us of considering what measures may be required, and the relation which Egyptian finance has to other Powers as well as ourselves—it is impossible for us, I say, to satisfy the demand of the right hon. Gentleman, that we should enter into a discussion of our policy in Egypt, which is quite inseparable from the question of Egyptian finance. I am quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman is the last man who would knowingly use a power of the kind he has used to-night for purposes of public mischief; but I say distinctly that, whatever his intentions may be, he does exercise it for public mischief. In these two months, this is the 17th discussion we have had on Egypt. Is it to be supposed that these incessant discussions and the excitement by which, on most occasions, they are characterized, do not greatly hamper the progress of the Government, surrounded as they are by difficulties, by rival interests, aye, and some of the most important interests working underground in regard to this question of Egyptian policy? I say they do distinctly; and I will give from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman an example of the mischief arising out of these debates. What has he said to-night? He, the Leader of the Opposition, has announced to the world the failure of the plan of General Gordon; is that beneficial? Is that the way in which those who claim to themselves a monopoly of the terms “loyal,” “Constitutional,” and “patriotic” justify their claims? Is that the way in which they sustain the honour and interests of England in Egypt, or in which they offer to show their estimate of the debt we owe to the gallant General Gordon? When General Gordon himself says he has failed, or when that fact is beyond doubt, we may not be able, and it may not be our duty, to disguise it; but the right hon. Gentleman, in his zeal to make out a case to justify the Motion for Adjournment, anticipates the fact, and feeling how slender are the materials at

his command, he is obliged to feign a failure in order to bolster up the case he laid before the House. I will take my stand upon that single assertion; and I affirm that these discussions are mischievous as well as unprecedented. That they are unprecedented I believe to be beyond the possibility of denial; that they are mischievous I affirm; and in proof of what I say I refer to the announcement of the right hon. Gentleman to-night in regard to the failure of General Gordon. Sir, I deny it. It may come. In the face of difficulties almost hopeless and insurmountable, that gallant man offered to place himself in the breach, went to the post of danger, and he faced the difficulties before him; and I say that General Gordon's mission, even at this moment, has not been barren. After the defeat of Hicks Pasha, what were the apprehensions that were prevalent? They were, that the Mahdi, flushed with victory, and the tribes enchanted, and practically bewitched by his success, would become the invaders of Egypt, and would disturb the country along the whole course of the Nile. These expectations and apprehensions have not been realized; on the contrary, the charm of the Mahdi's success has been broken, and the counter attraction of General Gordon's great name did much to prevent anything like a dangerous combination. I should not, perhaps, say too much, though I venture to give it as an opinion at this moment that there is infinitely less to fear from the Mahdi and his friends than we had reason, and not without grounds, to apprehend during the months that followed the defeat of Hicks Pasha. I say this great advantage is already realized; but until we know something of General Gordon's plans, and what substitute he may have found for his proposal about Zebehr, or what measures he intends to pursue, I shall entirely decline to share the irresponsible declarations of the right hon. Gentleman. I almost venture to appeal to some of the Gentlemen who sit behind him when I say that this premature assertion by the Leader of the Opposition that the plans of General Gordon have failed is mischievous to the best interests of Egypt. I have said that one of the greatest difficulties in this case is the number of cross and conflicting interests you have to deal with. I think it

was the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) who said that, after all, our actions simply meant promoting the interests of the bondholders. Ah, Sir, if our action were intended simply to have that result, we should stand better with a considerable portion of the Press of Europe than we do. You read extracts from some foreign newspapers that are astonished at our deadness, and that speak of the demand that public duty makes upon us. Sir, when I read these extracts I hail them as testimonies that we have not been taken in, and that we are not willing to be made the instruments of those who, for the sake of the millions sterling that have been invested in Egypt, are endeavouring, by every means they can employ, to bring the people of England blindfold into the assumption of immense responsibilities, which no man can measure, and with regard to which I will say this—we will not undertake to say whether the people of England are to assume them or not—this great nation will determine that question for itself; but this we will say—they shall not assume them without knowing what they are about—they shall not assume them blindfold. You may quote your foreign Press, with every wire that governs the action of that portion of it to which I refer, pulled by those who are connected with this great pecuniary interest; it is not wonderful that they should act in this sense, because what could be more comfortable or satisfactory to them than that, having already profited largely by the intervention of England, they should secure by it £15,000,000 or £20,000,000 more? What could be more satisfactory to them, there being no other consequence to be apprehended except the imposition of a terrific burden upon the people of England and the undertaking of responsibilities of which I am certainly inclined to take a very serious measure? I have very little more to say. I have contended that this course is wholly unprecedented, and that it is extremely mischievous to the public interests. I believe the 17 nights of debate—with whatever nights may be added to them—will be looked upon by the future student of Parliamentary history as a perfect curiosity in politics. Why in the world is this pressure exercised? Why, two or three times a week,

have we these debates? One might suppose that Egypt lay in Yorkshire, and that the Soudan was in Caithness or Sutherlandshire. We are sometimes told that, having regard to Egyptian affairs, the Franchise Bill ought not to go forward. Why, Sir, when the great Reform Bill of 1831-2 was carried through Parliament there were other and much more serious questions nearer home, according to the political traditions of this country. There were questions raised by the Revolution of 1830, particularly by the Belgian Revolution and its relations to the new Monarchy in France—there were these questions, ten times more formidable for the people of England than the questions now raised in Egypt and the Soudan—embarrassing, I grant, to the last degree; but dangerous, critical, burning questions. ["No!"] I make a concession to the hon. Member for Carlisle. Were there a necessity or likelihood of further bloodshed under the flag of Her Majesty, that might be said to constitute a pressing and burning question in itself. Happily, we believe, so far as we know or can judge, risks of that kind have passed away. There is no violent crisis pending, then, in this country. When much more serious questions were open, and we were passing the Reform Act of 1831-2, the Opposition of that day—a powerful, active, and able Opposition—they never had—what shall I call it?—the boldness or daring—I might use a stronger word—to contend that these foreign questions ought to be used for the purpose of consuming the time of Parliament to the extent of 17 days out of two months of the Session. They never had the boldness to assume it; they never had that other quality, very different from boldness, which might have led them, without asserting and stating it, yet to make use of these foreign questions for that very purpose in order to weaken, by every means in their power, the resources of this great popular Legislative Assembly for the purpose of carrying on the great work of beneficial legislation. I cannot read the hearts of hon. Gentlemen opposite—no one can—but I can construe their acts. One word more. The right hon. Gentleman referred to the Report of Mr. Power, our Consular Agent. I have not a word to say against Mr. Power; I believe we are indebted to him for the



services he has rendered; but what is Mr. Power in relation to us? He is resident in Khartoum; he is an independent merchant; he is the Correspondent of *The Times*. It became necessary to have someone, not to act as our representative, but to discharge certain duties at this particular time, and Mr. Power was appointed as temporary Consular Agent. A Consular Agent is not an officer responsible to this Government, even if permanently appointed; he only performs certain particular services, and his responsibility is within the limits of those services; as to anything else, he is perfectly free, and in the expression of his opinions he is as unchecked and unrestrained as are the hon. Gentlemen who sit opposite—and I cannot say more. And yet the right hon. Gentleman takes an opinion of Mr. Power transmitted to *The Times* as virtually equivalent to an official declaration probably conveying the mature conviction of General Gordon. Really, Sir, it is a farce to treat it in such a spirit. That is the kind of interpretation which, in the legitimate exercise of function as a Member of Parliament, I apply to the acts of these who are before me. I have pointed out that this mode of proceeding is totally without precedent, and that the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman himself is mischievous to the public interests, and calculated distinctly and undeniably to weaken the hands of the British Government, and likewise of every man acting for it in Egypt; and I cannot withhold the expression of this opinion—that the proceedings thus taken, and the debates thus constantly renewed, are out of all proportion to the pressure and urgency of the question, and have the effect of offering immense obstruction to important Public Business. These things, I say, are done, and they are done for some purpose which it is not necessary for me to define, and which has not, up to this time, been avowed.

MR. CHAPLIN said, the Prime Minister had appealed to hon. Members who sat behind the Leader of the Opposition to accept his assertion that in the action the right hon. Gentleman thought it right to take he had adopted a course mischievous to the interests of the country. He accepted the challenge of the Prime Minister, and utterly denied the

truth of the statement. The right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition had made no disclosure with regard to the position of General Gordon which was not already patent to the whole world and to every human being in this country, except the Members of the Government, who, like ostriches, buried their heads in the sand and imagined that nobody could see them, or the result of any of their actions. The whole tenour of the speech of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War showed there was great doubt even in the minds of the Government as to General Gordon's position, although the noble Lord could not say "what measures it may be necessary for the Government ultimately to take for the safety of General Gordon." The noble Lord's declaration was an ample justification of the policy of the Leader of the Opposition, and fully warranted him in saying that General Gordon had probably failed altogether. The Prime Minister complained that they had been engaged 17 nights discussing the Egyptian Question. He sincerely trusted that they should continue to discuss it twice 17 nights if it were necessary, until they had succeeded in wringing from the Government, who never ceased when they were out of Office to complain of the policy of concealment pursued by their Predecessors, some definite statement of their policy and their views as to affairs in the Soudan. The Prime Minister said the policy of the Government was completely understood. By whom? Was it understood by the Government of Egypt, by the nations of Europe, by Parliament, or by the people of this country? He denied it altogether. He doubted very much whether it was understood even by Her Majesty's Government themselves, or if they had made up their minds with regard to what it was their duty to do. If, as the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had distinctly said, the Government had no responsibility for affairs in the Soudan, in God's name why did they send General Gordon to Khartoum? They had placed that great General in a position which the whole country believed to be of the greatest danger to himself personally, and yet they had the assurance to come down to the House of Commons and say that, although they had taken this extreme



course, they had no responsibility whatever with regard to affairs in the Soudan. Their policy was incomprehensible to the whole world, and yet they had the assurance to charge the Leaders of the Opposition with a gross breach of the privileges and advantages of their position. He denied the charges altogether, and contended that never in the whole history of Parliament had any Minister more grossly abused the power given to him by his majority—he hoped only for a short time longer—to conceal both from Parliament and from the country that which it was his duty at the present distinctly to unfold with regard to affairs in that part of the world than the Prime Minister. It was only too evident that the Government had not the slightest intention to help General Gordon in the great difficulties in which he was placed; but they might rest assured that, sooner or later, they would be called to account by the people of this country. The Prime Minister informed the House that General Gordon had no orders to remain in Khartoum, and that the time had not yet come when it could be decided whether he had accomplished his mission or not. That statement indicated that the Prime Minister had great doubts upon the point which he had censured his right hon. Friend for putting in plain language. If General Gordon returned before he had accomplished his object, what was to happen? What became of the great object the Government had in sending General Gordon to Khartoum? The noble Marquess said the object of sending General Gordon was to effect, if possible, the withdrawal of the garrison and insure the safety of the people there. Were the Government going to stand aside and see General Gordon and his followers massacred, as they stood aside and allowed those unfortunate wretches to be massacred at Sinkat? Were the Government making preparations to assist him in the event of the receipt of news of a serious description, which was not at all unlikely? It was quite clear that they believed that, under some circumstances, he might shortly retire from Khartoum without having in any way accomplished his mission. If he did so retire, and the Government took no other action, they would stand before the world as a Government who had deliberately sacri-

ficed the lives of 30,000 miserable human beings for no purpose whatever. He hoped the Leaders of the Opposition would persevere in their course even at the risk of having all the charges and innuendoes they had heard from the Prime Minister made against them, until they had succeeded in extracting from the Government a definite statement of their policy.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT contended that the Prime Minister had made no practical reply to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. The charge that the whole Press of Europe was influenced in criticizing the policy of the Government by mean and financial considerations was preposterous, and as incapable of being substantiated as his charges of Obstruction against the Opposition. What was the position of this country with regard to General Gordon? At the very moment when most pathetic appeals were coming from Khartoum, they heard that the only available force which might be sent to relieve General Gordon was being shipped in hot haste home from Sinkat. Yet the Conservative Party was charged with Obstruction because its responsible Leaders, in fair and moderate language, demanded to know of the Government what they were going to do for the relief of the brave officer whom they had sent on a most grave and difficult mission. Her Majesty's Government protested that they were ignorant of General Gordon's position. He submitted that they had sufficient information in their possession, upon which to act. On March 7 General Gordon used these remarkable expressions to the Correspondent of *The Times*, who was our Acting Consul at Khartoum. They appeared in *The Times* of March 10—

"There is a certainty that the emissaries of the Mahdi will succeed in raising the tribes between this (Khartoum) and Berber. This is not owing to disaffection, but to fear caused by the pronounced policy of the abandonment of the Soudan. Be sure of one thing. If Her Majesty's Government do not act promptly, General Graham's victory will go for nought, and with the useless expenditure of blood the effect will evaporate. It is no longer a question of days, but of hours."

And a fortnight later, on March 23, Mr. Power telegraphed these pathetic and heartrending appeals from Khartoum—

"We are daily expecting British troops. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that we are to be abandoned by the Government. Our existence depends upon England."

General Gordon asked that British troops should be sent to Berber, and a force to Wadi Halfa; yet absolutely nothing was done. General Gordon had said that it was no longer a question of days, but of hours; and in the face of such a message, received three weeks ago, the Government stated they had no information. They knew that General Gordon's Forces had sustained a severe reverse, and yet they refrained from doing anything. They not only refused to do anything, but they had the shabbiness to abstain from doing what any self-respecting body of men in the same position would do—namely, to ask General Gordon whether he was in need of assistance. It might be true that General Gordon had not asked for assistance; but it must be remembered that when General Gordon went away he thought he should be able to accomplish his mission without the aid of troops, and having said that he probably felt himself under a chivalrous obligation not to press the Government directly. But they knew, from the one or two Englishmen about him, that he did expect English troops. If General Gordon perished the Government would be condemned. According to their own statement that night, he had been abandoned, and the only force that could go to his relief was being recalled. The object of the Opposition in raising this question was to save General Gordon from the fate of General Hicks, of Baker Pasha's Army, and of the unhappy garrison of Sinkat, and its unfortunate and heroic Commander, Tewfik Bey. For weeks help had been refused. Let them take care that if at last they sent assistance it would not be too late. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for War had not been treated handsomely that night by the Prime Minister when he was put up to answer the right hon. Gentleman's questions. In fact, he had fallen into a trap. The Government had negatived the recommendation of General Gordon and Sir Evelyn Baring, and refused to allow Zebehr to be made Governor at Khartoum. And why had they refused? Because, according to them, General Gordon had overrated the power of the Mahdi. Would it be

denied that many fresh tribes were in a state of ferment; that the insurrection was spreading northwards towards Berber and Egypt Proper; and that if the Mahdi advanced he would obtain their assistance? It was said by the noble Marquess that General Gordon was in no sort of peril; but if that chivalrous agent of the Government should fall a victim to their neglect they would be held responsible by the country. The Government were neither sending him any support, nor taking steps to ascertain whether he wished for any. Whenever the Government were in despair, and when they could not defend their policy by any other expedient, they raised the old cry of Obstruction against the Opposition; and the Prime Minister had that night found his case so weak that he had been obliged to resort to that cry. The country, however, would note that the Government had deliberately decided to abandon General Gordon, for whose safety and policy they were strictly and absolutely responsible, had deliberately decided to leave him to his fate, and to do nothing for his protection. They had also refused to send him that material support without which, in his own language, he was powerless to do anything; and, in knowing that, the country would admit that the Motion of the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition was fully justified.

MR. MACFARLANE said, he had listened, as he always did, with great interest to the speech of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), into which he had thrown himself with such energy; but he thought the hon. Member had on this occasion undertaken rather more than he could manage. A constituency, including Europe, Asia, and Africa, was, perhaps, rather more than one Member could conveniently deal with. Though he appreciated the efforts of the hon. Member, he considered the policy of Her Majesty's Government a sound policy. If the Government were now going from bad to worse, it would be the policy of the Opposition to let them arrive at the worst before they attacked them. He, however, believed that a possible solution of the Egyptian Question was appearing, and that the present was a crisis, when, unless the Opposition attacked the Government, they would not be able to do so at all. General Gordon

had been in no sense abandoned, and, even if he had, it was because relief was impossible; and therefore, in his opinion, these cries were all bunkum. There were Motions for Adjournment and special Resolutions, and every turn of the Egyptian kaleidoscope was made the occasion for a fresh demonstration. There had been a whole series of Motions, from the Vote of Censure downwards, although the circumstances in Egypt and the Soudan had not changed materially since that time. These Motions were, as a rule, made at the instigation of a certain number of excited articles in the public Press; and he thought himself that the country would never be properly governed until a Cabinet was formed of the principal editors of the London Press. To them there might, perhaps, be added a number of old gentlemen to be found in the smoking-rooms of the principal Clubs, and then good government might be looked for. He did not wish to prolong the present proceedings. He only rose to protest against the charges of bloodshed and massacre made against the Government. If the Government were justified in defending Suakin, they were absolutely justified in dispersing, and were compelled to disperse, the force that threatened it.

LORD JOHN MANNERS: The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down told the House that the circumstances in Egypt and the Soudan had not changed since the moving of the Vote of Censure; but when the Vote of Censure was being discussed, General Gordon's mission was pronounced by the Government to be essentially and exclusively a pacific mission. Since then, however, General Gordon has himself engaged in military operations, and we have been told to-night that General Gordon's object in requesting that Zebehr Pasha might be sent to co-operate with him was that he might by force crush the Mahdi. Although my right hon. Friend made his Motion to-night in one of his calmest, most moderate, most equitable, and even briefest of speeches, the Prime Minister responded to it in a state of animated fury such as I have never seen equalled, even by the right hon. Gentleman himself. Why did that speech, in which my right hon. Friend was reproved for wasting the time of the House, extend to such length, and why did it deal with topics

which were never introduced by my right hon. Friend, if the right hon. Gentleman was so anxious to proceed with what he would term the great legislative Business of the country and Parliament? Did my right hon. Friend say a word, either in praise or dispraise, of the editors or writers of the newspapers of Europe? What, then, had that attack of the Prime Minister's upon them to do with the question my right hon. Friend submitted to his consideration? Again, the Prime Minister turned round upon hon. Gentlemen behind him—who they might be I do not know—who he said were anxious to induce him to take up the cause of the Egyptian bondholders, and to plunge this country into some unknown and immeasurable obligation. But did my right hon. Friend introduce that question? It was reserved for the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, to introduce that fresh topic of discussion; and yet he accuses my right hon. Friend with wasting the time of the House, and attempting to stifle the great legislative objects now before it. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Hear, hear!] I am convinced the speech of the Prime Minister and the corroborative cheer of the Home Secretary will have no effect on the country at large. The Prime Minister declared that he could construe our acts. I thought the speech of the right hon. Gentleman showed that he was only capable of misconstruing the acts of those from whom he differed. He spoke as though my right hon. Friend had some dreadful object in view in putting on the Paper these simple Questions, and enforcing them in a speech of singular moderation. Has the Prime Minister, in his speech, full of fiery irritation, disposed of them? Take the question of finance. The Prime Minister, having made a mistake, which he handsomely withdrew, proceeded to answer my right hon. Friend's appeal. If it had not been for the Question, we should not have had that clear statement in the Prime Minister's speech to the effect that an inquiry is now proceeding into the question of Egyptian finance; and, therefore, if I wanted a justification for my right hon. Friend's Motion, I should have it in that part of the speech of the Prime Minister which dealt with Egyptian finance. If the Prime Minister chose to go off afterwards at a tangent about the



bondholders, that was no fault of the right hon. Member for North Devon. With respect to the allegation that the position of General Gordon was damaged by what fell from the Leader of the Opposition, I can only say that really and truly he did not say more—certainly not much more—than the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War said. He told us that, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, it was still premature to announce that the object of General Gordon's mission had definitely failed. When a Minister, clothed with all the responsibility of his position, says a thing of that sort, anyone of understanding must be pardoned if he reads between the lines, and assumes that such a declaration really admits a statement which it does not contradict. I greatly doubt whether the right hon. Gentleman used the words attributed to him by the Prime Minister. I have no doubt he would be perfectly content to argue his case on the very words of the noble Lord himself. Whether General Gordon's mission, in the view of the Government, has definitely failed or not, as a purely pacific mission it has unquestionably failed. The Prime Minister, enlarging on General Gordon's mission, seemed to assume that it was one of perfect ease and safety; and he was quite annoyed that any question should be raised on that subject. The right hon. Gentleman has gone back to 1831 and 1832, and, I suppose by way of contrast, has asked us to compare the remarkably satisfactory condition of affairs in Egypt at the present time with the complications which then existed between Belgium and France. The state of affairs in those countries was no doubt harassing and perplexing enough; but they are not for a moment to be compared in interest or intensity of danger with the questions now engaging our attention in Egypt and the Soudan. By the action of Her Majesty's Government the affairs of Egypt are the affairs of England; and to talk about the affairs of Belgium or France 50 years ago is to perform an evolution of confusion, and, I was going to say, of deceit and imposture upon the confidence of the country, which really could not be undertaken by anyone except that wonderful master of words and phrases, the Prime Minister. I have said that if my right hon. Friend wanted any defence—and I am

sure he does not—for the course which, in the discharge of his public duty, he has taken, he would have found it in the circumstances I have detailed. The Prime Minister, in the course of that angry and almost infuriated harangue, proceeded to wonder whether the right hon. Gentleman and those who act with him considered the consequences which would ensue from the course he had taken to-night. He wondered whether the example he had set would be followed in the future. To-night we have neither set nor followed any example. If we had wanted an example of harassing a Government, we should have found it in the perpetual debates raised in the time of Lord Beaconsfield on the foreign policy during that period by the right hon. Gentleman and some of his more illustrious Colleagues. We have not raised perpetual debates on the subject of the Egyptian, or on the subject of the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government generally. We have interposed with Questions when we have thought it necessary to do so, in consequence of the persistent reticence, or the still more persistent inconsistency, of the Government. When the right hon. Gentleman went on to mention the actual number of nights consumed in these debates, I wonder it did not occur to him to perform one of those arithmetical processes which have become so familiar to us, and proceed to divide those 17 nights into the proper divisions between the Benches on either side. I wonder he did not go a little into details, and tell us exactly how many of those debates had been originated by us and how many by his Friends sitting below the Gangway. With a coolness I could not sufficiently admire, the right hon. Gentleman assumed that the whole of those 17 nights of debate were the fault of the right hon. Gentleman and those who sit near us. The Prime Minister, having gone into the history of this Session, must pardon me if I say a word or two on the subject. How was it we had a series of debates upon the Address? Because first one and then another of Her Majesty's Ministers chose to run away at the wrong moment; and the consequence was we had only a broken debate, which necessarily resulted in a second. There are two nights accounted for out of the 17. He takes no note of the debate raised by the

hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), or any other Member; but he coolly assumes that the whole are due to the right hon. Gentleman. I protest against the unfairness of the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman. Whenever we think it necessary to ask Questions, or to move the adjournment of the House, or to raise debates on these most important affairs, we shall continue to do so perfectly undisturbed by the sarcasms of the Home Secretary or the fury of the Prime Minister, and perfectly confident that our motives as well as our acts will be thoroughly understood and appreciated by the country, which is possessed, I am convinced, of far more common sense and shrewdness than it appears to be given credit for by Members of Her Majesty's Government.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—[BILL 119.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.*)

#### SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [FIFTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [24th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House declines to proceed further with a measure, having for its object the addition of two million voters to the electoral body of the United Kingdom, until it has before it the entire scheme contemplated by the Government for the amendment of the Representation of the People,"—(*Lord John Manners*,)  
—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate resumed.

MR. BROADHURST said, he exceedingly regretted that the time of the House should have been wasted so long that night over matters of interest in the jungles of Africa, instead of being devoted to matters of interest nearer

home. The speech made by the hon. and learned Member for Brighton (Mr. Marriott) on Tuesday night did not deal with the question of the extension of the franchise, but mainly consisted of criticism, if not abuse, of the President of the Board of Trade. 'It had been frequently alleged in that House that there was no feeling among the mass of people in favour of the extension of the franchise. To that assertion he begged to give a flat contradiction. If the workmen who felt strongly on that question would only address their letters to hon. Members who were opposed to that change instead of to those who supported it, he ventured to say that opinion on the opposite side of the House on that subject would be materially modified. Speaking, as he thought he had a right to do, for the organized trades of the United Kingdom, he could assure the House that a Motion in favour of the extension of the franchise had been one of the chief Resolutions brought before their annual Congresses ever since the present Government had been in power, and each successive year the Resolution had been stronger. At the Congress of September last, a fear being expressed that the Government might betray the country and not deal with the question in the present Parliament, the Parliamentary Committee of the Congress were instructed to urge the Government by all means in their power to make this the principal subject for the present Session. But that was not all. On the 31st of January a deputation of trades representing the organizations of the United Kingdom waited on the Prime Minister to declare to him their anxiety for a speedy dealing with that subject. That deputation was not an ordinary one. It included about 240 or 250 delegates coming from all parts of the country, whose whole expenses and time were paid for by their union funds and voted by their respective lodges. He reckoned that its cost to the whole of the trades was not less than £700 or £800—a sum, he need hardly say, which the trade unions of this country would not spend on any matter which they had not deeply at heart. He would now like to say a few words with regard to the Bill itself. In doing so he could not congratulate the Government on the production of a measure which was satisfactory to his mind. It was far too com-

*Lord John Manners*

plicated; it had too many qualifications; it was shaped too much to suit the prejudices and the privileges of the rich and the upper classes, rather than shaped to meet the question of the franchise fairly and honestly, as it should be. He saw no reason why any man should be entitled to two votes because he was a freeholder of landed property in the country. That was a mere concession to ancient monopolies, and the privilege should be abolished. His view in regard to this question was that there should be one vote to one man; and the only qualification he should possess was that of being of sufficient age and of capacity to exercise it. By the jugglery of the lodger franchise and by the long residence which was necessary for qualification they effectually deprived thousands of their best citizens of the franchise. Although he did not include himself in this list, he should like permission to mention that under the lodger franchise, and owing to the difficulties of registration and otherwise, he was a Member of the House of Commons before he had an opportunity of recording a vote for a Member of Parliament. He had been elected Member for Stoke two days before he gave a vote in the East Surrey Election for the Liberal candidates who were then contesting that division of the county. There was a too great tendency to discuss this subject from the standpoint of the agricultural labourer, as if he were the only person to be enfranchised by this Bill. If it were really the case that the agricultural labourer was the only person to be enfranchised, he would labour as cordially and as enthusiastically as he did now on behalf of others, because he would consider him equally fitted with others for the exercise of his undoubted right as a citizen. But he should like the House to remember that at present there were still outside the franchise thousands of persons who had been described as the most ignorant of the community. When, however, it had been found that a mistake had been made, and that the term "most ignorant" embraced within its scope hundreds of thousands of intelligent artisans, then it was attempted to withdraw the declaration, to minimize it, and to apologize for it, because it was found that these persons so described might shortly be appealed to for their support. He had received a letter from

the Secretary of the Shipwrights' Association in the Clyde district, in which some interesting facts were revealed. In the districts of Govan and Partick there were 94,000 inhabitants, the majority of whom were skilled mechanics. Of this population, 19,442 persons exercised the municipal franchise; but only 3,426 persons had a voice in the political affairs of the country. That was through no fault of their own, but was due to the shifting character of their employment, occasioned by the removal of large firms to cheaper land. He had also received a telegram that day from Glasgow, in which it was stated that Singer's Sewing Machine Company and Thomson's Engineering and Shipbuilding Company were removing to Clydebank and Dalmuir; 4,000 or 5,000 workmen were following the works, and in consequence would not have a vote in the county election. He had also received a letter from the Secretary of the Shipwrights on the Tyne in which it was said that Walker-on-Tyne had a population of 21,500, who had neither the municipal nor the Parliamentary representation, although they were only a quarter of a mile from the Newcastle boundary. Returning to the question of the agricultural labourers, he much regretted that there was no one of their order there to plead their cause, and give a direct denial to the charge of incapacity and ignorance so constantly brought against them. He contended that the agricultural labourers were as capable of exercising the franchise as many of the farmers themselves. [Mr. H. H. FOWLER: More so.] His hon. Friend near him (Mr. H. H. Fowler) said they were more so. He quite conceded the point; but in all things he liked to be moderate, and within the mark. He ventured to say that when this class were enfranchised they would not be found backers of that broken-kneed old hack that was so often trotted out on rural courses—the 5s. duty on corn—that extraordinary animal that was only kept for provincial shows, but which never dared be started in the House of Commons. Those new voters would not be misled by such cries as these. But supposing it were true—which he utterly denied—that the agricultural labourers were ignorant and unfit to exercise the franchise, did the charge of ignorance come with a good grace from that side of the House



mainly associated with the county representation? The parson and the squire had had charge of the intellectual progress of the agricultural labourer for centuries; and were hon. Gentlemen opposite not ashamed of their wet-nursing, and of their half-starved labourers, whom they now denounced as ignorant and unfit for the exercise of citizenship? In his opinion, the Conservative Party had a much greater fear of the labourers' knowledge and intelligence than they had of their ignorance or incapacity. It was undoubtedly the case that, where the ignorance of the agricultural labourer was most dense, there Tory opportunities were greatest, and their political power and representation strongest. If it were a question of intrusting the agricultural labourer with the administration of a marriage settlement, as was suggested by the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), or if it were a question of understanding the technicalities of their hideous laws, passed by a class Parliament, he would not think of putting him in competition with the right hon. Gentleman, or his hon. Friend the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler); but on a question of common sense, sound judgment, and honesty of purpose, he would not hesitate to place him in competition with them. The agricultural labourer had mastered a problem which the right hon. Gentleman had never mastered. He had solved the problem of maintaining a house, a wife, and family on a weekly income less than the right hon. Gentleman probably spent for his afternoon meal. These men, who had solved this question of how to maintain a family on an income of 8s. or 9s. a-week, should stand at the very head of the science of domestic economy, if of no other economy. The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) appeared to be greatly alarmed at the references that had been made by the President of the Board of Trade to manhood suffrage and the payment of Members, and he said they would be nearer if this Bill was passed. It would be all the better if both these reforms were not only nearer, but already law. The noble Lord himself belonged to a ring that was paid for its services when in Office. Why should not hon. Members, who worked

as hard, but who had not the same opportunities of distinction as Ministers, be paid, since Ministers were? Let them not suppose for a moment that the old order of things—of monopolies and privileges to a few families in the country—would always continue. The time would come, if not during his life, or that of the hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt), yet during the day of the generation now being educated at the board schools, when the people would insist upon having a share, not only of Representatives in that House, but in the administrative and executive work of the nation of which they were the most important part. On this Bill the Conservative Party, while professing, some of them, not to oppose it, were anywhere but in the right direction in regard to it. He had listened to some parts of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), in which he stated his reasons for his conversion on this subject, with pain and surprise. It was lamentable to hear the right hon. Gentleman, who had been twice a Cabinet Minister, confessing that he never understood the people. The agricultural labourers could have no sordid or selfish motives in claiming the franchise. They had no places to seek, no pensions to secure, no Court honours to look for. Their leading object in life was to secure those home comforts so long denied to them, and the honour of the country which they loved no less than any other class in the Kingdom. Had the House forgotten how, when the great and powerful were weak and hesitating on the question of freedom or slavery in America, our poorer countrymen and women faced the prospect of starvation and ruin rather than sacrifice one atom of their principle and love of freedom all the world over to black and white? A good deal had been said on the question of redistribution, and as to the difficulty of finding Members in England to supply the additions to be made to the representation of Scotland. There were four Members, at the least, whom he could place at the disposal of the Government for this object. Let them take the Members for Oxford and Cambridge Universities. He was at a loss to know on what ground of reason, logic, or justice these Masters of Arts, who were mostly clergymen of the Church of England,

should have the privilege of returning Members to that House more than the same number of Nonconformist clergymen. The country, he ventured to say, would not long tolerate these nests of bigotry. Having regard to the nature of their tenure, it might be expected that the University Members would behave with peculiar circumspection. But only yesterday they found one of the Representatives of these seats of learning and culture coming forth as the champion of the beer-sellers. That action was in itself an additional reason why these constituencies should be disfranchised, and that the seats thus monopolized should be given to some other part of the United Kingdom. He scarcely liked to say the same of the University of Dublin. He regretted that it should send two Gentlemen so learned and unobjectionable in every other respect but that of politics. But when they arrived at a further stage of reform, they would have to think seriously whether the many good qualities of these right hon. Gentlemen would be sufficient to entitle them to immunity from Disestablishment. [*Cries of "London!"*] The University of London had recently done itself great honour. No University had done so much to preserve the ancient monuments and landmarks of this country by returning their distinguished Member (Sir John Lubbock). He had no hesitation in saying that those who feared the results of the proposed extension of the franchise were needlessly alarmed. Every additional million of voters was as concrete to foundations and as buttresses to ancient towers. Every increase of influence and power of the working people had proved to be Conservative in the highest and best sense; he did not mean Conservatism as demonstrated by Oxford University; but Conservatism of the most useful and lasting description. He was not prepared to deny the people of Ireland their fair share of this beneficial legislation. He knew many Irish working men, and, in his opinion, no workmen in England were better qualified to exercise political rights than the mechanics of the great towns of Ireland. He held that it would be unwise and wicked to curtail the political privileges of Irishmen, and that the Government by their proposals had given expression to the unanimous wish of the Liberal Party.

If the Irishmen who would be enfranchised by this Bill lived in mud huts, who were to blame? Was it their fault that they occupied mud huts instead of comfortable cottages when they had been kept in a state almost bordering on slavery century after century? This was an additional reason for giving them political power, that they might give effect to their own views on political and social questions; and he would do all he could to secure to Ireland every right and privilege that Parliament was bestowing on his own countrymen.

MR. BIDDELL: Sir, the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), in citing the case of the 20,000 artisans living just outside of Newcastle, proves the desirability of discussing the Enfranchisement and Redistribution Bills together, for it cannot be disputed that these men should be attached to Newcastle. So blended are the two subjects that in nearly all the leading speeches they have both been discussed. That of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister is no exception. He evidently felt the necessity of alluding to the new redistribution scheme, though he did it somewhat vaguely, creating the impression that with his fear of the Irish, his known love for the Scotch, and his natural sympathy for his neighbours the Welsh, the English must look out for themselves. By his intimation of a slight increase of Members, I assume he will deal feebly with this redistributing; far from increasing, it would be better to decrease the numbers of this House by 50 or 60, for it is already too unwieldy. This great measure is simply one of household suffrage, regardless of size or quality of the house. I wish distinctly to affirm this, as I have the best evidence that many persons even of standing think there will be some limitation preventing its application descending to mere hovels. No doubt, there is not sufficient time this year to discuss the details of both parts of the subject; but the Government could explain on what general principles they intend to proceed. Do they, in such cases as Newcastle, intend to join such outside people to the borough? Do they approve of grouping towns, or do they prefer to add a slice of the county to any of our small boroughs to improve their titles for returning Members? To be sure, the Premier gave us only his

[*Fifth Night.*]



private opinions; but we know that such is his imperial sway that both the Cabinet and hon. Gentlemen opposite have to act upon his opinions. The street argument I do not place so much weight in as is generally attached to it. Persons on the non-voting sides enjoy considerable advantages in having all the conveniences of the town without its taxation. At any rate, any person feeling aggrieved can easily change from one side to the other. An argument used in favour of the measure is the principle of uniformity; but do the Government act on this principle? Decidedly not, for in answer to my question they have stated that though the borough residents shall continue to have a vote for their county freeholds, the county resident shall not have a vote in the borough for his freehold there. Hence, if so, we shall have a house on one side of the street giving its owner a vote, where an exactly similar one on the other side shall confer no such privilege. This is no small matter, for in the division of the county which I in part represent nearly 600 of the voters out of 5,000 or 6,000 voters live in Parliamentary boroughs. I agree in the opinion expressed by the Premier that the more capable men voting the better; can he, then, contend that the county resident owning a freehold in the town is not a capable voter? If so, why withhold a vote from him? It has been, I think, rightly contended that farmers in the agricultural counties have had supreme political power, hence a monopoly in the representation. This I admit is bad; but what are we invited to do? Why, to merely change this monopoly from one class to another—that is, to the labouring class. It has been contended that we on this side of the House are against any extension of the suffrage. This I deny, as for years I have thought the rural labouring class should have some more direct representation. I say more direct, as every Member represents, I contend, all classes in his constituency, though I must confess we are apt to have a more lively interest in those who have a vote than in those who have not. What is objected to is—as by the present Bill—the so arranging that the labouring classes could completely swamp all others in the counties. On this point I contend that the Government should have placed some statistics before us by which we could better judge of the

effects of the measure. For my guidance I have collected some; and, to convince the House I have done so impartially, I have taken three Suffolk parishes, in all of which I have resided, and consequently know about. The first is—I give only round numbers—that wherein I was born—namely, Playford; there are now six voters rated at £1,400, or £230 each; there will be 37 new voters rated at £140, or £3 10s. each. Hawstead I take next—a well-known parish, as its history is published—has now only 11 voters who are rated about £2,000, or nearly £200 each; while under the new measure there will be 42 new voters rated only at £84, or, say, £2 each. My present abode is at Lavenham, which now has 51 voters rated at £4,200, or about £80 each, and the 328 new voters to be added are rated at only about £1,350, or about £4 each. These figures prove conclusively that this representation will have no proportion to taxation. Accepting household suffrage as unalterable—or rather inevitable—how can we modify its effect? It is impossible to arrange representation in strict proportion to taxation. Some of my friends think it can be rectified in the Redistribution of Seats Bill. I think not, for if not right on the basis we cannot erect sound work upon it; but we can in some rough way take a step in that direction, when we shall in some measure modify the proposed swamping of the present electors. In cases where two Members are to be elected, let those rated under £8—namely, those who are or can be rated on a reduced scale—vote for one Member, while higher rated electors are allowed to vote for both. I contend this great Empire is but a mighty Company wherein it is not expedient that the holder of a single share should have equal weight in its direction with the holder of many shares. The hon. Member for Aylesbury (Mr. G. Russell) said that the parish clergyman, the squire, and the farmer have prevented the labourers from expressing their political views. I deny this. The Dissenting minister I believe has now, and certainly will have, far more political influence than the clergyman, who rarely takes an active part in politics; while the squire has had his wings so cut by the policy adopted by this House that he no longer can continue that generosity



which secured him, in great part, the allegiance of his poorer neighbours. As to the farmer, the good labourer is, from the decrease of the rural population, independent of him. Jack is now as good as his master, and happily no longer has to depend upon one or two farmers for the sale of his labour. This is the greatest measure proposed in our time, and as such I ask hon. Members to drop all Party views and seriously consider whether or not it is good for the country, and even good for the working classes themselves, that our county representation should so entirely rest with them. Full well I know that the course I am pursuing is one which may imperil what I shall seek—namely, my re-election. So be it, for I would rather be cast off, and, so to speak, fall into nought, than to have it said I preferred my personal interest to that of my country. The order of the day to “worship the rising sun,” to pamper and flatter the coming power. Though yielding to none in good will to the labouring class, I decline to do it, for, in the words of one of our poets, I ask the Gods “to grant me an honest fame or grant me none.”

MR. W. REDMOND said, that, as he represented a borough in Ireland which suffered to no inconsiderable extent under the present Franchise Law, he trusted that he might be allowed to contribute a few observations to the discussion upon this Bill, which Her Majesty's Government had rather tardily introduced. There could be no two opinions as to the important effect which this measure, if carried, would have upon the composition of that House; and, therefore, legislation on such a subject should be conducted with the utmost care. The question of the franchise had been for a long time calling for settlement, more particularly in Ireland; and it was a subject for congratulation to hon. Members on both sides of the House that it was now about to be settled. Her Majesty's Government might congratulate themselves on having at length introduced a Liberal measure, while Her Majesty's Opposition had now a fair opportunity of proving that it was for the welfare of the country that a large and respectable class should be excluded from the franchise. He intended to approach this question, not from the English or the Scotch point of

view, but from the Irish point of view. He might, however, incidentally observe that he was in favour of the liberties of the people in England and Scotland being extended to the utmost possible limits. He should ever remain in opposition to the Conservative Members of the House, who appeared to think that the majority of the Parliamentary voters were mere unintelligent machines to be used for the purpose of keeping far more intelligent men in opposition. He believed that the unfortunate and oppressed people of his country had much more to expect at the hands of the great mass of the people of England and Scotland than they had from the landocracy of those countries, who were disposed to legislate in favour of their brother members of the landocracy of Ireland. He had heard with surprise the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War express a fear lest the effect of the Bill would be to increase the Irish National Party in that House. That fear was only worthy of the extinct spirit of servile Whiggery which had received such a practical and decent burial in the borough which he had the honour to represent. The Opposition had relied greatly upon the mud cabin argument. It was a poor argument to adduce that because people dwelt in mud cabins they should not be entitled to have a voice in the government of their country. Another reason given for not extending the measure to Ireland was that a large percentage of the people could neither read nor write. Admitting that fact, he said it was not surprising that many of the Irish people should be illiterate when it was remembered that for generation after generation obstacles had been placed in the way of Catholic education by successive Governments in this country. But there were many illiterate Irishmen who were as well able to form a sound opinion on political subjects and to give a vote as gentlemen who had matriculated in English Universities. If the present or any other Government was coerced by Jingoism to try and lower the number of Irish Representatives, he could assure them that they would have to face the bitterest and fiercest opposition which the Representatives of Ireland in that House and the people of Ireland could give. According to the atrociously corrupt Act of Union of Lord Castlereagh, of infamous memory, Ireland had 100 Members given

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to her. If the Government wanted to cut down that number, they must violate that infamous Act. If the Government wished to repeal that infamous Act, they could rely on the hearty support and co-operation of himself and his Colleagues. It would have been well for the Empire if, in days gone by, Governments had proceeded to redress grievances as promptly as Her Majesty's Government were now proceeding to redress what was undoubtedly a grievance in shutting out large numbers of intelligent and capable men in Ireland from the privileges of the franchise. He would take the opportunity of appealing to the Government, now that they were in the reforming humour, fairly and impartially to view the demand of the Irish people for local self-government.

MR. JOHN MORLEY said, that the hon. Member for West Suffolk (Mr. Biddell) had made a very honest and straightforward speech; for he courageously said that whatever change the Bill might make in the franchise, he would still hope to retain his seat in that House. The speech was honest in another sense, for it let out the secret of the attitude taken up by hon. Members opposite. They only did not object to the extension of the franchise, on condition that in redistribution they could take back with one hand what they had given with the other. The hon. Member, for instance, did not attempt to deny that the man who lived on one side of a street had as good a right to vote as the man who lived on the other. But the hon. Member went on to advocate a double qualification for people of property, an idea which had long ago been abandoned even by the Party opposite. The hon. Gentleman, all through his speech, divided the nation into classes and interests; educated people as distinguished from ignorant people—farmers as against labourers—employers against workmen. The hon. Member used an ignoble image, and said that we were all members of a Joint Stock Company. But men who were bound together by the common ties of citizenship were much more than members of a Joint Stock Company. The interests which divided them were as dust in the balance compared with the associations by which they were united. He regretted to find in the speech of the hon. Member for Wilton (Mr. Sidney Herbert) the same tendency to divide the country into

classes. The hon. Member used a singularly infelicitous and inaccurate illustration in connection with that theory. He said that in France it was the lower classes who drove the Empire into war. Now, nothing was better known in all Europe than that the French peasantry were devoted friends of peace. He would appeal to his hon. Friend the Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) whether there was an audience in England that would respond so earnestly to an appeal for peace as an audience of workmen. This would be as true of the labourers in the country as of the artisans in the towns. The right hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Beresford Hope) had quoted an old saying, that the towns represented population and the counties property. But it was said by Conservative speakers that the effect of the Bill of 1867 had been to make the boroughs so Conservative that the Liberals had to attack the counties. If so, then the boroughs must represent property no less than population. So that the argument lost all its force in the mouths of hon. Gentlemen opposite. He did not understand why it was that the Party which called itself the patriotic Party were not better patriots. A patriot ought to take pride in his countrymen as well as in his country. A dozen years ago he presided at a meeting of agricultural labourers, who had come to London at their own charge to protest against their exclusion from the franchise. Everybody was impressed by their orderly and temperate attitude. A few strong remarks were made about the parson and the squire; but they were soon overborne by the good sense of the meeting. Then all who had been fortunate enough to attend trades union congresses must have come to the conclusion that their proceedings might well furnish a model to more august assemblies. But it ought not to be forgotten that agricultural labourers were not the only class who would be enfranchised by the Bill. It would add 500,000 miners, who had in that House so excellent a Representative as his hon. Friend the Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt), to the electorate. He had often attended meetings of miners, and could testify that in no assembly would revolutionary doctrines find less acceptance than among the miners of the North of England. Among no class was there a keener thirst for knowledge. There was

a little district not far from his own constituency, of 17,000 inhabitants, where no fewer than 1,300 men, almost the whole of the adult male population, regularly attended the lectures in connection with the scheme of University extension, which had been inaugurated by Professor Stuart, of Cambridge. There was more honour due to these men for their thirst for knowledge in their hard lives and humble homes than to all the learned leisure of Colleges and the luxurious state of ancient Universities. Yet of the nine Representatives of Universities in that House, no fewer than seven would go into the Lobby with those who wished to refuse to such men the Parliamentary franchise. When the scheme of redistribution came before them, rather than see the numbers in that House increased, he would prefer that those nine seats should be taken away, and transferred to worthier claimants. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel) had said that the only meetings in favour of the Bill had been held by a few scientific Radicals. He did not know what a "scientific Radical" meant; but if it meant the opposite of a harum-scarum Tory, he would not, himself, be disposed to disown the name. The right hon. Baronet, just returned for Huntingdon, with its population of 6,400, might have found for Leeds, with its 300,000, a better name than that of a county town. Nothing showed how strong was the feeling of the working classes on this subject than the fact that the boroughs cared so much for the extension of the franchise in the counties. There were Conservative boroughs in which the feeling was nearly as strong as the Liberal feeling on this point, and which would not return a Conservative Member unless he pledged himself on the question of the county franchise. If there were any indifference in the country it would be due to growing scepticism as to the value of Parliament itself. The true danger to the stability of our Constitution was not in the admission of 2,000,000 more voters; but in the fact that the time of the House was so wasted that it was impossible to pass, not only disputed measures, but even non-contentious measures, as to which both sides of the House were agreed. This was striking the working classes as something that needed explanation, and of which the

solution might, in time, become formidable; that it was not so now was because the respect for law was so deeply ingrained in the English and the Scotch character. Yet the Opposition refused to extend the franchise unless they were assured that there would be some manipulation or re-arrangement of seats, which, would, in fact, be taking away with one hand what was given with the other. He regretted that proportional representation should have been introduced into the debate from that side of the House, for all these schemes were but new disguises for the old Tory distrust of the people. It would be easier than it was now to answer its advocates, when they said what it was they meant by proportional representation. The House had the right to ask them which scheme it was they were going to stand upon; at present they only maintained the principle, while they threw over every application of it. They admitted that the cumulative vote involved a waste of voting power, and often gave a majority to a minority. They admitted that the three-cornered constituency involved a waste of voting power, and stimulated the activity of those electoral associations, which Gentlemen on both sides professed to hold in so much dislike. The single district system had been tried fairly in the United States; it was found to lead to gerrymandering; it stimulated the activity of caucuses; it did not secure men of exceptional ability, as had been set forth in a Report made to the Senate in 1869. As to preferential voting, the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) said he had not yet seen a scheme that would work. But if there were more to be said for schemes of proportional representation, the question did not arise under this Bill. As the right hon. Member for Bradford said in the Recess, if we were going to keep on the old lines we might safely leave minorities to take care of themselves. This Bill did go very much upon the old lines. If it were proposed to give to Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds eight or ten Members each, a question might arise as to whether they should all be given to majorities; but there was no such proposal. The time for the schemes of proportional representation would come when it was proposed to adjust representation on a numerical basis.



The question of Irish representation he would not discuss, either upon the basis of numbers, or that of the Act of Union—either by reference to what had been called a musty parchment, or by working a sum in rule of three. It ought to be settled upon the same principle as that which settled all political questions—namely, the broad ground of policy and expediency. He would argue it when the time came upon those grounds. We should lose far more by irritating the population of Ireland than we should gain by taking seats from her for our own use. Ireland was entitled to exceptional representation, not so much on the score of geographical distance, as on that of moral distance, and the disadvantage under which her Members laboured from the ignorance and prejudice of Englishmen about them, arising out of the difference in race and religion. Another reason for special treatment of Ireland was that a great obstacle to improvement in Irish legislation was to be found in the other House; and, as Ireland was under a disadvantage in the hereditary branch of the Legislature, there was less reason to object to her having an excess of representation in the elective branch. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had stated that they were in favour of an appeal to the people. The supporters of the Bill wanted to enable them to appeal to the real people, and not to a privileged section with a narrow franchise, and jockeyed by an artificial arrangement of seats. If they were not to have this Bill, the Opposition would have to bring in another. [“Hear, hear!”] The hon. Member cheered, but he would warn him that there was no case of a second Reform Bill being more moderate and more narrow than the first. The present Bill was well worth having. But if they did not get the Bill now before the House, all he could say was that they would have from the Opposition a measure better worth having still.

Mr. STRUTT said, he could not look upon this great revolutionary measure as a wise one, coming, as it did, within so short a time of the last Reform Bill. The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Morley) had told the Opposition that they ought to have confidence in the people. For his part, he should have perfect confidence in the people if there were no agitators to go and lead them astray. They had heard a great deal about right

in this matter. If hon. Gentlemen on the Ministerial side of the House believed that the individual right was of paramount importance as compared with the welfare of the State, they ought to make a bonfire of nearly all their Bills. Most of the measures introduced by Ministerialists went against the right of the individual. Upon this question of right they could not refuse the franchise to the greatest criminal in the dock, or to the smallest child who could toddle up to the polling booth. If a man had a right to a vote because others had it who were in no way different from himself except in geographical position, he had equal right that his vote should be of the same value; and this argument would, therefore, lead them directly to electoral districts. But he ventured to say that even under a system of electoral districts they would find exactly the same inequality of which they complained now. What political power had a Conservative in the wilds of Scotland or Wales? What political power had a Liberal in the highly civilized districts of Westminster or Essex? It was true the Conservative and the Liberal had a vote; but what was a vote if it brought no political power? It was absolutely worthless. He submitted that to advocate proportional voting was not to distrust the people. A system of proportional voting would give political power to all the people as far as it was possible. He believed that if the Bill passed in its present shape the agricultural labourers would have it in their power to prevent a single man entering that House to represent the feelings of the farmers. He should like to know whether the Government intended to turn a deaf ear to the bitter cry of the Loyalists in Ireland. The First Commissioner of Works had told the House that if they gave a vote to the Loyalists in Ireland they must also give a vote to Irishmen in England. He did not see why they should not give a vote to Irishmen in England, because those Irishmen might not always share the opinions of Irish Members in that House. That House ought to be the reflex of every phase of public opinion, and particularly of the more intelligent part of it. He did not think that the agricultural labourers had that amount of political power which their numbers and importance entitled them to; but if

the Government had introduced a Redistribution Bill, so as to enlarge the small boroughs, they would have struck a blow at the anomalies which those small boroughs presented, and would have rectified the position of the agricultural labourer. The artizans had quite enough of power already, especially when they took into consideration what a short time it was since compulsory education had been in force. He confessed he had some jealousy of that class, because he thought it dangerous that one class should have so much more power over the destinies, not only of this country, but of the 250,000,000 of the people of India who depended on the vote of that House. All the statesmen of the past and all political writers had looked with suspicion on one class having all the political power. It was easier, no doubt, for hon. Gentlemen to say that they had confidence in the people than want of confidence, when those in whom that confidence was expressed might be their future electors. For his part, he did not think that this Bill would conduce to the happiness or contentment of the people, and he should, therefore, support the Amendment.

MR. PLUNKET: I am sure that Members on both sides of the House who have heard the speech of the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Strutt) will agree with me that his presence among us is a distinct accession to the debating power of the House, and gives much promise for the future. I hope the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) will not think, if I do not follow him through his philosophic disquisition, that I refrain from doing so from want of personal respect, or from any feeling of resentment towards him for having explained his own opinion as to the way in which the nine Members who represent the Universities in this House ought to be dealt with. If I were to do so, I should evidently be speaking, as it were, with a rope round my neck. For I feel that the unfortunate heads of the Representatives of the Universities—English, Irish, and Scotch—will be the first to fall into the Republican basket of the hon. Member when he gets his way in regard to this Franchise Bill and also the Redistribution Bill of which he has given the House a forecast. I gladly turn

away from the speech of the hon. Member, hoping that his Friends near him—my right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Edinburgh (Sir Lyon Playfair) and the hon. Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock)—will find some means of persuading their political allies generally that they would be a greater loss to the House, if taken away from it, than their companion-in-arms the hon. Member for Newcastle seems to think. For my own part, I have a strong belief in luck, and nine is a lucky number; and therefore, despite all the distrust the hon. Member feels as to the extreme illiberality of the University Members, I hope we may yet be spared to break a lance with him in some future Parliament. I pass now from the hon. Member for Newcastle to the very remarkable speech which preceded it, and which, I am sorry to think, was not heard by many hon. Members of the House—I mean that of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. W. Redmond), which was also a maiden speech. The hon. Member described his borough as “suffering, to no inconsiderable extent, from the want of some such Bill as the present.” Certainly, the borough of Wexford does not suffer from the want of a vigilant, able, and fearless Representative, and a very frank one I must say also. The hon. Member, of course, denounced the Whig Members of the House, and naturally honoured, from his point of view, the President of the Board of Trade; but, from another point of view, his speech was really interesting—namely, for the clearness and distinctness with which he brought before the House the peculiar tenets of those he is sent here to represent, affording abundant proof that, after all, the constituencies of Ireland do not suffer seriously from that “moral distance” of which the hon. Member for Newcastle has just now so loudly complained. The hon. Member has put before the House as plainly as can be desired the views entertained by himself, and, I presume, by those who sit around him, in regard to this Bill. Now, there has been a certain amount of rumour in the Press and whispering in the Lobbies for some days past that this Bill, after all, makes no formidable contribution to the power of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell),



as some benighted Conservative Members have supposed, but that it will rather undermine his influence; and on that ground hopes have been kindly held out to us by the Radical newspapers that it may not be impossible to secure, in opposition to the Bill, even the support of the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Friends! But the hon. Member for Wexford has told us plainly what his view of the case is. He said he would support the Bill, not because it is a good Bill, or because he thinks it satisfactory or sufficient, for he requires a Bill which would go much further, but because it will, as far as it goes, give greater effect to what he calls the will of the Irish people in this House—he did not say the whole of the Irish people—and, he added, as I understood him—

“I accept the Bill as far as it goes; but you need not think that it will have the effect of staving the agitation of a Separatist character which exists in Ireland, for if you give us this Bill, or 20 more Bills of the same description, we will never cease from that agitation until we fully obtain our object.”

He said, further, that until the Separatist object of his Party was achieved, that agitation would have the effect of disorganizing and disgracing this Assembly. At all events, that is perfectly plain speaking. I shall not comment upon it, neither shall I make any apology to the House if, during the brief time for which I shall claim its attention at this stage of the debate, I confine myself entirely to the Bill and to the Amendment as they may affect the future of my own country. That, I think, is the aspect of the case which has weighed most heavily upon the minds of English and Scotch Members, even of Members who are favourable to the proposals of the Government. For me, as an Irishman, it totally eclipses all the others; because, if the view I take of this measure be the true one, the thing you are now asked to do in passing this Franchise Bill as it stands, without further qualifications or safeguards against its immediate effects than have been shadowed forth in the vague and contradictory utterances which as yet have been heard from the Treasury Bench, is an act fraught with grave and urgent peril to the State. It is so, in my opinion, not only because it will at once commit practically the whole Parliamentary representation of Ireland to one social

class of its population, which must overwhelm in numbers all the others—and that a class, unfortunately, though I fully admit its many virtues and good qualities, who are ignorant, excitable, prejudiced, and absolutely unused to the duties and responsibilities of public affairs—because this great augmentation of voters will practically extinguish for political purposes those of my countrymen best able to form an intelligent and useful opinion. Because the result would be a total misrepresentation of the Irish people, including all its interests and all its classes. But, above all, because, in that great question which is now at issue between the Imperial Government and the Friends of the hon. Member for the City of Cork—that great question of the maintenance or the destruction of the Union between the Three Kingdoms—it will throw into the hands of the latter an increase of power wholly out of proportion to their just claims as Representatives of the Irish people. It will throw it into their hands, without the possibility of recall. The struggle we have to maintain in this great controversy is, even in the present Parliament, extremely difficult; and, in all events, in the next, it must be much more arduous. But I foresee that if this Bill passes in its present shape and without qualification, and a General Election is taken upon it, the struggle will become almost desperate, if not absolutely hopeless. I know this is a strong statement, and that I may be accused of being an alarmist for uttering it; but if the House will grant me its patience, I think I shall be able to make good my words by arguments the most simple and practical. Before, however, dealing with the Bill as it may affect the fortunes of the Separatist movement in Ireland, let me say something about its other effects in Ireland itself. The present electors of Ireland number about 224,000; the Bill would add 480,000, as nearly as I can calculate; so that the new electors would more than double the existing electors, and form over two-thirds of the future constituencies of all Ireland. And remember that these new electors would not be, as those are whom you propose to add to the English constituencies, electors of the same class, but persons totally unused to taking part in public affairs, who have had no experience whatever in the matter, and



that it is nearly impossible, in the unfortunate state of their social existence, for them to form an independent political opinion, and still more hopeless for them to take any independent political action. A great deal has been said about what is called the "hovel" electors in Ireland. It is no pleasure to me to have to dwell upon that subject, and I am very glad to think that this reproach to our land is gradually passing away; still, it does exist to a considerable extent. And when it is said that in England also there are people almost as badly housed as any in Ireland, who will have votes under this Bill, I answer that that is true; but there is this difference between the two cases—those who dwell in hovels in England contribute only a small quota of the electors; but in Ireland, in the country districts, these hovels will contain about one-half of all the householders, and in the boroughs a very large proportion of the electors. And now, one word also as to the state of education in Ireland. There, too, I admit freely—and I am glad to admit it—that considerable progress has recently been made, and is still being made. But, nevertheless, the condition of the Irish people in this respect is still very bad. As far as I can calculate, the facts of the case would be these—if we assume that the present electors are able to read and write, it may be said, speaking generally, that the new electors to be added to the franchise by this Bill will be taken from a class of which 40 per cent of those above 20 years of age cannot read or write. I will not push my argument to the extent to which it was carried by Mr. John Stuart Mill, who held that no man should be enfranchised who could not read and write; I do not push it to that extent at present; but I do push it to the extent of another proposition which Mr. Mill laid down when he said—

"No one can deny that it is not a good, but a hurtful thing, that the Constitution of a country should declare ignorance to be entitled to as much political power as knowledge."

Now, I put it to the House, if this Bill were intended to apply to Ireland alone, what responsible statesman would have brought forward a measure with such results as I have described? Would you, in England or Scotland, trust the fortunes of your country to such a

wild, untrained, disqualified democracy as this? I do not wish to pursue this branch of the subject further; but I should like to say this much. It is argued that there are anomalies in the present representation of the Irish people. I grant it fully, and I am quite sure that if the time were propitious for introducing reforms, remedies might be found, well-considered, cautious, and safe, which would, to a great extent, remove these anomalies. But this Bill will not only continue many of these anomalies, but it will aggravate them, and especially those anomalies which tell against the constituencies which are most enlightened and progressive. Let me give one or two instances. The town of Belfast is one of the most improving places in Ireland. It contains 35,000 inhabited houses, which exceed in number the inhabited houses in all the boroughs in Munster, including the City of Cork; yet it only returns two Members, while the boroughs of Munster return 14. Again, in Leinster, the City of Dublin has nearly 28,000 inhabited houses, which is a larger number than all the other boroughs in the Province of Leinster; but still that City has only two Members, while the rest of the boroughs have eight. I say again that anomalies in the Irish representation undoubtedly exist; but in many important cases the present Bill will not only continue, but will aggravate them. I think I have already satisfied the House that this is a Bill, as it affects Ireland, which would not have been introduced if it had been proposed for that country alone. There is no political philosopher so flighty as to maintain that, under the existing circumstances of Ireland, the wholesale extension of household suffrage to the counties and boroughs is the best way of representing all classes of the Irish people. In point of fact, the effect of this Bill would be, that the representation of the less capable citizens would be inordinately increased, while the representation of the most capable citizens would be practically extinguished. I say that such considerations as these would have been amply sufficient to have justified the Government in adhering to the precedent of all former Reform Bills, and dealing on somewhat different principles with the English and Irish constituencies. And now let me turn to the view

of the case which weighs most heavily on the minds of all serious thinkers on Reform; and that is the influence which, if the Bill is carried as it stands at present, it will give in the future to the Party led by the hon. Member for the City of Cork. I am willing to accept the estimate—I wish to deal with the question in the most practical way—I am willing to accept the estimate which has been made by Members of that Party, as to the number of Representatives they will be able to return if this Franchise Bill should pass. That calculation goes up to 90 or 95, and I am sorry to say that I am not in a position to show that it is a very exaggerated estimate. If this Bill is carried, and a General Election is taken upon it without any Redistribution Bill, the result would probably be that the hon. Member for the City of Cork, or whoever may be at the moment the Leader of that movement, will have in this House from 90 to 95 followers. It has also been said that if this Bill does not pass, the hon. Member will return after the next General Election with 70 or 80 followers. I think that that is an exaggeration. I believe we should be very well able to hold our own. I think it was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) who said the other day that the Conservatives and the Whigs, by acting together, ought to be able to return 35 or 40 Members to the next Parliament against the Parnellites. Therefore, the difference which the Bill makes is not merely 10 or 15 Members, but 25 or 30. I know that the arguments I am putting forward now are arguments which will be treated by advanced Reformers as perfectly unworthy of consideration in this House. These gentlemen go altogether on other and general principles, and yet it is not very long since we had high authority for relying on these very apprehensions. I am speaking of the maxim deliberately laid down by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, and to which I beg now particularly to recall the attention of the House and the country; I allude to a speech which was made by the noble Marquess about a year and a-half ago to his constituents. In that speech the noble Marquess stated that the present Parliament was perfectly capable of dealing with the questions

of local government and with the franchise for Britain; but he went on to say, speaking of the proposal to include Ireland in such measures, that in his opinion it would be madness to volunteer to give to Ireland a more extended local self-government until they received from the Representatives of the Irish people some assurance that it would not be used for the purpose of agitation and for the purpose of weakening the authority of the Crown. That was the proposition then deliberately laid down by the noble Marquess; so it remained, apparently, in the mind of the noble Marquess for more than a year, and I do not know by what process the noble Marquess has been led to change that opinion. But he went on to say that, while there was no franchise or power possessed by, or afterwards to be conferred upon, the English people, that he would withhold from Ireland as soon as he was persuaded that she was contented to remain an integral portion of the United Kingdom, he would plead for Ireland that she should have an interval of repose from such exciting legislation. This opinion, which the noble Marquess expressed at that time, I am sure, recommended itself to nine-tenths of the common-sense politicians of the country as a sound, reasonable, and just view to take of the question. But, before I proceed further on this point, I should like to add a word as to what has been said and to what has not been said by Ministers on the subject of a Redistribution Bill. I do not intend to trouble the House with any observations as to the propriety of making a reduction in the number of Members returned by Ireland. I only mention the topic as throwing some light upon the way the Irish Party are likely to be approached when the question arises of the redistribution of the constituencies of Ireland *inter se*. It is perfectly plain that when the Prime Minister made his overture to Irish Members below the Gangway, he did so with the hope of conciliating, or, at all events, of averting the opposition of the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his followers. Now, let me ask this question—If the Prime Minister felt himself compelled to make that rash and sudden pledge to the hon. Member for the City of Cork, while he stands in this House with 40 Irish Representatives as his followers, what



would he or any other English politician feel himself called upon to do, if, instead of 40 Members, he had to deal with 90 or 95? Let me follow this up a little further, for really it is the kernel of the present controversy. Is the redistribution which hon. Members talk about to be brought about in the present House of Commons? If the Franchise Bill were carried alone, it would secure to the hon. Member for the City of Cork 90 or 95 followers. How, then, would any Minister be received who approached the hon. Member and proposed, in the last days of this doomed and dying Parliament, that he should give up 20 or 30 of those seats? When is it to be done? In the next Parliament, after a General Election shall have given 90 or 95 followers to the hon. Member? Is it to be done as part of a Redistribution Bill for the Three Kingdoms? At such a time of keen contest, of contending interests, of the hot rivalries between different English Parties and places, one single independent vote would fetch a famine price. But what will be the market value of a cohort of nearly 100 free lances perfectly disciplined to act together under the Leadership of their cool-headed and experienced Commander? Where, let me ask, will be found the Government so strong, and where the Parliament so patriotic, which would have the courage and patience to attempt to carry such a proposal against such an opposition? No; you must make up your minds to this. If this Franchise Bill be carried without such safeguards as are demanded by the Amendment—if Parliament parts with it without having secured the redress of these evils—you will have saddled this House permanently with 90 or 95 Members returned by Irish constituencies, pledged, every one of them, to vote solidly together for the purpose of breaking up the Union of the Three Kingdoms, and, as they have plainly told you, until they have achieved that end, resolved to make the conduct of Public Business in this House impossible. How long do you suppose that the frail machinery of Party Government, with all its incidents of intense rivalry, of strong temptation, of momentary exigency—a machinery which was never intended to meet such a peril—how long would it be able to resist the steady pressure of these 90 or 95 Members who are prepared to sub-

ordinate every other consideration of foreign and domestic policy until they have wrested from you the concession of the independence of Ireland? But, then, we are promised by hon. Gentlemen opposite that we may rely upon it that the English people will see right done in the matter. We were especially assured of that by a right hon. Gentleman who is certainly entitled to speak with considerable authority on the subject. I refer to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. He told the House that his decision to support the application of the Bill to Ireland was one which he had arrived at only after great and long doubting as to whether he was justified in doing so or not. The grounds on which he seems to have got over the difficulty are very strange and suggestive. The right hon. Gentleman said that some people fear that, by constant changes in the relative power of English political Parties, the hon. Member for the City of Cork will become the arbiter of the destinies of the United Kingdom, because he could make his support "useful." Now, I think that was a very curious and interesting statement, coming from the right hon. Gentleman, who had himself dragged to light and exposed an expression, which was not at all dissimilar, in a famous letter sent on a historic occasion by the hon. Member for the City of Cork to the hon. and gallant Member for Clare (Mr. O'Shea). The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford said it might be feared that the hon. Member for the City of Cork would make his support "useful," and added that the hon. Member would get almost all he wanted by controlling the action of the different Parties; "but," said the right hon. Gentleman—

"I am not afraid of that, because Party men in this House are too patriotic, and because the householders of Great Britain would make short work of any Government which could give way to the dictates of a small minority."

It may not, however, be quite so small a minority; but suppose it were to be a small minority, I must say no one is more capable of gauging the patriotism of politicians on such a subject than the right hon. Gentleman. I do not know whether he is, as was wittily said the other day by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel), "a refugee in the corner;" I



would say that he is rather an honourable exile from Office, having left the Government because he would not consent to an Act of the kind which he described, when he spoke of the destruction which would follow any Government which dared to attempt such a step. There sits the right hon. Gentleman on the Bench behind the Treasury, a danger signal—like a bell buoy on the ocean, to mark the spot where the Kilmainham Treaty sank. But the Government ship sails gaily over the wreck, and they are now engaged in further—I suppose I must not call it a Treaty, but in further “arrangements,” which the right hon. Gentleman himself described as clearly another “concession to the Irish Members.” As to the householders holding any Government accountable for such a transaction, I sincerely hope the right hon. Gentleman is justified in his confident expectation; for I am afraid that before very long the householders of England, Scotland, and Wales will have an opportunity of putting their patriotism and firmness on this subject to a very serious trial. I want now to say a word on behalf of the loyal minority in Ireland, whose voice has not yet been heard from these Benches; and when I speak of them, I wish the House distinctly to understand that this is not a landlords’ question. Some hon. Members said in the debate the other day, in a general way—“Oh, it is only the landlords of Ireland who are the loyal minority.” Nothing can be further from the truth than that. In speaking of the Loyal Party, I am thinking of more than 1,000,000 Protestants living in Ulster and outside Ulster, embracing all classes of the people, but mainly composed of farmers in the counties, and artisans in the towns—aye, and thousands and hundreds of thousands of Catholics in Ulster and out of Ulster, who are just as much devoted to the maintenance of the Union between the two countries as any hon. Member of this House. These are the men who, through all the difficulties, through all the dangers, through all the temptations, and through all the terrors of the last few years, never threw in their lot with the hon. Member for the City of Cork, but stood firm and true to the maintenance of the Union. These are the men referred to, not long ago, by the right hon. Gen-

tleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in a speech to his constituents, as that Party in Ireland which was not confined by any means to Conservatives, but included the Whig Party of Ulster as well, and which he hoped he might describe as “the greater Ireland.” In that description, I am afraid, the right hon. Gentleman took too sanguine a view; but there can be no doubt whatever that considerably more than one-third of the whole population of Ireland are loyal. Then I would ask the House—Are not these men entitled to be fairly represented in the Imperial Parliament? Are not their rights to be safeguarded? I do not care to appeal for the sake of old attachment between England and the Loyalists of Ireland; but I put it upon the ground of your own interests at the present time. The right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), speaking the other night, seemed to think that the Members for two or three counties were quite enough for the loyal minority in Ireland, and that they would be fairly represented by such a number in this House. Let it be remembered that this minority is not a minority composed wholly of Protestants. Neither is the principle which binds them together, and on which they are perfectly identified, a crotchet—it is one that is vital to their political existence, and which goes to the very root of their liberties as free citizens. It is a principle for which they have shown themselves prepared to risk and, if necessary, to sacrifice their lives. If ever, then, there was a case in which a minority was entitled to the support and protection of this House, it is the Loyalist minority in Ireland. Certainly, this exigency of Her Majesty’s Government is a great windfall for the hon. Member for the City of Cork. It bids fair not only to increase his power, but to practically extinguish his opponents absolutely and for ever. Let me urge my cause on yet another ground. After the next General Election, the hon. Member for the City of Cork will certainly return to this House with a very considerably increased following. He will as certainly renew his demand for a separate Irish nationality. You say you are resolved to resist that demand. But will it make no difference to you if you are then able to appeal in the presence

of the public opinion of this country, of foreign countries, and of our own Colonies, to the existence in Ireland, as proved by the presence of their Representatives in this House, of a considerable proportion of people who are resolutely opposed to any scheme for the dismemberment of the Empire? Will it make no difference, especially to you who are pledged to governing Ireland according to Irish ideas? Imagine the joy with which, in such a crisis, the winning even of a single bye-election by a Loyalist would be hailed. Yet this Bill proposes to hand over, wholesale, 20 or 30 more votes to the Separatist Party than they are entitled to claim, even on the ground of mere numbers, to say nothing of education, wealth, or the payment of taxes. I cannot stay to argue upon the folly of the time selected for the introduction of this Bill. You cherish hopes that the power of the hon. Member for the City of Cork is breaking up. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, catching at any straw, dwelt upon that possibility. For myself, I am sorry to say that I can see no symptoms of the breaking up of the power and authority of the hon. Member for the City of Cork; but, even supposing that there really was such a chance, why did you not wait until the thing happened, instead of now, when the hon. Member is at the zenith of his power, stereotyping his influence and authority by sending to the assistance of the phalanx which he commands such a large additional number of supporters to secure for him without delay his ultimate triumph? Then I have heard another and a very strange argument. It is said—"What matters it whether 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, or 90 Members from Ireland are led by the hon. Member for the City of Cork. The case is already as bad as it can be?" I will not call it an argument at all; it is only a lazy, listless, and reckless excuse on the part of those who wish to shirk trouble and shrink from responsibility. I say that in the mere physical difficulty of opposing the Separatist Party in this House it must make the greatest difference, but it is to the moral value of every Irish vote that you can fairly save on this question whether you are going to maintain or to sacrifice the Union between the two countries—the question which predominates over and overwhelms in

importance all others—that I attach such critical importance. Let me back my reasoning on this subject by one quotation from an unexpected ally. There have been great doubts expressed as to whether, if this Bill passes, it will really have the effect of strengthening the power of the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Party, and it has even been urged by some that it would have an opposite effect. Hon. Members from England and Scotland, who are sincerely anxious to support this Bill, surely have been driven to strange devices in order to find arguments in justification of the course they are prepared to take. They say it is a mistake to think that the hon. Member for the City of Cork will be strengthened; that, on the contrary, his power will be broken up. Now I must admit that the hon. Member, in the only appearance he has entered on this subject, when he spoke on the first reading of the Bill—he was not here, I believe, when his Lieutenant, the hon. Member for Wexford, enlightened the House this evening—the hon. Member for the City of Cork helped the Government as much as he could. His speech, on that occasion, was a very remarkable one. He deprecated all passion or heat, and treated the effect which the measure would have upon his own position in Ireland as very trifling. He said he hardly thought he could get as many as 90 Members; and, if he did, it would make no difference at all. In point of fact, the hon. Member said everything that he possibly could in order to assuage the fears of English Members and reconcile them to the Bill. With the permission of the House, I will read an extract from a speech made by the hon. Member for the City of Cork, at another time and to a different audience—at a meeting held for the purpose of founding the present National League of Ireland. On that occasion, when the hon. Member was organizing that agitation and laying down the lines upon which it was to proceed, and holding out the hopes which were to encourage his supporters, this is what he told them, and I beg the attention of the House to it. Speaking on the 18th of October, 1882, the hon. Member said—

"We comprise about 40 out of the 103 Members Ireland is entitled to send to the House of Commons. It is true that, even under the pro-

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sent franchise, we can hope largely to increase our present numbers at the next General Election without altering at all the franchise. We trust to increase our numbers to at least 65 or 70, and we then should, at least, constitute the majority of the Irish Representatives, and not be under the imputation, as at present, that we are only a fraction or minority of that representation. But to get such a representation as would secure, for instance, the creation of National Self-Government for Ireland, we require to return 80 or 90 Members to the House of Commons, and we cannot hope for this until the franchise has been lowered, at least as far as the basis of household suffrage."

This is, then, exactly the original object and the main purpose with which the hon. Member founded the National League, which is now in full swing in Ireland; and it is in face of that object, and in face of that warning and protest, that the English Government are preparing to give this overwhelming and preponderating power to the hon. Member, so that, with the conveniences which he has described, he will be able to fulfil his prophecy, by stamping out those in Ireland who are still friendly to the Union! I beg the House to weigh this serious state of things, and this well-considered and deliberate statement of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, who must understand this subject at all events, against all these vague and general propositions about the good time coming for Ireland, when, after you have made this last concession, she is to settle down in peace and contentment. Admirable moralizing! But I should like to ask the Government how they expect to impress these excellent precepts upon the minds of men whose ideas are but too faithfully represented by such speeches, as we sometimes hear from the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) and the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy)? Through what channels do you expect to pour these gentle antidotes? They never read a word of publications that contain such respectable platitudes. They are accustomed to diet of a different kind. They believe what is said by the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and they read the newspapers which support his cause even in stronger language than hon. Members are accustomed to hear in this House—stronger even than we heard from the lips of the hon. Member for Wexford this very evening. The hon. Member for Cork has long ago assured them that the real reason why Ireland

was included in the Bill was that otherwise he and his Party would not have permitted any measure to be carried at all. Realizing all these things, I stand in amazement at the folly which is hurrying forward this fatal measure; and, often as I listen to the wise saws and abstract reasons by which its supporters try to keep up their confidence in this last reckless experiment, I am reminded of that remarkable saying of Lord Dufferin, when dealing with a not very different school of critics, in his famous despatch upon the Egyptian Question. He said—

"The situation of the country is too critical, the problems immediately pressing for solution are too vital to be tampered with, even in the interests of political philosophy."

I am quite sure there are a great many hon. Members in this House—I do not know how many—who have hailed the decided improvement in the condition of Ireland, as shown in the subsidence of agrarian crime and the more general tranquillity of the country, as the harbinger of the existence of those conditions which the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War laid down in his speech at Bacup, and that they really believe that the Irish people have become reconciled to obedience to the law and to the maintenance of the Union. I am not going to repeat again what I said on that subject—against laying too much stress upon those signs of improvement—when I had the opportunity of speaking in the debate on the Address. I think, however, I am content to recall the attention of the House to the very remarkable statement made here, a few days ago, by the hon. Member for the City of Cork, when he encouraged the Irish farmers to unite in a strike against the payment of the police tax; and when I add that that teaching has been carefully improved and disseminated as far as possible in Ireland by the Press which supports that Separatist Party, I think these considerations are enough to show how far we are still from the state of affairs which was required by the noble Marquess as the condition of granting the same measures to Ireland which he is prepared to grant to England, and also to show how near we are still to the time when the law of the League was the law of the land. I implore hon. Mem-



bers not to be too much influenced by the subsidence of agrarian crime. I rejoice at it as much as any man in this House can do; but I pray you not to lay your heads too calmly on the opium-pillow of security and repose, lest, while you sleep and slumber, the door of this House may be pushed gently open, and you may awaken to find that your threshold has been crossed and your House thronged in overwhelming numbers by those men, who frankly tell you they come here for no other purpose than to break up the Union of the Three Kingdoms. I will not enlarge upon the certain consequence of that movement if it succeeds. It has been laid down as an axiom by all the great thinkers and statesmen of England in former times that the repeal of the Union would mean nothing less than the breaking up of the Empire; and if such ends were sought by open force you all say you would resist it to the bitter end. But to-day the danger is of a more subtle, and therefore more formidable kind; and it is, in my opinion, nearer to you than it has been within this century. And yet I am very glad to be able to assure the House that, quite independently of the policy of the present Government, or of any Government—I should say, despite the policy of the present Government—there are forces at work in Ireland which, under more favourable circumstances, might lead that country on to a happier future. Education and material prosperity are spreading over the land their civilizing influences. The rapidly-increasing interchanges of commerce, and the interweaving of financial interests, the frequent passing to and fro of men across the inhospitable sea—*oceanus dissociabilis*—or, as it was once translated from an Irish schoolboy—“The Channel which repudiates the Union.” These influences are spanning and bridging the Channel, and ought to bring the peoples of the two countries more closely together; and I am perfectly certain in this House there is no feeling more strong, in spite of the bitter invectives and furious slanders to the contrary sometimes heard from Irish Members below the Gangway. There is no feeling stronger in this House than the desire for a lasting reconciliation—a desire felt not more on one side of the House than on the other. But realize,

I pray you, what are the conditions which you are preparing for the last act of this solemn drama. Separation will be demanded after the next General Election by those who demand it now; but their numbers will be seriously increased. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford said he would rather meet the hon. Member for Cork in this House than confront his associates in Ireland. I cannot see the force of the remark. What really will happen? The conspirator in Ireland, the assassin, will not be more loth to take his place behind the hedge, and the dynamiter to deposit his carefully-constructed clockwork, whenever it is thought that another tug at the chapel bell will be useful. The amount of external pressure will be carefully regulated so as to increase the power, but not to spoil the game, of the Parliamentary Representatives of the movement. But you will meet them in the House of Commons redoubled in numbers, and more than ever willing, confident, and able to protect their confederates operating in the country. Let me put the case to Ministers and Members opposite from one other point of view. What is your answer when you are confronted with the fact that after all your boasted policy of concession the Irish people seem to be more estranged from you and from England than ever? You say—“Wait a bit; the operation of our healing measures is necessarily slow; but time is on our side,” and so on. I suppose your hope is that you may win away at last the minds even of the passionate people of my country from their false guides, and that common sense, and a sense of common interests, may again draw them into a friendly fellow-citizenship? You expect that the effect of your acts of conciliation, according to the natural course of such a policy, must soon influence the more reasonable and educated of those classes in Ireland who have lately been in revolt against your rule, and that it may gradually work down through the various strata, even to the lowest, the most ignorant, the most bitterly prejudiced? That, at the best, must take time, and a long time. Yet, without giving a moment's respite for such a change to be accomplished, at one bound you outstrip the operation of those influences, and place practically the whole of the electorate power in the hands of those who are absolutely un-

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fitted for it; and to the Representatives of those classes of Irishmen certain not to be converted for years to come you give such an overwhelming influence that they will inevitably control and guide the fortunes of Party warfare, and the future action of Parliament, not only for Ireland, but for the Empire! I have to thank the House for its attention. I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to avoid saying anything which could introduce into the debate the heats of Party conflict; and I have sought to plead—to plead patiently—the cause of the Irish Loyalist. I solemnly warn the House that in this controversy, which, believe me, is not now at an end, and of which, I fear, you have not yet heard the worst, the act which the Government are now asking you to do will absolutely efface the influence of the men who might be your friends in Ireland, and will give an overwhelming preponderance in that country and in this House to those who are resolved to destroy the Union and break up the Empire.

MR. H. H. FOWLER said, he felt that his hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Morley) would see that a very serious obstacle had already been raised in the way of the suggestion made in the course of his speech. He thought that the eloquent, graceful, statesmanlike, and powerful speech to which they had just listened, would very much indispose the House and the country to deprive itself of such ornaments of debate as the Representatives for the Universities of Ireland and the rest of the United Kingdom. He was not going to touch the Irish Question, which had been so exhaustively dealt with that evening, nor was he going into any side issues with reference to minority representation, or kindred subjects of which they had heard so much. He wished to say a word or two upon the Amendment actually before the House, which suggested that this measure should be postponed until the whole redistribution scheme of Her Majesty's Government was before them. That Amendment was very skilfully drawn; it secured the support of three classes of the opponents of the Bill. It secured the support of those who did not object on principle to the extension of the franchise to householders in rural and urban districts, but who contended that the

grouping of those was so essential an element that they declined to support the scheme without redistribution; it secured the support of those who altogether objected to the measure, and whose opposition no possible scheme of redistribution would remove; and it also secured the support of those who, not venturing to oppose the measure openly, disguised their hostility under the cover of an Amendment which enabled them to vote against the Bill without saying what they really meant. The noble Lord's argument rested, to a great extent, upon the precedents of 1832 and 1867. With the permission of the House, he would point out the essential difference between this measure and those to which the noble Lord referred—it was that the latter were disfranchising as well as enfranchising measures. They deprived persons who already had the vote, and gave it to others possessing the same qualification living in different localities. But the present measure did not deprive a man of his vote at all; it simply altered the locality in which the vote was to be exercised; and although it did not remove the anomalies in the present system of electoral distribution, it would bring home to hon. Gentlemen opposite the injustice under which the boroughs had been suffering in consequence of the unfair redistribution which had been settled upon them in 1867. The number of borough Members in the Kingdom at the present time was 360, and the number of county Members 283; the former representing only 15,000,000, and the latter 20,000,000 of the population. Now, that disproportion already existed; and although the extension of the franchise would aggravate the difference, it would not really make the condition of things worse than at present. But no possible contrast of this anomaly could parallel the electoral absurdities of the present system, because it depended upon the contingency that this Parliament would be dissolved before it had dealt with the whole scheme. Now, only in three events could that contingency arise. The first was, that the Bill became law this year, and that Parliament was dissolved this year; the second was, that if the present Bill became law this year, and the Dissolution occurred next year; and the third was, that the Government would postpone bringing in a Redistri-



bution Bill until after the Dissolution of Parliament. The date on which a man's qualification was ascertained was the 31st July. That qualification was maintained for 12 months. Any election that took place this year must be based upon the existing register, which was made up to January last. The present measure, unless a clause which it did not now contain were inserted in it, could not confer electoral power until the 1st of January, 1886. [The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): No, no!] The hon. and learned Gentleman said "No, no!" He would make that point clearer. He admitted that if the Bill received the Royal Assent before the 31st of July this year, it might possibly come into force on the 1st of January, 1885; but as no one would consider that it could receive the Royal Assent before the 31st of July this year, any election which took place in 1884 or 1885 must be decided by the existing constituencies. The real opposition to this Bill was the opposition of the two right hon. Gentlemen opposite—namely, the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) and the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), who believed that the Bill would effect a transfer of political power dangerous to the public welfare. His right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge said that there was a sort of compact entered into in 1832, by virtue of which the middle classes were contented that the county constituency should be left to property holders; and he contended that the same sort of arrangement took place in 1867, and that a counterpoise to the artizan franchise was to be found in the restricted occupation franchise in the counties. If that extraordinary theory did exist, then his reply would be that those who were not parties to those bargains could not be bound by them; and, inasmuch as the borough householders who were left out in 1832 were not debarred from obtaining their rights in 1867, so the county householders of 1867 were not debarred from obtaining their rights in 1884. But that was a repetition of the old argument about interests and classes, which had been dealt with by his hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Morley) that evening. He would like to ask whether those who entertained this view had

taken into consideration and calculated the proportion of the wage-earning classes, and the amount of political power to which they were on that ground entitled? The wage-earning class comprised the bulk of the population; they produced the largest amount of national wealth, and gave the largest amount to the national income. Their production was valued at £500,000,000, while they paid 40 per cent of the National Revenue. On what principle was this gigantic and preponderating interest to be represented? Formerly numerous interests were represented in Parliament. There was the East India interest, the West India interest, the Colonial interest, and the Shipping interest; but the experiment had been tried, and had failed, inasmuch as the political ignorance and subserviency of the Parliaments which represented those interests had only been surpassed by the venality and the corruption of the constituencies by which they were elected. There was one interest into which all others merged, which all other classes were bound to support, in which they all shared the interest of the people as a whole, and it was upon that standpoint that he claimed the privileges of citizenship for all those who discharged its duties. The possession of political power and its use constituted the best education of the people; and he believed that the artisans of 1884 were superior in political information to the £10 householders of 1832. There were, of course, capable and incapable men in all grades of society—there was a residuum in all classes; but that was no argument against the extension of the franchise to those classes—because some people were drowned it was no reason for keeping everybody out of the water until they could swim. Gentlemen on those Benches supported it as a measure of popular government; and although he admitted that the power which it gave might not always be exercised wisely, or always exercised with justice, for blunders and mistakes were inherent in all human institutions, yet he and his hon. Friends had no fear of the result. The truth was that there were two policies with regard to the people of this country which the House could adopt—that of trust, tempered by prudence, or that of distrust, tempered by fear. He anticipated the success of

[*Fifth Night.*]



the former policy, which to his mind was one of wisdom and justice, one that would strengthen the Constitution by widening the base upon which it rested, while at the same time it strengthened that system of Party government which controlled and checked the administration of the national affairs. It was the boast of Lord Beaconsfield in 1867 that he had created the Conservative working man. So long as they excluded the mass of the people from the pale of the Constitution they compelled them to assume a hostile attitude; but the moment they admitted them they gave full play to those political instincts, which were as natural to the cottage as to the mansion. The artisans and peasants did not belong to one political Party only; they had ranked themselves some with one Party and some with another; and he believed that their accession to political life would not only strengthen the working of our institutions, but would add great political force to the two great Parties of the State, whose healthy rivalry and whose common patriotism had been the story of our political freedom. He commended the Bill to those hon. Members, Liberal as well as Conservative, who foresaw that in the near future there were social and political problems to be solved, whose solution would tax the energies of our best and wisest statesmen; and he commended it also to the support of all who were desirous of erecting another bulwark around that system of law and liberty, order and progress, which was the proud and peerless inheritance of the English people.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Stuart-Wortley*),—put, and agreed to.

Debate further adjourned till Monday next.

#### ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.—[BILL 144.]

(*The Marquess of Hartington, The Judge Advocate, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

#### COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

MR. PARNELL said, he hoped the Bill would not be proceeded with at that hour—12.40. He had supposed, from

the statement of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, that the Motion for going into Committee would not be made at a time when it was perfectly impossible for the House to do justice to the three important Amendments which stood on the Paper in the names of the hon. Member for Sligo (*Mr. Sexton*) and himself. Of course, if the Government only desired to move the Bill into Committee, and would give an assurance that the clauses would not be considered except at a time when it would be competent for Irish Members to direct attention to these important matters to which the Amendments referred, he should not persevere in the course which otherwise he intended to pursue. He wanted an assurance that the Bill would not be taken at an hour when the House had been wearied out by an exhausting discussion, and when it would be impossible to obtain for the proposed Amendments that attention to which their importance justly entitled them. He also directed attention to the fact that although the Bill had been ruled to be beyond the half-past 12 o'clock Rule, yet such was not the case with former Army (Annual) Bills, and it was owing to that fact that they had succeeded in carrying certain Amendments after full discussion. He, therefore, trusted that the Government would give them the opportunity of bringing these matters fairly before the House. He felt every confidence that if they did so—if they gave the opportunity he asked for of taking the debate at a reasonable hour, and of enabling the House to devote attention to the matter—hon. Members would be able to impress the House with the justice of their view, and obtain some alteration of the very onerous conditions which the Act now imposed on the soldiers of the Army. He begged to move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I should be very glad, if it were possible, to give a better and more convenient opportunity for the discussion of the important Amendments in the Bill than is afforded on the present occasion. I fear, however, from the necessities of the Public Service, that the Bill must be

passed through this House before the Easter Recess; and that, therefore, no more convenient opportunity than the present will arise for taking this stage of the Bill. I would suggest to the hon. Member (Mr. Parnell) that the question whether the discussion on the Bill can be taken to-morrow night will depend, to a considerable extent, on the hon. Member himself and his Friends. The principal Amendment on going into Committee of Supply to-morrow is one to be moved by the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy); and if that Motion brings about a prolonged debate, I am afraid we should have no chance of taking this discussion at an earlier hour than now. If, however, it is likely that the debate on the Motion will be concluded at an early hour, we shall have no objection, if the Speaker be allowed to leave the Chair now, to the postponement of the discussion in Committee until to-morrow. If that course is taken, it must be on the understanding that we must ask the Committee to proceed with the discussion of the Bill at any hour at which it may be reached. I am afraid that on Monday the Sitting will probably be a still later one than this; and that Tuesday, when the House, it is hoped, will adjourn for the Easter Recess, will not be a convenient opportunity for discussing the Bill. If the hon. Gentleman thinks there is any probability that the Motion of the hon. Member for Longford will be disposed of to-morrow at an earlier hour than we have now reached, I should have no objection to an adjournment immediately we get into Committee.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he thought that, on the whole, there would be a better chance of the hon. Member's Amendment to the Army Bill being discussed to-morrow than to-night. The Irish Members expected a full debate on his (Mr. Justin M'Carthy's) Motion to-morrow; but, at the same time, they would endeavour to keep within reasonable limits, and he should think there would be a good chance of reaching the Bill at an earlier period than they had arrived at it now. He would, therefore, suggest that the course pointed out by the noble Lord should be agreed to.

MR. SEXTON said, he considered that, on the whole, the course proposed would be a convenient one. The noble Marquess said just now that the necessities of the

Public Service required that the Bill should pass before the Easter Recess; but he (Mr. Sexton) had always, hitherto, understood that if the Army (Annual) Bill passed before the 30th April—27 days distant—it would be in time. He was, therefore, curious to know how the noble Lord could say that the Bill should pass anything like before Easter? There was no reason to apprehend that they would not be able to reach the discussion of the clauses of the Bill at an earlier hour than the present—a quarter before 1.

MR. HEALY said, he would point out to the noble Marquess that, although the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork agreed to the arrangement suggested, he could have no control whatever over the Motions of hon. Gentlemen on the Paper subsequent to that of the hon. Member for Longford. There was a Motion down in the name of the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) on the subject of the fees levied upon the suitor in the Supreme Court of Judicature. Then, one of the Members for Westminster (Lord Algernon Percy) had a Motion to call attention to the Carriage Tax, and move a Resolution. There were several other Motions down, and, of course, one in the name of the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) with regard to the time of the Session at which the Estimates should be proceeded with. It appeared to him that if the Irish Members agreed to the suggestion of the noble Lord they would be obliging themselves to curtail the discussion on the Motion of the hon. Member for Longford only to make way for those Gentlemen who had Motions down subsequent to that of his hon. Friend. It should depend on the engagements given to-night whether or not Irish Members curtailed their speeches to-morrow.

MR. PARNELL said, he thought it would be best for him to withdraw his Motion for reporting Progress; but, at the same time, he must express a hope that the Government would use their influence with hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House who had Motions on the Paper subsequent to the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Longford to induce them not to proceed with those Motions, in order to allow the Army Bill to come on at a reasonable time.

MR. GREGORY said, that, as far as he was concerned, his Motion to-morrow depended very much upon what was done with the Royal Courts of Justice Bill, which was down on the Paper for to-night. If reasonable time was given for the discussion of that Bill he had no intention of pressing his Motion; in fact, he would much rather take the discussion on the Bill, seeing that the measure involved the question contained in his Motion.

MR. COURTNEY said, that, with reference to the Bill in question, he should be quite ready to meet the convenience of the hon. Member as far as possible. It was impossible, he feared, to bring it on any night at an earlier hour; but, as it was a Money Bill, they would not be precluded from proceeding with it at whatever hour it was reached.

MR. TOMLINSON said, the hon. Member (Mr. Gregory) was not the only person who took an interest in this question. Strong representations with regard to it had been made to him (Mr. Tomlinson).

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *considered* in Committee; Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

#### TRUSTEE CHURCHES (IRELAND) BILL.

[*Lords.*].—[BILL 157.]

(*Mr. Gibson.*)

COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report the Bill to the House."

MR. HEALY said, that on this question he wished to express a hope that the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) would remember the courtesy which had been shown him in respect of this Bill by the Irish Members below the Gangway on the Opposition side of the House. They had refrained from putting a block against the measure, and in return for that consideration it was to be hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman would remember the circumstance when he (Mr. Healy) and his Friends had little Bills down, and would refrain from putting blocking Notices against them him-

self, or from inciting others to do it when he did not like openly to adopt that course himself.

MR. GIBSON said, he would reciprocate the courtesy of hon. Members below the Gangway whenever they had Bills analogous to the present measure down on the Paper.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *reported*, without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow*.

#### SUMMARY JURISDICTION (REPEAL, &c.)

BILL.—[BILL 55.]

(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Hibbert.*)

MR. GREGORY appealed to the hon. Member to take some convenient day for this Bill, and then let it be brought on at an earlier hour. It was a Bill of considerable importance, and it might be brought on some day—and he did not care how soon—after Easter.

MR. WARTON said, he would support that appeal.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD said, this was a matter which interested suitors very much. He had had many representations made to him upon it, and he intended to discuss the subject when he could get an opportunity. The Bill had come before the House in a most mysterious manner. The hon. Member in charge of it moved the second reading by touching his hat, and not saying a single word upon it.

MR. COURTNEY said, this was a Money Bill.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD replied that, therefore, it could not be blocked. A serious charge was about to be put upon suitors; and, therefore, the subject was one which should be seriously discussed, and not when there was scarcely anyone present. To fix it for to-day was only fixing it formally for the day, and he hoped there would be no difficulty in fixing it for discussion soon after Easter.

MR. COURTNEY said, he did not propose to fix the Bill for to-day, and he would see what could be arranged.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Second Reading *deferred* till *To-morrow*.



## SUMMARY JURISDICTION OVER CHILDREN (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 75.]

(Mr. Gibson, Sir Richard Wallace, Mr. Blake, Mr. Corry.)

## THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(Mr. Gibson.)

Mr. SEXTON said, he had been looking through Section 4 of this Bill since the discussion the other night which led the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Gibson) to make an important alteration. Instead of providing that a child might be both flogged and sent to prison, the right hon. and learned Gentleman made flogging an alternative punishment; but on looking over the Bill he (Mr. Sexton) found that Sub-section 4 of Section 4 provided that—

"This section shall not prejudice the right of a Court of Summary Jurisdiction to send a child to a reformatory or industrial school."

He wished to know whether this sub-section would over-ride the alternative provision; whether a child, having been flogged, could be sent to a reformatory or industrial school, or whether the punishment should be simply alternative; and whether, in case of flogging, there would be no other punishment inflicted? Unless he was satisfied by the right hon. and learned Gentleman that Sub-section 4 did not cancel the apparent concession given in the previous section he should move the adjournment of the debate, in order to give time for the further consideration of the section.

Mr. GIBSON said, the section as to industrial schools was a section which must be retained, because jurisdiction in reference to reformatories and industrial schools was obviously most important in the interest of children as well as of the general community; and he should be very sorry to see any change in the reformatory law. The Government, he knew, could not consent to any such change.

Mr. PARNELL said, the power of flogging would then be given in addition to the power of sending to a reformatory or industrial school. He thought the House would agree with him that there would be no gain in giving this additional power to the police in the case of

children whom the magistrates intended to send to a reformatory or industrial school for a long period. If the child's mind was to be reformed by a course of treatment and discipline in a reformatory, that treatment should take place under the management of the directors of the reformatory, and within the walls of the reformatory. It was not necessary, and, indeed, it was highly objectionable, to inflict additional penalties to those already given to magistrates in regard to the power of sending children to a reformatory. Nothing could be more objectionable, in reference to the punishment of children, than punishment inflicted by the authority of magistrates in ordinary prisons previous to the children being sent to reformatories. As the law now stood, children were often sent to gaol for a fortnight before being sent to a reformatory; they were put in cells and frightened out of their wits. In his judgment, the course to adopt would be to send a child at once to a reformatory, so that the reformatory course could be at once entered upon, without the child being first sent to gaol or subjected to the barbarous punishment of flogging, which this Bill provided. He therefore hoped that, in order that this point might be cleared up, the right hon. and learned Gentleman would agree to the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(Mr. Parnell.)

Mr. GIBSON said, he would, of course, agree to the adjournment of the debate till to-morrow; but he believed there must be a short imprisonment first. He would make inquiry, and very likely he would be able to-morrow to give a satisfactory answer.

Mr. T. C. THOMPSON said, that in some cases these children were dealt with without anyone being present to defend them. Parents, by this Bill, were not to be summoned, and there might be nobody present to defend the children. A child of 10 years of age could not answer for himself; and, therefore, he thought care should be taken not to punish him unless someone appeared for him.

Question put, and agreed to.

Debate adjourned till To-morrow.

## MOTIONS.

—o—

## LAND IMPROVEMENT AND ARTERIAL DRAINAGE (IRELAND) BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to consolidate and amend the Acts for facilitating the improvement of Landed Property, and for the drainage and improvements of lands in Ireland."—(*Mr. Courtney.*)

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury whether this was the same Bill as was carried last year, who had advised the Bill, and who had brought it in? The Secretary to the Treasury was, of course, quite capable of bringing in such a Bill as this, but he had not time to do so; and, therefore, someone else must have brought it in.

MR. COURTNEY said, this was substantially the same Bill as was brought in last year. He did not think it necessary to say by whose advice it was brought in.

MR. O'SHEA asked whether the hon. Gentleman was intending to propose that the whole system of arterial drainage in Ireland should be referred to a Select Committee?

MR. HEALY expressed a hope that this Bill would not be compromised by insidious arterial charges in consequence of judicial rents; because if there was anything of that kind it would probably have to be dropped.

MR. COURTNEY said, there was no sort of foundation for that suggestion.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. TREVELYAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 166.]

## TURNPIKE ACTS CONTINUANCE ACT, 1883.

## APPOINTMENT AND NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Schedules of 'The Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1883'—Committee to consist of Lord EDWARD CAVENDISH, Mr. WENTWORTH BEAUMONT, Mr. BEACH, Mr. CLARE READ, Mr. LAMBTON, Viscount FOLKESTONE, and Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL:—Three to be the quorum."—(*Mr. George Russell.*)

COLONEL NOLAN said, it was supposed that this was a purely English Committee, to deal only with English questions. He should not have raised any question on the constitution of the Committee, if that was so; but he believed that the Committee, amongst other things, would consider the question of the amount of compensation to be paid to Turnpike Trusts on the valuation of turnpikes. That was not merely an English question, because some of the money would have to come from Irish sources, and there were many people in Ireland who took great interest in local affairs, and particularly in the question of rating. A certain sum of money was now being given to England, and no privilege was to be given to Ireland in regard to Irish rates. He had put this question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer direct; and the right hon. Gentleman had answered generally that there were a great many other things paid for in Ireland. This was a case in which an Irish Member might very well be put on the Committee, to see that these Trusts were abolished in a proper manner, and to see how Ireland was treated. He should move the omission of the name of Lord Edward Cavendish.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the name of Lord Edward Cavendish be omitted from the said Committee."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL said, he had expected this point to be raised. The fact of the matter was that he had taken the constitution of the Committee over from his Predecessor, almost exactly as it stood before, except that the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt) was unwilling to serve; and he was very glad to avail himself of the services of the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read). There was no disposition to exclude Irish Members from the Committee; but the number of the Committee had always been the same, and a wish had been expressed by the hon. Member who had always been Chairman that the number should not exceed that of former years. It was only on that account that he proposed the Committee as it now stood; and he believed the hon. and gallant Member was in error in supposing that Ireland was involved in the matter. It was a purely

English subject, and the Members of the Committee were purely English.

MR. HEALY said, this was now the last year of the sitting of the Committee, and, though that was so, it was really the most important year of all, because, as he understood it, it was the year in which the question of compensating those gentlemen whose rights were to be extinguished would come up for consideration. It was not an unreasonable thing to ask, seeing that the House had recognized that it was only fair that Irish Members should serve on English Committees, that an opportunity of enabling them to serve on such Committees should be given them. Irish Members were naturally anxious to serve on these Committees, in order that they might learn all about the Sister Island. Here was a Committee in connection with which a great deal of valuable information could be obtained. Some years ago a question was raised as to the *personnel* of these Committees and the question of nationality, and the Prime Minister admitted that the Third Party—who, they were told, were to have their numbers increased to such an alarming extent in the future—should be put on Committees. He thought, therefore, that they should have a Member on this Committee. He trusted that the Government, seeing that there was little contentious matter to be gone into on the Committee, would accede to the request now made, and put an Irish Member on the Committee.

MR. HIBBERT said, that, having sat on a similar Committee four years back, he might explain what it was called upon to do—although he did not wish to be understood as objecting to Irish Members being put upon such Committees. The subject to be considered by this Committee was entirely an English subject, and in no way whatever could any general question be raised. The question to be considered and reported upon was whether certain classes of roads should be disturnpiked or not, and the matter was, therefore, one only affecting certain local interests in England. Whether an Irish Member who was appointed on the Committee would not feel himself rather out of place was not for him but for the Committee to say. If he were asked whether he thought an Irish Member would be of any use on the Committee, he

should certainly have to reply that he did not see how he could possibly be able to render much assistance; but, at the same time, he would not like to say that the appointment of an Irish Member would in any way interfere with the deliberations of the Committee. So far as he was personally concerned, he should not have the least objection to having an Irish Member placed on it. Hitherto these Committees had never had either Irish or Scotch Members on them. This was not the last year in which they would have to sit; in fact, he expected they would have to sit for several years to come. He had merely risen to give an explanation of the work the Committee had to do, and to say that he saw no objection to Irishmen being put on the Committee, although no advantage could possibly arise from it.

MR. W. REDMOND said, it had been urged by Gentlemen on the Government Benches that it was unnecessary to have Irish Members on this Committee, on the ground that the Committee had to deal with affairs exclusively English. But had it not been often urged by Members of the Government, in justification of England interfering with Irish affairs, that Ireland and England were united in one Kingdom? Why were right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite so very reluctant to allow Irish Members to be appointed on this Committee, or to allow them to have anything at all to say in a matter which they declared to be thoroughly English? If this principle were followed out, and no English Members were appointed on Committees which referred to exclusively Irish matters, the Irish Members would be perfectly satisfied with the arrangement; but so long as English Members were appointed to take part in inquiries of an exclusively Irish character, the Irish Members were perfectly within their right in demanding to be represented on a Committee such as this. It appeared to him that the question of the appointment of this Committee had changed somewhat since last year, and that Ireland would certainly, to some extent, be interested in the result of the inquiry. He therefore thought the Irish Members were perfectly within their right, as his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) had pointed out, in demanding that an Irish Member should



be put on the Committee. The demand was a very reasonable one, and he could not see why hon. Members opposite could not accede to it.

Mr. WARTON said, he thought the Scotch Members who had the other day demanded so loudly to be put upon an English Committee should support the Irish Members to-day. If the House did not accede to the present demand, they would be giving the Irish Members a strong argument in favour of Home Rule. It would be a dangerous principle to lay down that Scotch and Irish Members were not to take part in English Committees; but, at the same time, he should advise any Irish Friend of his not to seek to get placed upon this particular Committee in question, for the reason that it had been sitting for some years, and he would go amongst Gentlemen who were thoroughly conversant with the subject, possessing himself no knowledge whatever about it. In order to make himself even tolerably familiar with the subject, he would have to study 70 or 80 Acts of Parliament.

Mr. SEXTON said, he hoped that what had fallen from the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. W. Redmond) would fructify in the minds of the Government. To his mind, the arguments of his hon. Friends were as reasonable as it was possible to conceive any arguments could be. The work of the Committee for the present year would be to consider whether certain roads should be disturnpiked or not, and, if they were, whether the cost of the operation should come out of the rates instead of the County Fund; and, that being so, the interest of the Irish Members in the question was minimized. He should, under the circumstances, be disposed to ask his Friends not to persevere in their demand to have an Irish Member placed on the Committee. In the last year of the sitting of the Committee, however, why should not an Irish Member be appointed on it?

COLONEL NOLAN said, he would not press his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Original Question put, and *agreed to*.

*Ordered*, That it be an Instruction to the Committee that they have power to inquire and report to the House under what conditions, with reference to the rate of interest, expenses of management, maintenance of road, payment of debt, and term of years, or other special arrange-

*Mr. W. Redmond*

ments, the Acts of the Trusts mentioned should be continued.

*Ordered*, That all Petitions relating to the continuance or discontinuance of Turnpike Trusts be referred to the Committee.

*Ordered*, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.—(*Mr. George Russell*.)

#### BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND) (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill to consolidate and amend certain Acts and enactments relating to the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland; and for other purposes, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY and Mr. TREVELYAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 165.]

#### BURGH POLICE AND HEALTH (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Bill for regulating the Police and Sanitary administration of towns and populous places, and for facilitating the union of Police and Municipal administration in Burghs in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by The LORD ADVOCATE and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for SCOTLAND.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 167.]

House adjourned at half after  
One o'clock.

### HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday, 4th April, 1884.*

MINUTES.] — PUBLIC BILLS — *Committee* — Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment \* (43). *Third Reading* — City of Norwich (Household Heath) Provisional Order \* (35); Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order \* (36); Isle of Man Harbours \* (47); Dublin Museum of Science and Art \* (38), and *passed*.

#### PRIVATE AND PROVISIONAL ORDER CONFIRMATION BILLS.

*Ordered*, That Standing Orders Nos. 92. and 93. be suspended; and that the time for depositing petitions praying to be heard against Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills, which would otherwise expire during the adjournment of the House at Easter, be extended to the first day on which the House shall sit after the recess.

#### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN) — KHARTOUM.

##### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE, in asking the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Govern-

ment intend taking any step for the relief of General Gordon at Khartoum? said, he trusted the House would not think he was encroaching on their generosity if he said a few words in putting his Question. It was impossible to deny that great anxiety existed in the public mind with regard to the safety of General Gordon; and he thought that, from what had happened in the other House on the previous night, Her Majesty's Government up to the present were not under any great apprehensions with regard to that matter. Personally, he was very glad to accept that statement, and he only trusted events would prove it true; but it was impossible to look over the fact that those Europeans who were with General Gordon at Khartoum were not in unison with the opinions held by Her Majesty's Government. A statement was made in *The Times* the other day with respect to the report of their own Correspondent, who had also been employed for some time by the Crown as their Consular Agent, which demanded great consideration. What did Mr. Power say? Mr. Power, writing from Khartoum on March 23, said—

“We are daily expecting British troops. We cannot bring ourselves to believe that we are to be abandoned by the Government. Our existence depends upon England.”

Was it likely that a gentleman in the position of Mr. Power would write such a statement as that to a journal of such influence as *The Times*, unless the words he used were words of truth? He (the Earl of Hardwicke) understood the Government to repudiate all those Correspondents whose contributions appeared in the papers, and to whom he thought the public were greatly indebted; for otherwise, owing to the reticence of Her Majesty's Government, they would be in entire ignorance of what was going on in the Soudan if it were not for the various intelligences sent to them from that source. When Questions were put to the Government on this subject, they held up their hands, assumed an injured attitude, and invariably treated a simple wish to elicit some statement of fact, which might be conducive to allaying the fears of the country, as though it was an expression of want of confidence. They said, in effect—“Can you not trust us? Are we so incompetent, such an ignorant body of blockheads, that we

are not able to manage the affairs of this country with dignity and good sense for the country's benefit?”

EARL GRANVILLE: When did I make such a speech?

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE said, he did not say that the noble Earl had made that speech; but he had certainly used words to that effect in appealing, in those piteous tones and wailing voice which no one knew so well as the noble Earl how to assume, to the House, to say whether the Government were so ignorant and incapable that they could not manage their affairs for the benefit and welfare of the country. For his part, he considered that neither the House nor the public were being treated fairly, or with the respect and confidence to which they were entitled, by the Government, and that the tone adopted by them indicated the greatest weakness. People, when they were doing wrong, especially when they were doing wrong wittingly, felt great irritation at the advice given to them by their friends, but much more at the advice of those who disagreed with them; and he believed that the irritation shown by the Government arose from the feeling that they were not conducting the affairs of Egypt in a way which England would sanction. They might assume feelings of comfort with regard to the position of their servant, General Gordon, at Khartoum; but if anything happened to him there, either sooner or later, the gravest responsibility would rest upon the heads of Her Majesty's Government. But did the Government assume any responsibility? One day, they refused to assume any in the Soudan, and they said that an Army should not be sent to the Soudan; the next day, they sent 4,000 British troops there. One day, the British Minister at Cairo gave an order that the road to Berber should not be opened by force; the next day, a British Army went to the littoral of the Red Sea and slaughtered thousands of brave and inoffensive people. If the Government had managed properly, they could have opened the road from Suakin to Berber with a less amount of military expenditure than had already taken place. He would not enter upon the military part of the question; but he might point out that, in 1801, an Army was brought there, and was marched from the littoral of the Red Sea to the



Nile. The march was made by 5,000 men, of whom only 12 were lost in action or by the effects of the climate, and only 15 horses. Therefore, when it was said by the noble Earl opposite that British arms and British courage were not sufficient to effect that object, and carry out a great and noble purpose, he declared himself perfectly convinced that, at any time, if Her Majesty's Government wished to do so, they would have no difficulty in finding another Army, as gallant and intrepid, who would effectually open up the road, and save all the inhabitants in the town of Khartoum. When General Gordon was sent to Khartoum the Government was in one of its many dilemmas. He was certain they were grateful to find anyone who would execute that mission, and they were thankful, when they met Parliament, to be able to state that the difficulties of the Soudan were being got over, and they had found a gallant officer who was willing and able to execute their wishes for the purpose of relieving Khartoum. In the whole history of this country no Plenipotentiary ever sent to carry out a great mission had been so ill-treated as General Gordon. Every suggestion he had made had been refused by the Government. When this country gave power to individuals, that power should be given frankly, decidedly, and openly; and when an officer did what he could to forward the views of the Government, and the Government refused to accede to his wishes, they undertook a great responsibility. At the time he went out the Government put confidence in his judgment. Not only was that declaration made by the noble Earl opposite; it was made also by Sir Evelyn Baring in his capacity of manager of English interests at Cairo. Sir Evelyn Baring wound up a despatch to General Gordon, dated January 25, 1884, in these words—

“In undertaking the difficult task which now lies before you, you may feel assured that no effort will be wanting on the part of the Cairo authorities, whether English or Egyptian, to afford you all the co-operation and support in their power.”—[*Egypt*, No. 6 (1884), p. 2.]

It was evident that General Gordon, from that, had felt that he was likely to be supported, in case of emergency, by Her Majesty's Government. He (the Earl of Hardwicke) would ask, did the Government think that they were fulfilling that pledge? Was General Gordon

in such a position as to give them disquiet; and had they received any correspondence from him to lead them to believe that the statements made by Mr. Power were not true? All these were questions which he thought the Government ought to answer. In the course they had taken, the Government implied that the British troops had not the courage and energy to perform great enterprizes? On the previous night, the Prime Minister had been roused into a most brilliant passage of invective, simply because the Leader of the Opposition had made a few remarks, and asked a few questions, similar to those to which he (the Earl of Hardwicke) himself was going to call attention that evening. But that was not the way to meet such questions. Why would not the Government give a single word of information? Why did they continue to wrap themselves up in that cloak of reserve? Was it because they had some ulterior plan with regard to the Government of Egypt? Did they wish another terrible disaster to happen in the Soudan before they sent troops to Khartoum? Were they going to send them now to Gordon, or were they going to wait for 10 months, as it was rumoured they were to wait? He was perfectly certain they would have to send troops to relieve that place; but let them do it before it was too late, or that refrain which had gone through the whole policy of Her Majesty's Government would again resound through Egypt and through this country. Her Majesty's Government had taken on themselves that responsibility, and they could not get out of it. Shirk and turn about as they liked, that responsibility would come closely home to them every day they were in Office. One day they admitted their responsibility, and denied it on another—a policy, if such it could be called, of expansion. They had no forethought, and refused to foresee the possibility of an event occurring a month before it did occur; they left everything to chance, and by so doing involved themselves in far greater responsibilities. When, at the beginning of the Session, his noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) had urged on them to take steps with regard to Khartoum and General Gordon, the Government had laughed at the idea of General Gordon being in any difficulties whatever. The



noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) had repudiated entirely any responsibility for General Gordon. On the 12th of February, he said—

“What possible ground have you for censuring us for allowing the Khartoum garrison to be destroyed, when, so far as we know, it is still safe, when we have every reason to hope it may be brought away safely, and when we are doing all in our power for that object? General Gordon, we hear, is hopeful—the garrison is powerful, the country can furnish supplies, and it will be strange if some of the Chiefs cannot be conciliated when there is no longer any cause for war.”—(3 *Hansard*, [284] 645.)

Was the noble Earl of the same mind now? Was he as comfortable as to the safety of General Gordon now? Did he conceive they done everything in their power? If the noble Earl said they had, he would give him credit for the strength of his convictions; but he did not think that these convictions would be shared by the intelligence of the country. The Government must give them some assurance that they meant to consolidate that power which they had taken over in Egypt. There they had committed outrages in bombarding Alexandria, which they would have been the first to denounce if committed by the Conservative Party. The Government had taken responsibilities, and they would have to continue those responsibilities, and, he trusted, act up to them for the welfare of this country.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, the noble Earl opposite (Earl Hardwicke), in pursuance of the Question of which he gave Notice, has made a severe attack, not only upon the general policy of the Government in reference to Egypt, but also upon myself. He has accused me of being wanting in respect to him, of putting on an air of injured innocence, and of declining to receive the advice tendered to us by our Friends, including, of course, himself. Now, my Lords, I am not aware of ever having been wanting in respect to the noble Earl. I can assure him that it was quite unintentional if I have ever been so, and I will try to avoid being so in the future. As to the charge of putting on an air of injured innocence, the accusation is quite new to me, and I am hardly prepared to answer him at the moment. The noble Earl then declares that we are unwilling to take the advice of our friends; but I think that, with

regard to taking the advice of friends, it is necessary, first of all, to consider who are our friends and who are not, and also to consider a little the competency of the friends who advise Her Majesty's Government to disregard their own immense responsibilities and to follow the particular advice of the noble Earl, such as he has given us this evening, in preference to using our own independent judgment in the matter. What I think I have a right to complain of is this—that the noble Earl has, on two occasions during the speech he has made, put into my mouth things that I never said at all, the last being the strongest—that British troops have not courage or enterprize to perform great enterprizes. It is not the first time that I have had to complain that speeches have been put into my mouth which I have not made, and I really do think that when quotations of that sort are given, some sort of accuracy should be considered necessary with regard to them. My answer to the Question of the noble Earl is this, that Her Majesty's Government, as at present advised, are not prepared to send out a great military expedition—which the noble Earl thinks so easy—into the heart of the Soudan. My Lords, the noble Earl talked of the unfairness to General Gordon. Your Lordships have in your possession the Instructions which were given to General Gordon in London. Those Instructions were given entirely with his own concurrence, and were even altered in some particulars to meet his views. He entirely agreed in the spirit of those Instructions, and when he got to Cairo further Instructions were given to him, and your Lordships will be able to judge as to what they were, as they have been laid on the Table of this House. Those Instructions expressed the deliberate opinion of Sir Evelyn Baring, Nubar Pasha, and General Gordon himself, and neither in the Instructions given in London or in Cairo was there the slightest question or indication that General Gordon was to be backed up by a British Army in the mission which he felt great confidence he would be able to accomplish. The noble Earl talks as if the greatest responsibility lay upon us for the safety of General Gordon. I admit that we undertook a great responsibility when we sent out General Gordon. We should have done so with regard to no other

man; but if ever there was a man in whom we felt we were justified in placing great confidence on such a mission, it was General Gordon. The noble Earl is in great fear as to General Gordon's life. I own I was in considerable fear for General Gordon's life during the first few days of his expedition to the Soudan; but I declare that I have, at this moment, very much less fear for his personal safety than I had at that time. The noble Earl said that we sent General Gordon out with a wide discretion, but that we have interfered with him in everything that he has done. That is perfectly new to me. One of the recommendations of the noble Earl is that we should send a large force to Khartoum, and one of his complaints is, as I understand, that in one thing—which we did with great reluctance—we interfered with General Gordon's discretion. We thought, for a great many reasons which I will not trouble your Lordships with, though I should be ready to enter into them if anyone chose to take up this particular point, that we could not agree with him that it would be advisable to send Zebehr Pasha to perform the duties of Governor in the Soudan. In other respects I am not in the least aware that we neglected General Gordon's proposals. The noble Earl complains that we have not attended to everything that was said in Mr. Power's telegrams to *The Times*. It is, however, perfectly impossible for a Government to act on irresponsible language of that sort, influenced, as it may be, in a great many natural ways; and we have not received from General Gordon any demand that troops should be sent to Khartoum, and what communications we have received from General Gordon are reassuring as to his position in that place.

LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA rose, pursuant to Notice, to ask Her Majesty's Government, Whether, under the possible contingency of the Government finding it necessary to make an effort to relieve General Gordon, the Military Departments have been requested to consider by what means such relief could possibly be effected either from Suakin or from Cairo? The noble and gallant Lord said, he would only ask the latter part of the Question, because he believed it would be satisfactory to the country, to the Army, and to the brother officers

of General Gordon, to know whether the Government had considered or would be prepared with a plan for the relief of Khartoum if they should arrive at the conviction that such an expedition should be sent out. The Government had declared that at present in their belief such an expedition was not necessary; but the time might come when the opinion of the Government might change, and when General Gordon's position might not be so secure as it appeared to be at present; and, therefore, it would be a dreadful thing if General Gordon should escape—if it were possible to imagine that such a noble nature would attempt to escape—and leave behind him those who might suffer all the evils of an unfortunate war. It was possible the time would come when the Government might consider it necessary to relieve Khartoum; and if such relief was to be carried out, it would certainly be carried out from either Cairo or Suakin, and it would be done with more effect if every step had been previously prepared by the Scientific Departments under the Government, whose resources were inexhaustible. Khartoum was about 445 miles from Suakin, and about 1,200 miles from Cairo. Of the distance between Khartoum and Suakin there were 200 miles of route by the Nile, and of the remaining 245 miles, 100 miles consisted of desert which might be divided into, and traversed in, two stages of 50 miles each. Then there came 145 miles of level country between the desert and the Red Sea. There would be no difficulty at any season of the year in making a practicable route across those 145 miles; and then there would be those 100 miles of desert to be crossed. Along the 145 miles, at every stage there was some water to be got, good or indifferent; and, no doubt, it would be in the power of the force occupying those halting-places to get more water, and to sink more wells in the neighbourhood of the springs. No doubt, the climate of Suakin was very severe indeed; but it was not unhealthy, and he believed that the country could be crossed by British troops, properly equipped, at any time of the year. His noble and gallant Friend (Lord Strathnairn), and many other Generals before him, had marched and fought in the hottest of weather in India, and there was no doubt the same could be done again by our troops. The



crossing of the 100 miles of desert certainly would be difficult; but water might be transported, and with the resources the Government had at their command even a light railway might be easily laid down to carry up supplies of water. Cavalry might cross 50 miles in a march—that distance had been done over and over again by the Scinde Horse and other regiments in India; and then there was the route from Cairo by the Nile, in which there would be a great advantage, as steam power could be employed to a great extent in transport, though, no doubt, there were cataracts to be encountered. He did not know which route Her Majesty's Scientific Departments might prefer. He himself much preferred that by Suakin as being the easiest. Whichever route was likely to be adopted, he was confident that the country and the Army generally would be satisfied to know that Her Majesty's Government had directed their Scientific Departments to be prepared with a scheme for the relief of Khartoum should it become necessary. The public newspapers had frequently suggested the use of Indian troops for that duty. He should feel extremely sorry, as an Englishman, if there should be an idea that Englishmen could not fight their own battles and do their own work at any season, in any climate, or in any part of the world. It might be well that some Indian regiments should have the honour of working side by side with Her Majesty's British Forces; but the work might be done by English troops. That was the object of his Question, and he therefore hoped that the Government would satisfy the country that the scheme he had referred to should be prepared if it should be necessary.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, in answer to the Question of the noble and gallant Lord (Lord Napier), I understood that he did not think it necessary, in consequence of what has passed between me and the noble Earl (the Earl of Hardwicke), to put the first part of his inquiry. With regard to the second part of the Question, as to whether

"The Military Departments have been requested to consider by what means such relief could possibly be effected either from Suakin or from Cairo,"

I have only this to say, that I am quite sure that the noble and gallant Lord

will easily understand that, during the last month, there is hardly any question connected with the Soudan upon which the Secretary of State for War has not constantly communicated with the military authorities at his disposal. It is not for me to speak of any confidential communication that may have passed between the Secretary of State and the military authorities. Of course, the noble and gallant Lord himself speaks with authority on a question of this sort, and he has declared that it is not an impossibility for a British Army to go from Suakin to Khartoum. I own that, to civilian ears and to one knowing nothing about military matters, the prospect held out as to a British Army does not appear to be particularly encouraging; but I entirely admit the great weight that attaches to any opinion of that kind emanating from the noble and gallant Lord. At the same time, I cannot help reminding him that very often these expeditions to such countries turn out to be very much more difficult than even experienced military men expected them to be. With respect to the campaign which the noble and gallant Lord himself executed so admirably and with such great good fortune, and which added so immensely to his military reputation—putting entirely aside the question of money and considering merely the difficulty of the expedition—the very fact that the cost of that expedition, which was to have been £2,000,000, was more than quadrupled in amount, showed how very hard it is accurately to estimate the cost of enterprises of this character in tropical countries, and, of anticipating the labour to be undergone in carrying them out.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I gather from the observations of the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) the discouraging intimation that Her Majesty's Government have, as yet, formed no plan for the relief of General Gordon in his present terrible position. While not being able to add to it, they cast some doubt on the information that has been received from the only other Englishman at Khartoum besides General Gordon and Colonel Stewart—the only Englishman at that place whose mouth is open. That only other Englishman says that General Gordon is expecting the assistance of British troops. There is a strange mystery hanging over these communications from General



Gordon. We have had perpetual intimations from external sources of the things which he has done, the things which he has said, and the wishes which he is said to entertain; but Her Majesty's Government, since he left Cairo—if my memory does not deceive me—have not laid on the Table a single communication from General Gordon. An absolute mystery hangs over all his communications. They are communications which must have been frequent, and which would, no doubt, be highly satisfactory to the British mind; but not one of them do the Government venture to give us. Is it surprising that, in this strange and inexplicable silence, the British public should hang on the lips of the only other Englishman in Khartoum who is free to speak? I confess to having heard with much regret that Her Majesty's Government are putting off to the critical moment the formation of some plan for the relief of General Gordon. The vice of all the policy of Her Majesty's Government during these many months has been that resolutions of an intensely critical character have been always put off till the moment for carrying them out has passed. It seems to be a matter of great exertion—a matter of positive physical pain—for the Government to come to any resolution, and they only do it at the moment when the danger is actually imminent. The abandonment of the Soudan, if their decision had been formed when Lord Dufferin raised a discussion on the subject, was a decision of which you might have questioned the policy, but which could have been conducted with perfect safety and without dishonour to the British arms. If orders had been given to withdraw the garrisons from the Soudan before the resolution was announced that they were to be abandoned—if, in short, the resolution to abandon the Soudan had been communicated to the British authorities in Egypt early last summer, there would have been none of the difficulties, none of the threatened disasters which hangs over us now. General Gordon was sent to his present position in Khartoum because Her Majesty's Government had put off the decision to abandon the Soudan until it was too late to withdraw or to relieve the garrisons. He was sent there in the almost hopeless design of persuading the Mahdi, by

some methods of unknown persuasion, to release the prey already within his grasp. Again, if an expedition had been sent to Suakin in time to relieve Tokar and Sinkat, no doubt a very great, perhaps a capital, impression would have been produced on the minds of the Arabs of the Desert. Still more, if that expedition had been sent in time to perform that journey between Suakin and Berber before the sun had become intolerably hot, there would have been no question now about the safety of General Gordon. But the same indisposition, the same mortal aversion to come to a resolution, hung around Her Majesty's Government in this case also. They knew the critical, the utterly hopeless, character of the condition of things in the Soudan early in December; and it was not until Parliament met, and they were threatened with the censure of an adverse majority, that they could make up their minds to send an expedition to Suakin. It is needless to say that a resolution taken in these circumstances was too late to do any practical good. It came in time to see our gallant friends at Sinkat massacred, to see our allies at Tokar give themselves up, and, after having seen massacred in a gallant but useless fight 6,000 of those unhappy Arabs, to retire without having accomplished a single object for which the expedition was sent out. Are these circumstances encouraging to us when we are asked to trust that, on the inspiration of the moment, when the danger comes Her Majesty's Government will find some means of relieving General Gordon? I fear that the history of the past will be repeated in the future; that, just again, when it is too late, the critical resolution will be taken; some terrible news will come that the position of General Gordon is absolutely a forelorn and helpless one; and then, under the pressure of public wrath and Parliamentary Censure, some desperate resolution of sending an expedition will be formed too late to achieve the object which it is desired to gain, too late to rescue this devoted man whom we have sent forward to his fate, in time only to cast another slur upon the statesmanship of England and the resolution of the statesmen who guide England's councils. My Lords, I deeply regret that we separate for the Easter Recess with so feeble an account of the resolution of Her Ma-

jesty's Government. When I saw that the only answer which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had to give to the Leader of the Opposition in "another place" was a reckless and stormy invective, I knew how much barrenness — [*Laughter*] — how much value to attach to it, and saw how proud the hollow device by which the poverty of your counsels is concealed. The truth is too patent for the Government to conceal. Hopeless divisions paralyze their decisions; British lives are sacrificed to their irresolution, and they trust to bluster to conceal their folly.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY; My Lords, I am really inclined to pardon the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) for having departed from our usual practice, and for his having referred to a speech delivered by the Prime Minister last night. That speech has evidently mortally stung the noble Marquess. The noble Marquess has, at length, for the first time, given us a statement to-night which I have heard with very great interest. In it there was some indication of the policy which he would have pursued; and I gathered this—that the expedition of General Graham should have been ordered at the time to proceed to Berber—that is to say, that a large English Force of 4,000 or 5,000 men should have been sent across the desert from Suakin to Berber. I may say, and I am glad to avow it, that I would not have been prepared, as a Member of Her Majesty's Government, to take such a responsibility as that. It is not for me to say a word as to what the noble and gallant Lord on the Cross Benches (Lord Napier) has stated with regard to the possibilities of such an expedition. No doubt, just as it is possible for engineers to execute certain work, if sufficient means be given to them, so I also have as much confidence as anyone in British troops, that any service they have to perform will be performed. At the same time, however, I think, if the difficulty of sending a force under a burning sun 100 miles across the desert is considered, it will be seen that it is our duty to consider whether the plan which has been suggested to the Government is one which the Government will assume the responsibility of undertaking. I think you ought to consider the responsibility at this time of

the year, or even at an earlier season of the year, of sending a force to Berber across the desert, where there is no water; and notwithstanding that Her Majesty's Government have been long anxious to do what can be done, they would have hesitated before taking that step, and without a greater necessity than anything I have seen they would not have sent Graham's Expedition across from Suakin to Berber. All I have to say is, that, in concert with the military authorities, we have been long anxiously considering what can be done. My Lords, the noble Marquess assumed that the Government had formed no plan. What an easy assumption that is, when the noble Marquess knows that it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to make any declaration as to the plans of military assistance in aid of General Gordon. What could be more impolitic or imprudent than that, in a question of great difficulty and great responsibility, we should, in answer to some Questions put in Parliament, disclose some of the means we are to adopt? It is absolutely impossible that the Government of this country can be conducted on such principles. I can well understand that the noble Marquess should not have any confidence in the Government; but he might have credited us with common sense, and allowed that Her Majesty's Government must conduct their policy in regard to the possibilities of the case. If the Government were to answer Questions of this character in the manner desired, the policy would be disclosed the next morning; then there would be further Questions by the Opposition, and such a course would lead to the total defeat and overthrow of the policy which had been adopted by the Government. My Lords, the noble Marquess complains that we have given no information. Is there anything which is more inconvenient or unsatisfactory than that piecemeal information should be given? The noble Marquess said that not one scrap of information has been given as to General Gordon's communications. Now, my Lords, if we are prematurely to lay on the Table of the House—what it appears is wanted—week by week the telegrams from General Gordon, it is perfectly obvious that all possible chance of the success of General Gordon's Mission must be totally at an end. These communications are



necessarily confidential, and it is right and proper that in due time Parliament shall receive full information of what has been done; but no Government can give information week by week as to what has been done and what is going on. It must throw itself on the confidence of its supporters and others. You may change the Government for other men. That may be a right thing to do; but it is absolutely necessary, for the carrying on of the Government of this country, that some reticence with regard to communications which are confidential and important should be maintained. The other point of the policy of the noble Marquess is that there must be a great British Expedition sent to Khartoum. ["No, no!"] Well, the noble Marquess said, Why not state the plan for the relief of General Gordon in Khartoum? At all events, an expedition could not be sent to Khartoum without a considerable effort. The Soudan is a large country, and it is inhabited by warlike people; and whenever it is necessary for the Government to interfere by force in the interior of the Soudan, I trust that, whoever is responsible, it will not be done without due preparation and adequate force. But my noble Friend has told your Lordships that we are not at present under any apprehension in regard to the safety of General Gordon. Everybody must be aware that the position of General Gordon in one sense must be critical at Khartoum; it has always been critical, it could not be otherwise, and the gallant General himself is perfectly aware of the fact. But what we do say is, that nothing which has happened in any way indicates that he is in the least danger. Judging from the more recent intelligence we have received from him, he does not feel any immediate apprehension as to his position. It is certain that his position is not so grave as it has been represented elsewhere; and I repeat here, that the influence and power of the Mahdi does not appear to have had that effect in the Soudan which might have been expected. He has not at present shown any symptoms of following up his success by attacking Khartoum, although General Gordon has not been able to control and quell the local insurrection by which he is surrounded. The garrisons at Sennaar and Kassala still hold out, and General Gordon is in a position of great strength

at Khartoum. There is, therefore, no indication of any danger at present overwhelming him. The noble Marquess has followed others in his reiterations as to the total failure of our policy, and that the operations we have taken have had no effect. Does the noble Marquess really believe that the position of the garrison at the present moment at Suakin is the same as it was before? It may or may not have been worth the effort which has been made; but, at all events, the object has been accomplished. If we are to maintain the possession of the Red Sea ports, that expedition has been fully justified by the success of our operations. I should be personally glad if the time had arrived when we could disclose to the House, in its entirety, all that has passed between the Government and General Gordon, and lay before Parliament a full statement of his position; but, consistently with our regard for the Public Service, that cannot be done, and we can say no more than we have said. We only ask for fair and reasonable support in the measures we have considered necessary.

VISCOUNT BURY said, that the allusion which was made by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) to the speech by the Premier in "another place" was received by noble Lords on the Ministerial side of the House with derisive and triumphant laughter. It was obvious that they rejoiced in the tone of the Premier's speech, and the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley) had stated that the speech of the Prime Minister had mortally stung his (Viscount Bury's) noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury). It had stung not only the noble Marquess, but the people of this country also, who were watching this matter with an intense interest. It had indeed stung them with a feeling of humiliation that such a speech should have been delivered in "another place" by the Prime Minister of this country, who had told them that under no circumstances would relief be sent to General Gordon, and—

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, I rise to Order. I have always understood that it is one of the first of the Rules and Orders of both Houses of Parliament that they do not take notice of speeches delivered in the other House; at all events at the time, although, of



course, historically we speak of speeches delivered in each House of Parliament. But, in the middle of discussions on public subjects which create great heat and great excitement, I do think it most inexpedient that we should break through the recognized understanding of Parliament, that we should not answer in one House speeches which have been made in another. I must confess that the noble Viscount whom I venture to interrupt, is so far excused, if not justified, by the fact that allusions were made by those who preceded him. On that ground alone I have to apologize for rising to interrupt him. But these allusions were in general terms—slight and passing allusions—and the noble Viscount proceeds to speak in detail of what has taken place in the other House. Much as many of us are excited by what is going on, we are perfectly willing to speak on what we know in this House, and demand from the Government what explanations we like to ask; but I hope we shall avoid discussing speeches in the other House.

LORD DENMAN said, it had been repeatedly ruled that a statement by any Minister of the Crown, even in the House of Commons, might be alluded to in their Lordships' House.

VISCOUNT BURY said, he must be allowed to thank the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) for his courteous reminder. After it, he would not say another word about what had passed in "another place." He (Viscount Bury) must confess he had been somewhat moved at the way in which this matter was treated by the noble Earl who had just sat down (the Earl of Kimberley); but, leaving out of account what had been said by the Prime Minister, they had heard in that House that no relief was to be sent to General Gordon under any circumstances now contemplated. The complaint they made all along had been that no preparations were made for the very probable contingency of his defeat and disaster. The policy of abandoning Khartoum—if that policy now existed—was not thought of until after the death and defeat of General Hicks. No one heard of the suggested abandonment of Khartoum until the end of November. Lord Dufferin, in his celebrated despatch of 1882, did not, as was now stated, advocate the abandonment of the Soudan. He suggested that the English

Government should advise the Egyptian Government to retire from all the country south of Sennaar; but now the retirement was to be made from Assouan, which was a difference of 1,000 miles along the river and 600 in a direct line. The policy of Lord Dufferin was not abandonment in the sense now meant. No doubt, that idea was taken up by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville), who, in a subsequent despatch, said that Khartoum ought to be abandoned. But that decision was by no means final. Cherif Pasha objected, and urged his views so strongly that the noble Earl next authorized Sir Evelyn Baring to say that England surrendered to the Porte the right of defending the Red Sea littoral. A month later that decision was again abandoned, and a British Force was sent to take possession of the Red Sea littoral. But this was after a Vote of Censure had been carried in the House of Lords and after Sinkat had fallen, and when the Government were afraid that Tokar would fall also. Tokar did fall; and they now found that the Government were not going to open the road to Berber; and, that being so, they naturally asked what was the object of the subsequent slaughter of the Arabs, if it was not for that object? He did not think that the noble Earl was justified in saying that the result of the expedition to Suakin had been a complete success, because it had no success at all beyond the indiscriminate slaughter of a large number of Natives, whom we could hardly call rebels against our authority, for they had never been under our authority at all. The question now being discussed out-of-doors was this—what did the Government intend to do with regard to General Gordon? This question the Government had not fairly met. The real point was this—that whereas the Government induced General Gordon to go out, upon the assurance that he would be supported, and that the Government would do what he wanted, the Government had not done what he wanted. They had refused to sanction the appointment of Zebehr which General Gordon recommended. It was also now known that General Gordon had applied for British troops and had not got them. General Gordon had been badly treated and betrayed by the Government. He thought that if at that moment, before

they left for a considerable interval of holiday, something could be said in the House which would tell the country what they really had to expect, and what the English Government were trying to do, what object they had in view, and what had been the meaning of their policy in the past, the conversation which had arisen there would not be without result.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley) had hardly stated the Question of his noble and gallant Friend (Lord Napier) correctly. What his noble and gallant Friend wished to know was, whether, in the event of its being found necessary to send an expedition to Berber, it would be advisable to do so from Cario or from Suakin? He regretted exceedingly not to have heard from the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville) that the Government had given consideration to the points raised in the Question of his noble and gallant Friend. But not only had they not done that, but they seemed not to have considered the question of what should be done in case it became necessary to send troops to the relief of General Gordon. He (the Earl of Dunraven) had no idea what policy the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition would have pursued had he been in Office; but he did not understand that the construction put upon his remarks by the noble Earl was entirely in accordance with their strict meaning. He did not understand the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) to say that it was advisable to send a large force to Berber. What he understood him to say was that, in almost every incident that had taken place in Egypt, Her Majesty's Government had acted too late; that they were too late on the present occasion; and that, if General Graham had been sent to Suakin sooner, he would have been in a position to send troops from Suakin to Berber, without having to encounter the difficulty occasioned by the great heat. The noble Earl had compared the difficulties of the march to Berber with those of the march to Magdala some years ago. But the distance of the march to Magdala was about 400 miles, and over an unknown road; while the distance from Suakin to Berber was only 240 miles. Further

than that, the road was perfectly well known—a caravan road; and he believed the largest stretch without water was 50 miles. The force necessary for the Abyssinian Expedition was very large, and entirely different to that which it would be required to send to Berber. At present, in the absence of any information from the Government, the only information they had to rely upon was that to be found in the newspapers. It was now nearly a month since they had read in *The Times* a telegram, in which General Gordon was stated to have said that he thought it necessary that the road to Berber should be opened by sending a couple of squadrons of Cavalry, and that, after that was done, he would be able to withdraw the Egyptian officials from Khartoum. He believed General Gordon was sent for that very object—namely, to evacuate the country and relieve the Egyptian officials. The substantial accuracy of that telegram had never been contradicted, and the country in general believed that General Gordon did think it necessary that the road to Berber should be opened to enable him to carry out the operations he was intrusted to carry out. There had also been a telegram to the effect that the officer in command of Berber had asked for troops. What was the object of the expedition to Suakin? It was too late to relieve Sinkat or Tokar, and it was surely inconceivable that its object was merely to protect Suakin. It was impossible not to believe that its object was to open the road to Berber. If it was not, and there had been no intention of opening the road between Suakin and Berber, he was at a loss to understand what the real object of the expedition to Suakin had been. If that was the object of the expedition, it had failed; if that was not the object of the expedition, then he did not believe that the Government were justified in their acts of hostility against the Arabs, and the slaughter of 5,000 or 6,000 Arabs had produced absolutely no good result, for it was stated in the papers that Osman Digna was at Tamanieb, and that our troops were being withdrawn from Suakin. He did not, therefore, believe that Her Majesty's Government were justified in killing those Arabs; for the only justification for war, under any circumstances, was that it would bring about some distinct and good result;



but, to say the least of it, Her Majesty's Government had been singularly unfortunate in all their operations both in Egypt and the Soudan. The only effect of the operations from Suakin was that Khartoum was now more closely invested than before, and that General Gordon had been repulsed. In fact, things in Egypt and the Soudan were going from bad to worse, and they heard that the condition of things in the Delta itself was getting worse and worse. In every respect Her Majesty's Government had failed in taking sufficient forethought and in making sufficient provision for the eventualities which a very little foresight would have enabled them to discern. It was most lamentable that they should be allowed to adjourn for the Easter Recess without having any idea that Her Majesty's Government were prepared to relieve General Gordon if necessary. General Gordon started sanguine and full of hope, and without the slightest idea that British troops would be necessary. But he was to be allowed to act with a free hand, and yet in one most important particular he had been overruled—he had not been allowed to place in power that one man he thought he ought to. He had been in the Soudan about two months, and the only result had been that a certain number of women and children—200—had been sent down from Khartoum to Berber. The only way by which General Gordon could get away from Khartoum would be by the aid of a sufficiently strong British Force; and it was also well known that the only way he could relieve the garrisons in the Southern Provinces was by being backed up with sufficient authority and power; and if he had been allowed to act as he thought fit himself, he might possibly have been successful. As he had not been allowed to do so, a grave responsibility rested upon Her Majesty's Government, if anything should happen to him. He, therefore, thought the Government ought to inform the House and the country what they intended to do to relieve General Gordon, and also give more general information as to Egypt.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL said, that he could not allow the speech which had just fallen from his noble Friend (the Earl of Dunraven) to pass without expressing his total dissent from a great

portion of it. He had always considered his noble Friend in that House as a perfect representative and the incarnation of common sense, and totally independent of and opposed to what was called sentimentalism. The noble Earl had swept aside a great many sentimentalities or sentiments, to some of which many of their Lordships clung; and he (the Duke of Argyll) had to oppose the noble Earl on more occasions than one, owing to what he might call the extreme literalness of his ideas. But, on that occasion, he had indulged in sentiments of the purest sentimental kind. He had talked about the slaughter of 6,000 Arabs as being a great crime on the part of the British Government, and as having produced no effect whatever. He (the Duke of Argyll) looked upon that as not only sentiment, but he ventured to say it was maudlin, morbid sentimentality. ["Oh, oh!"] He contended that the British Government had had legitimate cause of quarrel with these Arabs surrounding and threatening Suakin. They had threatened to take it, and had openly proclaimed their hostility, and that they would drive the British garrison into the sea. He said it deliberately, that no English Government could tolerate those threats; if they did, and had not attacked these Arabs, they would have forfeited the confidence of Parliament and the country. He denied the inference of his noble Friend that the slaughter of these Arabs had produced no effect. He felt bound to say it was not only something, it was not only a great thing, but it might be everything that these fanatical Arabs should be taught that a civilized country is the master of them in the field. He believed that the effect of the two great victories that had been gained by our troops between Suakin and the mountains had reverberated through the whole of the Eastern Soudan, and in whatever operations Her Majesty's Government might find it necessary afterwards to embark, the effect of these two actions would not be lost. The blood of those Arabs had not been spilt in vain. He now wished to turn for a moment to the question which was before their Lordships, and that was how far these interpellations in Parliament on the conduct of the Government had or had not been legitimate. He must confess that he thought the Government had no right to complain



that the public had been anxious—deeply anxious—upon this question. The interpellations might have been too frequent, and he thought they had been too detailed, because no Government could explain to Parliament, beforehand, the detailed policy which they might have in their view in regard to military and naval operations. But let the Government not mistake, and he hoped his noble Friends did not mistake—it was not mere agitation on the part of Egyptian bondholders; it was no mere agitation upon the part of the Press; but it was a deep feeling of interest among all parties in the country. As a matter of fact, contrary to their own will, and owing to circumstances over which certainly they had not had control, they had been placed in a position of paramount responsibility with regard to Egypt. He believed the country would be satisfied with any fair expression on the part of the Government, and he believed that some of the expressions used in some of the statements made by Members of the Government in “another place,” to which he would not further refer, had, to a considerable extent, eased the public mind in this important particular—that the Government did recognize their responsibility in this matter. But in regard to the detailed criticism of the Government, and whether or not they were to relieve Khartoum, and whether they were to consider the possibility of sending an expedition from Suakin to Berber, or from Cairo by the Nile—he thought that on these matters, having pressed on the Government their strong opinion of the responsibility in which they were placed, it was useless and highly mischievous to go into these details and to put such questions. In regard to policy, let them remember this—that in the case of great conquerors, like Napoleon, they had a definite policy before them in their conquests. They knew perfectly well what they were at. They picked quarrels with a country which they meant to conquer, and then they conquered and annexed it. In those cases there was a policy. But that was not the position of any English Government. They had no conquests which they were determined to make beforehand. If conquests came to them, they were forced upon them by circumstances. Therefore, he could quite understand that the Government, in that sense, had

no policy. It had not been their policy to conquer or annex Egypt. It was step by step, from circumstances which arose long before their accession to power, that they had been led into the difficulty and taken to Egypt, and all their Lordships should desire to know was that they had recognized the position in which those circumstances had placed them. But he must say this, that his own feeling strongly was that the Government were in a position in which they were, to a great extent, responsible for the escape of the garrison of Khartoum. They might be right in saying that it was absurd for a Power in the position of Egypt to hold Khartoum; and he must say that, after the experience we had had of what Egyptian troops were, headed only by Egyptian officers, he found it difficult to understand how they contrived to conquer Khartoum at all. He supposed it was by the assistance of the Turkish troops. But as to their permanent power, these events had shown, as regards Egypt itself, that it was a Power incompetent to rule the whole of the Soudan. Then the question arose, was England to reconquer and hold Khartoum and the Soudan? That was a matter on which he expressed no opinion. The Government had said that it was not a necessary appendage of Egypt; and having given that opinion, having dictated the Government policy of Egypt, we were bound, in honour, to see that those populations—such as the population of Khartoum—should, if possible, be taken out without being massacred. He believed that to be the feeling and the opinion of the country. Having said so much, he did think that further questions to the Government on mere matters of detail could do no good, and would lead only to embarrassment.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, he hoped the Government would not forget their great responsibility in respect to General Gordon, who had gone to Khartoum at the request of the Government, having given up a lucrative appointment for the purpose of going there—although no man could be more uninfluenced than that high-minded officer by pecuniary considerations. He (Lord Ellenborough) did not regret that the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Argyll) had risen to Order, although, had he (Lord Ellenborough) been interrupted, as the noble

Viscount (Viscount Bury) was, he would have pointed out that frequent reference had been made lately to individual Members of this House by two right hon. Gentlemen lately in the present Cabinet; as also reference to a Bill that might come up to this House, in respect to the course that would be pursued by that House, and more particularly in reference to one particular Member of this House, by a Member of the present Cabinet.

LORD DENMAN said, that the knowledge that this Government had often advocated retreat, as in the case of Cabul and Candahar, and lately as to Egypt, had added much to General Gordon's danger. The Mahdi had sent a Dervish's robe to General Gordon—he thought that the example of Akhbar the Great might be followed by an undoubted Power—and a discussion invited for all professing religion; and he confessed that if any could produce a better principle than “Do unto all men as you would they should do unto you,” he might be a convert to that creed. He was sure that Christians, as a defensive body, were invincible; and if there was another slaughter like that of Sinkat, the whole of Christendom would be roused to indignation.

#### REUNION OF AUSTRIA, GERMANY, AND RUSSIA.

##### MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

LORD STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL, in rising, according to Notice, to call attention to the effect produced by the visit of the First Minister to Copenhagen; and to move for diplomatic correspondence on the alleged reunion of Austria, Germany, and Russia, said: My Lords, as a noble Earl and a noble Baron have already drawn the attention of the House to foreign policy, I may be allowed, perhaps, to bring forward a Notice in the same sphere, although I would not do so at this hour, unless your Lordships were on the verge of separation for a period, while there is no further Business coming on this evening. The Notice does not refer merely to the visit of the First Minister to Copenhagen, or the impression it produced, but also to an occurrence of considerable magnitude in Europe which seems to have a place among its consequences. It demands further infor-

mation on the alleged reunion of Austria, Germany, and Russia. Unless the inspired Press of Berlin and St. Petersburg, together with a Royal Speech at one, mislead the world—there is no reason they should do so—that reunion has been formed, although it may not have reached the shape of any new convention. Before it gains maturity of that kind is the fittest season to consider it. It cannot be forgotten that the system only closed in 1879, by the remarkable decision of Prince Bismarck at Vienna. Well might the Foreign Office have exulted at that moment. But the revival of the system was inevitable, unless Germany and Austria were assiduously encouraged in their new direction by Great Britain. It always tends to reappear, because it is supported by a Treaty still on record; because habit, which, according to the late Duke of Wellington, is far more powerful than nature, governs States as well as individuals; and because the skilful, subtle, nearly irresistible diplomacy of Russia often toils to re-establish it. But Germany and Austria have been assiduously discouraged in the path they had resolved on; first, by the startling appointment of Mr. Gladstone as First Minister, when he had ceased for years to be the Leader of a Party; then, by the course which policy has taken under his dictation; and, last of all, by his appearance at Copenhagen, which, although it must engage the faithful advocacy of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville), has not on that account been less a disturbing influence in Europe.

My Lords, the noble Earl is bound by every expedient to defend it. If he is well aware that, after the impression which has followed it, it cannot be seriously vindicated, he is bound by a well-acted levity to gloss it over. Unless I am mistaken, it is laid down in the very book of rhetoric or logic to which the noble Earl referred on one occasion, by the celebrated Hamilton, that you are always to oppose the grave by the ridiculous. The noble Earl is under a stringent obligation to uphold his Colleague, and to follow his Preceptor. Notwithstanding that, on the 1st of March, he admitted everything which I was anxious to elicit. He admitted that the First Minister had met the Emperor of Russia;

he admitted that there were no instructions of any kind whatever from the Foreign Office. If the First Minister had never met the Emperor of Russia, the subject would have dropped; if he had received instructions from the Foreign Office, his case would have been sheltered. To say that a First Minister can never act in our day as a negotiator would be extravagant, when it is only a few years since, in that character, Lord Beaconsfield obtained his strongest title to the admiration of posterity. A First Minister may act as a negotiator; but is not at liberty, when without a mission of any kind, to diffuse a false impression as to the alliances and objects of the country. This is the precise charge to which the First Minister is open, and this charge the noble Earl entirely misconceived in his laudable impatience to defend the Foreign Office. Unintentionally, if you like, thoughtlessly it may be, without the least design, one readily admits it, the First Minister gave further currency to the already prevalent opinion that Russia and Great Britain aimed at partnership in Europe. That this effect has been produced I shall be able to establish. It needs some references; but as, on principle, I hardly ever read an extract to the House, when it is essential to maintain a proposition, perhaps they may forgive it.

*The New Free Press* of Vienna spoke of the trip as "a demonstration of political importance." According to the Correspondent of *The Times* in Vienna, the journals of that capital designated the interview of Mr. Gladstone with the Czar "as a move against the policy of Prince Bismarck, and as a confederacy of England with Russia and France." I will add no more as to Vienna. The House will recollect to what extent the irregular return of Mr. Gladstone as First Minister was seen in public correspondence of 1880 to estrange the Austrian Empire. They will ask themselves, was it desirable still further to embitter it? If anyone has had occasion to be recently in Austria, he must know that there—wisely or unwisely—antagonism to Russia was never more decided than during the last autumn, and that the proceedings at Copenhagen could not but have been obnoxious both at Vienna and at Buda-Pesth. Let us see the kind of influence the step created over Russia.

*Lord Stratheden and Campbell*

According to *The Journal de St. Petersbourg*—

"The Congress of Princes and statesmen assembled round King Christian, to which the First Minister attached himself, represented hundreds of millions of people, and might sooner or later revenge Denmark upon Germany."

*The Journal de St. Petersbourg* is an official paper. It considers the assemblage as a Congress, and the First Minister as having joined it. *The Nord*, well known as a Russian organ in the West of Europe, contended—

"That even if the voyage of Mr. Gladstone was undertaken without any political design, the visit of the Emperor of Russia to a statesman who plays so considerable a part in the government of England cannot be a matter of indifference."

The noble Earl the Secretary of State is probably the only person to whom it ever did appear one. *The Novoye Vermya* said that—

"Coming as it did after the recent journeys and interviews of Monarchs, the visit of Mr. Gladstone to Denmark pointed to a possible alliance of England and Russia."

Can it be doubted that all over Russia such an alliance was considered as proclaimed with greater emphasis than hitherto it had been?

As to Constantinople, the Correspondent of *The Times* informed us that—

"The interview of Mr. Gladstone with the Czar had created a marked impression, and was regarded as a most significant proceeding."

However, I admit that, in Constantinople, the effect was less important, because there, already, the First Minister, on grounds well known to the House, was viewed in such a manner, that no new sentiment of hatred or repugnance could have well arisen.

In Paris, *The Temps*, by far the most enlightened organ of that capital in everything international, augured from the proceeding

"the growth of an alliance between England, France, and Russia."

I have now only to advert to comments at Berlin, or in the German Empire.

*The Kreuz Zeitung* observed that—

"The event appears to strengthen the views of those who consider the stay of the Czar at Copenhagen as a counter-demonstration to the meetings of Princes in Berlin and Vienna."

And concludes that—

"Mr. Gladstone probably considers the time favourable for making a bargain with Russia



giving her freer action, in order to obtain freer action for herself."

Was it desirable to scatter this impression over Germany? *The Post* says—

"Mr. Gladstone is the imitator of the most energetic statesman of our times; because, like him, he goes in person where he wishes to apply the lever."

It was not doubted that the lever formed a part of his equipment. *The Berlin Tageblatt* remarked that—

"The political importance of the Copenhagen visit of the Russophile British Premier seems to have been detected much earlier in Berlin than Vienna."

However that may be, its effect in Berlin was not a rapidly-subsiding one. Having been there in November, I assert, with confidence, that, in political society, it continued to enhance resentment which had long indeed existed. Of course, I cannot give any authority. The noble Earl the Secretary of State may contradict me if he likes it. The House will judge between us. But the safest method of arriving at a correct opinion on the effect produced is to glance at the transaction in the light which subsequent events appear to throw upon it.

The incidents which followed are well known to your Lordships. They consist in the strenuous activity of M. de Giers at Berlin and Vienna; the advance of Russia upon Merv, which has been so ably discussed a few weeks back; and the revival of what is often termed the Holy Alliance, according to the information we possess, according to the estimate which every diplomatist would form of what is probable, when Austria and Germany have reason to believe that the British Government has formed, or rather strengthened and screwed up, a previously-existing resolution to abandon them.

There is no doubt of the effect being bad; but is the First Minister responsible for the bad effect which was created? He is responsible; because, although he may not have known the Emperor of Russia to be at Copenhagen—when all the world could tell him—although he may have been forced to meet the Emperor of Russia on arriving—he was not compelled to make the speech which could not but resound—as I have shown the House it did—in many places. He is responsible; because, through the medium of the noble Earl, the Foreign Office thoroughly repudiate

him. The occurrence must be also viewed in connection with the antecedents which belong to it. If, soon after the Crimean War, Lord Palmerston had met the Czar in the same manner, he might have been unblamed, and possibly applauded. Europe would not have been misled by the proceeding. It would have been viewed, not as the concert of allies, but the decorum of opponents. What was the position of the right hon. Gentleman? Out of Office, he had been the flatterer—although, no doubt, the conscientious, the unbought, and the disinterested flatterer—of Russia. He had laboured to identify pro-Russian zeal with Liberal opinion. He had done his utmost to detach the party which he used to lead from their traditionary ground and their traditionary sentiment as to Russia. He had been a powerful incentive of the war in 1877. Bursting into power by a method previously unknown, he had advanced men who did their utmost to bring the Russian armies to Constantinople. He had withdrawn Sir Henry Layard from that capital. He had gratuitously toiled for Montenegro. In every shape he had denounced the Ottoman Empire, and made himself obnoxious to the Sultan. In him, the outward show of deference to Russia was regarded not as a form, but a reality; not as an exception, but a climax. He did, what he was bound over to avoid, by special dictates of propriety and prudence. When columns, which have long been marching and manœuvring in one direction, unite at last, the effect is not the same as when armies recently opposed, during a passing truce, exchange the courtesies of warfare. What is the defence? That it was merely inadvertency, or ignorance, or heedlessness which guided him. The defence sums up the accusation in a more emphatic form than it could otherwise assume.

Your Lordships may observe a rather curious gradation among important personages at this moment. M. de Giers, impelled by thought and swayed by calculation, superior to rest and eager for activity, is moving indefatigably to advance the interests of Russia. He never reaches congresses by accident, and is not blown to harbours it is a duty to avoid. The noble Earl remains at home, which is not culpable on his part, since, not

having one ally in his character of Foreign Secretary, as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports he is bound to guard the coast from every possible invader. The First Minister embarks on voyages—as his friends assure us—without political design or geographical direction, by which every capital is alienated it was most important to conciliate, and every scheme advanced it was most essential to retard and to discourage.

I quit that subject, and wish only to reply, if it is possible, to those who ask, Why should the union of Austria, Prussia, and Russia be sedulously deprecated, when the Sovereigns who guide them are so entirely irreproachable? By looking back we gain the admonition which is needed. Long before the name of the Holy Alliance was invented the union of those Powers was directed against a reformed, reconstituted Poland, which had just deserved the homage of surrounding countries, as Mr. Burke and others thought, by hitting on the path of order and improvement which France, in 1789, was seen to be incapable of finding. For a long period this action was forgotten in the vicissitudes and struggles which had the First Napoleon for their centre. But the same union was found, in 1815, to thwart the most enlightened aspirations in the Congress of Vienna, to oppose the British Representative in all his best designs, to annex Genoa and Norway, without consideration of their wishes; to seal the fate of Poland more profoundly, and on the plea of guarding against the danger which had passed; to leave the world defenceless against the new one which succeeded. Equipped with its well-known title in September, 1815, in the name of the Trinity it struggled many years against the birth of freedom, however moderate and guarded, in Italy, in Spain, and South America. Although reduced by Mr. Canning, and counteracted by Lord Palmerston, it still accumulated in the world the revolutionary spirit which broke out in 1848, and nearly devastated Europe. After a long interval, the war of France and Germany in 1870 seems to have recalled it. In its last phase it brought about the drama, with the surprising turns of which this House was occupied too frequently; the drama which, after a long series of Commercial Treaties, Herzegovinian insurrections, Servian wars,

Bulgarian disturbances—all well adapted to the simple—at length revealed its purpose when the Ottoman Assemblies were overthrown at San Stefano.

But, even if the past career of such an union were less sinister than it is, it would be easy to observe the British objects which it tends to frustrate at this moment. However, I will pass them over altogether, as some may deem them unimportant, some even pernicious; and it is difficult to fix a general consent on any line of active policy submitted. But something else ought not to be passed over. It is a reference to the immediate, urgent dangers to be traced to the reunion which presents itself. Let me refer to what was lately heard on Central Asia. Whatever eloquence or wit is brought to bear upon the question of Herat and Merv, whatever adjectives are coined to throw a doubt on their importance, whatever animated conflicts between the shadows of departed Viceroy, meeting in the Elysian fields of Parliament, may grow out of this subject, a few distinct conclusions are inevitable. Herat is the gate of India. Lord Lawrence and Sir Henry Rawlinson, belonging to rival schools, have equally affirmed it. Merv, occupied by Russia, does make Herat much more accessible than formerly. It is a military problem. It has been decided by General Valentine Baker, whose credit is so high, and by Sir Charles M'Gregor, a Quartermaster General in the Indian Service. Herat has now become the nearest stage of Russian progress unarrived at. Is it not certain that Russia is more likely to approach it when Germany and Austria have ceased to be a counteracting influence than when they are remaining one?

Constantinople is always difficult to shelter. The First Napoleon, it is related by O'Meara in the *Voice from St. Helena*, deemed it almost impossible for Europe to maintain it against Russia, although he thought the effort both desirable and necessary. When Germany and Austria are won over to the Russian scale, nothing remains except the Western Powers and the Ottoman Empire. If the Western Powers are disunited or disabled, the Ottoman Empire is alone, with Greece on one flank, Russia on the other; while there are three routes to guard—that of the Pruth, that of the Black Sea, and that of Asia Minor. Can



it be doubted that the new Alliance adds to the perennial solicitude of which Constantinople is the object?

But now the care of Parliament devotes itself exclusively to Egypt. We have seen to-day the agitation which it causes. I have not joined in the tide of general attack to which the Government have been exposed. It seemed to me that they were fully justified in their resistance to Arabi. I recognize the military lustre which the campaign against him added to our history. The Government may well defend themselves against those who aim at a Protectorate, and still more easily against those who urge a premature removal of the garrison. But still the situation is a fearful one. General Gordon has apparently been sent for no end except to register the triumphs of the Mahdi. His action is inappreciable; his fate is constantly precarious; his schemes are not adopted by the Government. Admitting that they have well secured the littoral of the Red Sea, the Government have no decided hold on Alexandria and Cairo. The Sultan does not join or approve the occupation. France looks on it with jealousy. It is not based upon a mandate. If the new Alliance, backed by the Ottoman Empire, or speaking in its name, of which they know how to avail themselves, dictated our withdrawal, in what manner would the Government be ready to encounter the dictation? It would be quite in accord with the principle which Russia formerly avowed—that whatever Great Britain gained upon the Nile, she was to have as much upon the Bosphorus.

But there is something yet more serious to be remembered by your Lordships. The right hon. Gentleman the First Minister and the noble Earl the Secretary of State are so placed that they can hardly grapple with the new alliance by either of the methods which in former times have been resorted to against it. Mr. Canning, in the period between 1822 and 1827, was able to divide it. The memorials his Private Secretary has collected throw a searching light upon his policy. No doubt, arguments might be employed for detaching Germany from Russia. Before now they have been methodized or given. Unless such considerations could be urged, or could suggest themselves, the event of 1879 would never have arisen. Such reasons may be found; but it is not open to the

Government to use them. They are not able to warn Germany against a concert of which they have themselves been guilty in a measure so extravagant. Rebuke, recrimination without limit, might, although we cannot say it would, be heaped upon them. The name of Mr. Gladstone might, although we cannot say it would, be conjured to repel, and that of Copenhagen to overwhelm them with confusion. The other method of resisting the three Powers was the method of Lord Palmerston. His Correspondence thoroughly elucidates it. We know, from his own words, that he framed his Quadruple Alliance of France, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, not only to compose the wars which raged in the Iberian Peninsula, but also to balance, in some degree, the united force of Austria, Prussia, and Russia. How can the Government aspire to an equivalent of such a Quadruple Alliance when France is hopelessly estranged, or would exact the condominium in Egypt they have just removed, as the least and first condition of her friendship?

My Lords, the conclusion is—and it would be idle to detain the House without adverting to it—that foreign policy requires, both in the First Minister and the Secretary of State, a different agency from that which governs it at present. The agency which, in 1870 and the years which followed, was inadequate to avert a dangerous war, to resist an arrogant pretension, to close a standing controversy with advantage, has now become still more inadequate to neutralize the special difficulty which its weakness has created. It is not by such an agency that you can bring before the world, even reduced and shaded into diplomatic phrase, the language which it calls for.

To resume the circumstances I have urged upon your Lordships. The visit to Copenhagen, although free from all political design, although ingenuous in spirit, amiable in purpose, was construed as a more emphatic mode of proclaiming the close relation between Russia and Great Britain. It has been followed by a singular, but natural development of consequences. A further stage is reached in Central Asia. Egypt is more serious than ever. The Holy Alliance re-asserts itself. The First Minister and the Secretary of State are so placed that, with their best exertions, they cannot possibly withstand or counterbalance it. The



revival of British influence at Berlin, at Vienna, at Constantinople, is the specific to be aimed at. To that revival they are both insuperable obstacles.

Does the Liberal majority require them? In a former generation the Liberal majority outlived even the services of the late Earl Grey and of Lord Althorp. It went on for years under a new, although it could not be under a superior direction. The Liberal majority is not, in any manner, the foundation on which the right hon. Gentleman and noble Earl are standing at this moment. Who made the right hon. Gentleman First Minister? The noble Earl, because his diffidence would not allow him to become one when he was the formally accepted Leader of the Party which had triumphed at the General Election. Who made the noble Earl the Foreign Secretary? The First Minister. It was the only voice in the United Kingdom which selected him. Externally, at least, the country is imperilled and degraded by two statesmen, each of whom depends exclusively upon the appointment of the other. The House of Commons, having frequently rebuked it, it would be well for such a combination to exhaust itself, before it yields to civil war, or to incendiary violence; the civil war which the First Minister foreshadowed; the incendiary violence he is not able to suppress.

I have but a word to add upon the Motion. If, indeed, the noble Earl the Secretary of State declares, in stereotyped phrase, that he has no official knowledge on the subject, it is easy to believe him. The age is led to think that many things exist, and many are preparing, which official knowledge does not grasp within its circle. The official knowledge of the noble Earl instructed him, in 1870, to count on the tranquillity of Europe. It may instruct him now to hold that Germany and Austria have not resumed their old connection with the Northern Power, in spite of the elaborate contrivances and improvised adventures by which he and the First Minister have lured them back to such a system. But this House would not perform its duty to the world, unless, before adjourning, it took the only method open to bring more light to bear upon an ominous—although far from an astonishing—appearance, which lends a graver hue to the embarrassed prospects of the country. The noble Lord

concluded by making the Motion of which he had given Notice.

*Moved*, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for Copy of the diplomatic correspondence on the alleged re-union of Austria, Germany, and Russia."—(*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*.)

LORD DENMAN said, he had been nearly 30 years a Member of their Lordships' House, and on three several occasions had spoken respectfully of Prussia, of Austria, and of Russia, for which he referred to his speeches. He would suggest that it would have been better if the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would postpone his answer until the noble Lord (Lord Tennyson) was present in the House. That noble Lord, having been present at the conversations which were stated to have taken place between the Prime Minister and the Emperor of Russia, would have been able to tell their Lordships what exactly occurred, in case previous assurances were doubted.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, a distinguished writer once said that that part of his head was very small which was intended to receive things that were not clear. Now, though I am not a distinguished writer, I am afraid my head has the same deficiency. I have been really quite unable to take in the drift of the noble Lord's speech, which he said he had condensed—although he had much more to say—into 50 minutes. My Lords, the noble Lord has quoted extracts from a great many European papers. I think it was Mr. Luttrell who once said that it was better that a man should commit murder in May than steal mutton in the Autumn; and, in the same way, in the dead season, I am not surprised that, it having been announced that Mr. Gladstone had gone on a diplomatic negotiation to the Emperor of Russia, the whole Press of Europe and of this country should take it up and speculate upon it. The other day, in answer to a Question put by the noble Lord, I stated in the most explicit manner that which was very well known a fortnight after the visit had taken place—that Mr. Gladstone had no political object whatever in going to Copenhagen; that he had no sort of mission for Her Majesty's Government on the subject; and that, being there, there was not any direct or indirect communication between Mr. Gladstone and the Russian Emperor. That the noble Lord

should refer again to that visit, and those other fearful transactions to which he has referred, after what I then said, appears to me perfectly unintelligible. I should be very glad to give these despatches, for I have received confidential despatches on the subject; but I am sure it would be bad to create a precedent for producing confidential despatches on Continental transactions to which we are not parties. It is quite clear that if I did so it would entirely shut up the sources of information open to Ministers at different Courts. I therefore cannot accede to the Motion of the noble Lord.

LORD STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL: I need detain the House but for a moment. As to any personal reflection which has fallen from the noble Earl, it is easy to forgive while he is the compulsory organ of the First Minister, who is not here this evening to defend himself. The noble Earl has not contested a single proposition I have offered to your Lordships. Abandoning the First Minister where he is a subject of remark, where no charge is made he goes on pertinaciously excusing him. As to Correspondence, the noble Earl may be entitled to withhold that which the three Powers have had amongst each other. That he has none to offer of his own, the line of observation I pursued would force me to anticipate. On the other hand, the House and country will remark that the union of the three Powers is now much clearer than before, the noble Earl having said nothing to throw a doubt upon, or question its existence.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn*.

#### LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881.

##### NOTICE OF QUESTION.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, I beg to give Notice that, on some early day after the Easter Recess, which I will then name, it is my intention to direct the attention of the House to the working and the operation of the Land Act; and to ask Her Majesty's Government, whether they have any measures in contemplation for the purpose of strengthening and enforcing the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act?

House adjourned at a quarter past Seven o'clock, to Monday the 21st instant, a quarter past Four o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, 4th April, 1884.

MINUTES.] — PRIVATE [BILL (by Order) — Committee nominated—Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement).

PUBLIC BILLS—Second Reading — Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act (1878) Amendment (No. 2) [82], debate adjourned.

Committee—Report—Army (Annual) [144].

Report—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order\* [142].

Third Reading—Trustee Churches (Ireland)\* [157], and passed.

## QUESTIONS.

### EGYPT—DEFENCE OF THE NILE PROVINCES.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary of State for War, What measures Her Majesty's Government intend adopting for the defence of the Nile Provinces in Upper and Lower Egypt; if it is intended to have an armed flotilla in the River, or only garrisons at Korosko, Assouan, Assiout, Cairo, &c; and, if the Government is aware that an enemy entering Upper Egypt would be able to do so without going near Korosko or Assouan?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The subject referred to in the Question of my hon. Friend has occupied the attention of the Government and of the General Officers in command in Egypt; but it would obviously be undesirable to state at the present time what measures are contemplated for the defence of the Nile Provinces. The Government are quite aware of certain roads in the direction indicated by the Question; but have no reason to believe that they are roads which would permit the passage of a very considerable number of troops.

In reply to a further Question from Mr. GOURLEY,

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, it was not desirable to make known the details of what was being done. All the necessary arrangements were being made by the officers on the spot.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND) ACT—CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT SUPERINTENDENTS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Can he state the proportion of Catholic and Protestant candidates examined, and the proportion of Catholic and Protestant Superintendents, under the Intermediate Education Act, and how many Protestant and how many Catholic clergymen have been employed as Superintendents since 1879?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Commissioners never make inquiry as to the religious profession of candidates, and do not consider themselves empowered to do so. I have been informed that the Board endeavour to equalize the numbers of Protestants and Catholics as Centre Superintendents, and that they believe themselves to have succeeded in doing so. With regard to the number of clergymen employed as Superintendents since 1879, there were 71 Roman Catholics and 127 Protestants. In giving me this information, the Assistant Commissioners inform me that there have not been so many applications from Catholic clergymen as from clergymen on the other side.

IRISH LAND COMMISSION—REDUCTION OF RENTS.

MR. GIBSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the rate of reduction in rents made by the Irish Land Commission for each of the six months ending 29th February last; what does he now estimate will be the cost of the Irish Land Commission for the approaching financial year; and, will a Supplementary Estimate be laid upon the Table for the additional cost caused by the recent decision of the Irish Government to continue the employment of the temporary Sub-Commissioners for four months?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Land Commissioners inform me that they will not be in a position for about three weeks from this time to give the rate of reduction for February. In each of the six months ending January 31 the rate was respectively—about 17, 1·66, 19, 20 (nearly), 19 (nearly), and 17·7, the average being 18·6. The Irish Government is at present in communication with the Treasury on the subject of the Esti-

mates in connection with the decision to continue the Sub-Commissions, and with the Land Commissioners on the subject of possible economies on other sub-heads of the Estimates; but, as at present advised, I can scarcely hope that a Supplementary Estimate can possibly be avoided.

ENCUMBERED ESTATES COURT (IRELAND)—MR. GEORGE BOLTON.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to an application made against Mr. George Bolton, Crown Solicitor, in the Land Judges Court, Dublin, on Saturday last, before Mr. Justice Ormsby, by counsel, on behalf of the receiver in the matter of the estate of the said George Bolton; whether it appeared that, in June last, Mr. Bolton being £200 in arrear of rent of land leased to him by the court (being part of his estate in the hands of the court for sale), the receiver applied for leave to proceed against him, but the court did not order proceedings, as Mr. Bolton undertook to give, within a week, his promissory note for £200, payable in three months; whether this promissory note, due in September last, has never since been paid; whether the court, in June, re-let the grazing land to Mr. Bolton, upon his covenant to pay the first moiety of the rent on the 1st November last, but, as he failed to pay, proceedings were ordered, and judgments issued, in January last, with the result that the Sheriff of Dublin has only been able to recover a small portion of the debt, and it has been found that Mr. Bolton is also in debt for rent to the landlord of the house in which he lives; whether it was stated in court that the land in question was let to Mr. Bolton at a great deal less than the value, that he had made considerable profit out of it, and that he is in receipt of £1,200 a-year, as the holder of two public appointments; whether Mr. Bolton neither appeared himself in court, on Saturday last, nor caused anyone to appear on his behalf; whether, in respect of a second judgment against Mr. Bolton, lodged by order of the court with the Sheriff of the city of Dublin, that official has reported that he has not been able to levy anything whatever; whether Mr. Bolton, some years ago, was condemned by Mr. Justice Fry for having drawn up a marriage



settlement defrauding his own wife; and, whether he will be any longer retained in the public service?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is a fact that the application mentioned took place. Mr. Bolton states he did not appear, because no notice or application was served on him. From his statement it appears that he has fallen into embarrassment, as the result of the purchase of landed property, and that he has applied half of his salaries, the amount of which were not as considerable as the hon. Member stated. Mr. Bolton has been cautioned that he must come to an arrangement with his creditors; but the Government do not consider the case is one for removal. As to the second charge, it was considered by the late Government nearly five years ago, and it was then decided that the circumstances of the case did not warrant his dismissal.

#### PRISONS (ENGLAND AND WALES)— MAT MAKING.

MR. BURT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can state why the number of mat makers has been increased in Wandsworth Prison from 53 in 1882 to 373 in 1883, and in Bedford from 14 in 1882 to 46 in 1883; whether these increases have been made at the suggestion of the contractors for the prisoners' labour; and, whether, in view of the recommendations of the Commissioners of Prisons for the year 1882, who say, page 7—

“The objects we desire to keep primarily in view are, First. To provide the prisoners with such employment as will interest and develop their intelligence; Secondly. To avoid concentrating too large a proportion of the labour of prisoners on one trade, and especially to diminish the amount of mat making throughout the Kingdom; Thirdly. To work for Government Departments as much as possible in preference to working for private employers,” he can explain the cause of so great an increase?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, there were, on the whole, the same number of persons employed in prisons in the making of mats as in 1881. There had been some changes; but the total number had not been increased.

#### LUNACY COMMISSIONERS—INSANE BRITISH SUBJECTS ABROAD.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Secretary of State for the Home Depart-

ment, If he can find out how many British subjects, who were insane or alleged to be insane, have been conveyed away from the United Kingdom and confined in lunatic asylums in Foreign Countries during the past ten years; and, whether any of the survivors of them are now of sound mind?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have inquired of the Lunacy Commissioners, who tell me that there are no facts which they can get that would answer the Question of the hon. Member. I do not see how it is possible to discover those facts.

#### CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACTS—FOOT-AND-MOUTH DISEASE.

MR. JAMES HOWARD asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether the Privy Council, in view of the increased movement of cattle about to take place, and the consequent risk of disease again spreading and becoming unmanageable, the Department will consider the desirability of simultaneous action throughout the Country for stamping out foot-and-mouth disease by the issue of an Order in Council directing the slaughter of all animals at present affected with the disease, in accordance with the powers vested in the Privy Council by section 29 of the Act of 1878, and also directing, for a prescribed period, the establishment of an efficient cordon around each infected farm or place, under the powers vested in the Privy Council by section 32 of the same Act?

MR. DODSON: The Privy Council have urged upon Local Authorities the necessity for prompt and vigorous action at the present time for getting rid of foot-and-mouth disease by slaughter, or by effective isolation and regulation under police superintendence of infected places. There appears to be no such general disposition among stockowners, and still less among the public, to adopt a universal compulsory system of slaughter for foot-and-mouth disease as would warrant the issue of an Order of the stringent and sweeping nature proposed.

MR. JAMES HOWARD wished to know, whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that in the Northampton Market on Monday last some 20 or 30 animals affected with foot-and-mouth

disease were discovered; and also, whether he was aware that there were only 391 cattle and 289 sheep affected with foot-and-mouth disease at the present moment, and that only an outlay of something like £3,000 was necessary in order to stamp out this malady? The hon. Gentleman likewise gave Notice that on Monday he would repeat the Question he had placed on the Paper; and that, if necessary, he would then move the adjournment of the House, with a view to calling attention to this subject.

MR. J. LOWTHER inquired when the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill was likely to be put down on the Paper with a view of being considered on an early day in Committee? He also wished to know whether the right hon. Gentleman could give a formal contradiction of the report, which was very widely spread, that the Government did not seriously intend to press the measure this Session?

MR. DODSON said, that he had only heard the report in question that moment from the lips of the right hon. Gentleman. With regard to getting forward with the Bill, the right hon. Gentleman, if he had observed the proceedings of the House, must have known that it had been put down on the Paper every day, but that the Government had had no opportunity of bringing it on. They had also given Morning Sittings for the purpose of getting into Committee on the Bill; and if the Government had not succeeded it had been from no fault of theirs. The Prime Minister had thrown out a suggestion that there might be a Morning Sitting for making progress with the Bill in Committee on Tuesday after the House re-assembled. That would be a matter for arrangement hereafter; but he trusted that they might be able to get the Speaker out of the Chair before then. With respect to the Question of the hon. Member for Bedfordshire, the Privy Council had heard that morning that on a farm at Newport Pagnell, in Buckinghamshire, 25 out of 30 animals purchased at the Northampton Market on the 29th ultimo were found on the 2nd instant to be affected with foot-and-mouth disease. The total number of animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease in Great Britain was on March 29, the date of the latest complete Return, about that

stated by the hon. Member. A very large proportion, however, of that number was contained in one county, and a comparatively large number in a few other counties. Those counties did not appear disposed to adopt a system of slaughter.

MR. JAMES HOWARD again asked if it had been officially reported to the Privy Council that 20 or 30 animals affected with foot-and-mouth disease had been discovered at Northampton Market?

MR. DODSON: My information is what I have stated.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, he would repeat the Question on Monday.

#### AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENTS OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES—DENMARK.

MR. JAMES HOWARD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will obtain fuller particulars of the connection which exists between the Agricultural Department of Denmark and the Danish Royal Society of Agricultural Economy than are given in the Reports on the Agricultural Departments of Foreign Countries (No. 9) issued last week?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: If my hon. Friend will have the goodness to communicate to me the exact points on which he requires further information, it will be procured through Her Majesty's Legation at Copenhagen.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND) ACT—MEDICAL OFFICERS OF HEALTH.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, since "The Labourers' (Ireland) Act, 1883," and "The Public Health (Ireland) Act, 1878," are construed as one Act, he will give a Return of the paid officials employed under those Acts, during the six months ending 31st March, 1884, showing the amount of their annual salaries, and the extra fees and emoluments, if any, received by them; whether any cases have arisen in which sanitary officers have claimed extra payment for what the Guardians pronounced to be their ordinary duty; and, whether they have a ground of action at law against the Guardians for refusing their demands?

MR. TREVELYAN: There is no objection to giving such Returns as those suggested by the hon. Member. I am

informed that in some instances Boards of Guardians refuse to pay their medical officers for such services as those rendered under this Act by them; and, as one medical officer has taken proceedings against a Board, I cannot prejudice the case by the expression of any opinion as to whether or not there is ground of action.

# INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON PATENTS.

MR. B. SAMUELSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When he will lay upon the Table the terms of the accession of this country to the International Convention on Patents; and, whether he will append thereto any Correspondence on the subject with our Colonies and Foreign Powers?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The acceptance of the British accession, which accession was communicated to the French Government on the 17th ultimo, has not yet been reported by Her Majesty's Ambassador; but when it is received, the Convention, together with the British Declaration of Accession, will be presented in the usual course to Parliament. I think that the Correspondence to which my hon. Friend refers can be laid upon the Table; but it will be necessary to consult the Departments more particularly concerned. The only Foreign Correspondence is with the French Government, who have carried on the negotiations.

## IRELAND—SLIGO BOARD OF GUARDIANS—THE REV. THOMAS HEANY.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Rev. Thomas Heany, now acting as a member of the Emigration Committee of the Sligo Board of Guardians, lately issued, in his capacity of Chaplain of an Orange Lodge, a circular, since published in the Press, in which circular he and his co-signatories called upon the landlords of the county Sligo to give to Protestants only vacant farms and vacant situations; and, whether, if so, the Local Government Board will permit the Rev. Thomas Heany to continue to act as member of a committee of a Board of Guardians having in charge the emigration of Catholics out of the county of Sligo?

MR. GIBSON asked whether this rev. gentleman denied that he signed his name to such a circular?

MR. SEXTON: Another clergyman denied it—not this one.

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Rev. Mr. Heany himself states that his name was attached to this circular without his knowledge or consent, and that he would not have approved of such a circular if it had been submitted to him. The rev. gentleman made this communication to me in reference to a former Question with regard to this circular, which was asked about a month ago; but, unfortunately, I did not receive his letter until after the Question had been put.

## THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — MR. RICHARD HARVEY, GOVERNMENT STAMP DISTRIBUTOR AT DROGHEDA.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If Mr. Richard Harvey, Government Stamp Distributor at Drogheda, acted at the late and previous revisions of Voters' Lists for that borough as agent and objector on behalf of the Tory Party; and, if so, how the office of stamp distributor was attended to while he occupied himself in the Revision Court; and whether such occupation is compatible with his duty as a salaried official of the State; whether, on a former occasion, Mr. Harvey, in consequence of having written over his name a letter of a political and party character in the public Press, was suspended from the office of Stamp Distributor; but was restored to the office on making an apology, and promising not again to offend; and, what course will now be taken in his regard?

MR. COURTNEY: The distributor in question says he never acted in the capacity stated. It was true that he was suspended in 1880 for an act of indiscretion; but he was soon after restored.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON: Was not he summoned by the National Party?

MR. SEXTON: Will the Government receive the evidence as to whether he acted or not?

MR. COURTNEY: Any communication to his official superiors will, of course, be considered.



## NAVY—OFFICERS OF THE ROYAL MARINES.

CAPTAIN PRICE asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, What are the recommendations of the War Office Committee as to the employment of Officers of the Royal Marines on the Staff of the Army; and, do the Admiralty intend to carry them into effect?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER: I have been asked to reply to his Question. The instructions to the Committee on the Royal Marines, over which I had the honour to preside, were that we should

“Inquire into and report on the conditions as regards pay and service of officers of the Royal Marines when employed on the General Staff of the Army.”

We reported our opinion that the eligibility of officers of Royal Marines for such employment was clearly established by the Queen's Regulations, section 5, par. 68, if read in connection with the Army Act, 1881, section 190, sub-section 8; and our recommendations were to the effect that when officers of the Royal Marines shall be employed on the Staff of the Army they should be subject to the same conditions as regards pay and service as now are applied to the officers of the Army. The Admiralty intend to carry out these recommendations of the Committee.

## INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND)—BRIDGES OVER THE SHANNON.

MR. MOLLOY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the Board of Works in Ireland will construct a bridge over the New Cut or Auxiliary Channel at Victoria Lock, in connection with the Shannon Drainage Works in the King's County; and, further, as the three provinces and three counties meet at Victoria Lock, if he will cause a few temporary bridges to be made across the small branches of the Shannon thence to Meelick?

MR. COURTNEY: I am afraid there are no funds at the disposal of the Government for this purpose.

## PARLIAMENT—ARRANGEMENT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: It may be for the convenience of the House that I should state that I propose on

Tuesday morning next to ask leave to introduce a Bill for the better government of London. As a matter of form, I may also mention that it will be necessary, as it is a Notice of Motion, formally on Monday night to make a Motion, not with the view of making a statement on Monday night, but that it may be made an Order of the Day to be dealt with on Tuesday morning.

MR. J. LOWTHIER asked the noble Marquess what arrangements the Government had made for the adjournment of the House for the Easter holidays?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he was glad the right hon. Gentleman had put that Question. The Government would endeavour to make any arrangement which might be most in accordance with the desires of the House upon this matter. There was, however, some difficulty about it. The Motion might be made on Monday evening, after the other Business was concluded. If, however, that course was not acceptable to the House, and if it was desired to have a discussion on the Motion for Adjournment, then it would be necessary to make the Motion on Tuesday morning, after his right hon. and learned Friend had brought in the London Government Bill; or, if there was not time on Tuesday morning, it would be necessary that the House should meet on Tuesday evening to make that Motion.

In reply to Mr. GIBSON,

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that the Government did not intend to take any other Business than the London Government Bill on Tuesday.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I do not quite understand what the noble Marquess means when he says that the Motion might be made on Monday night for the adjournment. Would it be—“That the House at its rising to-morrow,” and so on?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes; I believe that course has been taken with the concurrence of the House.

MR. J. LOWTHER believed it was the intention of the Government that on the Tuesday after the re-assembling of the House the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill should be put on the Paper. He wished to know whether it would be put down with the idea of being seriously proceeded with?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he did not quite understand the Question. Of course, if the Government put the Bill down it would be with the desire of making as much progress as possible.

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that it had been distinctly stated that the Government would not proceed with the clauses; but that the Bill would be put down simply with the view of getting the Speaker out of the Chair. He wished to know whether adequate Notice would be given when it was intended to go through the clauses?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, that the arrangement referred to by the right hon. Gentleman was only made in order that sufficient time might be given to Members for the consideration of Amendments. That reason no longer applied, and the Government hoped to make progress with the Bill.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked what Supply would be taken on Monday, the 21st, when the House re-assembled?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): Civil Service Estimates, Class I.

MR. HEALY said, he believed there was no precedent for the course proposed to be taken with regard to the Motion for the adjournment for the holidays. The usual plan was to make that Motion as the first Business. It was the intention of his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) on that Motion to call the attention of the House to the question of the police tax in Cork, and the Irish Members intended to raise a debate. If the Motion were not made until after the introduction of the London Government Bill, he was afraid the House would be put to the trouble of meeting again at 9 o'clock on Tuesday evening.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR pointed out that, although the Government had put before the House two alternatives with regard to the Motion for Adjournment, they had not stated which of them they would adopt. It would be highly inconvenient that the Motion should be made late on Monday night; because in the present anxious and critical state of affairs in Egypt it was highly probable that attention might be drawn to the subject.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, he thought that the discussion on

the Motion of the hon. Member for the City of Cork might be taken after the other Business was disposed of on Monday night. If it were necessary to put it down on Tuesday, it was extremely likely that the House would have to meet on Tuesday evening to consider it.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (SCOTLAND) BILL—SECRETARY OF STATE.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON: I should like to ask the Home Secretary, Whether he has abandoned his intention of bringing in the Local Government Board (Scotland) Bill before Easter?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I should be very glad; but I received so little encouragement from the hon. and gallant Gentleman last year. In the absence of the Lord Advocate, I can hardly say whether we can do anything before Easter; but if I am assured that I have my hon. and gallant Friend's support, I shall be very glad.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON: I want to see the Bill first.

#### LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—A CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF POLICE.

MR. MOLLOY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, If he will lay upon the Table of the House the Report made to the Irish Government by Mr. Jenkinson and others upon the proposed Constabulary and Police Administration (Ireland) Bill of last Session; and, if it is proposed to reintroduce that Bill; if it was proposed to name Mr. Jenkinson the first Chief Commissioner under the Bill, and if one of the recommendations of such Report was as to the salary and allowances to the proposed Chief Commissioner, and if the amount recommended by such Report to be paid to such Commissioner was £2,000 per annum, and £400 for age allowance; what is the exact position now held by Mr. Jenkinson in Ireland; and, whether he has been, or is about to be, appointed to some new official position in England?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Report to which the hon. Member refers cannot be submitted to Parliament. I do not propose to re-introduce this Session a Bill creating a post of Chief Commissioner of Police. I must decline to say who might be considered suitable to fill



a post which has not been created, or to state any of the recommendations made by the Committee referred to, which was a confidential one. The exact position held by Mr. Jenkinson in Ireland is that of Assistant Under Secretary for Police and Crime. The work which he has to do in that capacity necessitates his being a good deal in London at the present time. He has not been, nor is he about to be, appointed to any new official position in England.

Mr. HEALY: Then, Sir, we have not got rid of Mr. Jenkinson. ["Order!"]

#### PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND)

ACT, 1882—COMPENSATION FOR MALICIOUS BURNING—MR. WALLER, J.P., MOYSTOWN.

Mr. DEASY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, on the 5th ult., the Grand Jury of King's County granted to Mr. Bolton J. Waller, J.P., of Moystown, the full amount of £315 compensation for hay destroyed by fire; whether the hay in question, for three weeks after being cut, was constantly flooded by the waters of the Shannon to within about one foot of the top of the cocks, so as to be rendered almost worthless; whether the police, after full investigation, arrested Mr. Waller's butler, a man named Kenny, on the charge of having set the hay on fire; whether, upon the hearing of the charge at Birr, on the 13th January, a man named Frank Smyth swore that he had seen Kenny set the hay on fire; whether other evidence for the prosecution was given on the same occasion, and no evidence was tendered for the defence; whether the prosecution was conducted by Mr. Adam Mitchell, Crown Solicitor, and the defence by Mr. Mitchell's son; whether the father and son are members of the same firm, and transact their business in the same office; whether the magistrates refused the informations, and dismissed the case; what explanation can be given of this judgment; and, whether the presentment will be levied?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Mr. Waller was granted by the Grand Jury the compensation stated. It was also allowed by the cesspayers. It is true that Smyth swore he saw Kenny set fire to the hay; but so little credit was attached to his statement that the magistrates dismissed the case against Kenny without

requiring any evidence for the defence. The Government have no reason to doubt the propriety of that decision. Mr. Mitchell conducted the prosecution; but Mr. Mitchell's son withdrew from the case when he found that it was going to be a criminal prosecution.

#### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. THOMAS DOWLING, CAPPATHWAITE.

Mr. MAYNE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to the fact, as reported in *The Cork Examiner*, of Monday, March 31st, that on Friday last, in Cappathwaite (county Tipperary) Petty Sessions Court, Mr. Thomas Dowling, of Inchinsquillib, Cappathwaite, a Justice of the Peace for the county of Dublin, was fined five shillings and costs for having been drunk while in charge of a horse and car on the public highway on the night of the 13th March; whether, in respect to a further charge of abusive language, brought by the police against Mr. Dowling, the presiding magistrate, Mr. Meldon, R.M., instructed them to report the matter to their superiors, and stated that the Government would not continue to afford to such a person as Mr. Dowling the force of five constables which has been at his disposal for some time; whether Mr. Dowling recently said to Sergeant Robert Moore that he would put a rope around the neck of Archbishop Croke, and hang him; whether Sergeant Moore, having reported the use of this language to Head Constable Ross Parkes, the Head Constable took no step in reference to the report, but went, on the same day, in a public-house to drink, in Mr. Dowling's company, and subsequently reported Sergeant Moore for not saluting Mr. Dowling; what notice will be taken of the conduct of the Head Constable; and, whether Mr. Dowling will be retained in the Commission of the Peace?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Mr. Dowling was fined as stated. A further charge of using abusive language to his protection party was made. The Resident Magistrate desired the man to make a Report to his superior officer if he were required to continue on such duty; but he did not say that the Government would not further protect Mr. Dowling. His remark applied only to the individual constable. I believe it is the case that in the course of the prisoner's



remand he undoubtedly used the language attributed to him; but the sergeant did not regard his statement as seriously intended. The Head Constable denies having gone into a public-house and taken a drink from Mr. Dowling. He went into the Post Office, which is also a public-house, while Mr. Dowling was there. The Head Constable did not report Sergeant Moore for not saluting Mr. Dowling. The sergeant did not consider it necessary to salute Mr. Dowling, as he was not a magistrate of his district; but on the matter being explained to him he did so at once. The case of Mr. Dowling is one which will be laid before the Lord Chancellor.

#### CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE BALLYFARNON MURDER.

MR. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, When the prisoners charged with the Ballyfarnon murder were arrested; how many remands were granted before their committal; can he quote any precedent for a similar number in ordinary English practice; what evidence was produced before the magistrates in the course of the investigation which might not have been tendered weeks ago; had the series of remands the effect of making the case too late for the Spring Assizes, and throwing the trial over till June or July; will the prisoners thereby be detained four months additional; what expense did these adjournments entail on the Country; and, will the expenses of prisoners' solicitor going from Ballinasloe to Galway on each occasion be defrayed by the Crown; if not, does he propose any change whereby the expense which this remand system entails on poor prisoners may be avoided? I must say that the most important part of this Question was struck out. It was, how much Mr. George Bolton got for each remand he procured?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER): Four of the prisoners charged with this murder were arrested on the 27th of January, 1884. There were eight remands before the committal, which took place on the 28th of March. One of the prisoners, Thomas Nolan, was only arrested on the 27th of February. The evidence was, to a considerable extent, circumstantial, and only developed as the case proceeded; and in the course of the inves-

tigation one very important witness had to be traced out and brought over from England. Another important witness was only discovered a few days before the 28th of March. In no event, therefore, could this case have been ready for trial at the Spring Assizes on the 22nd of March. The murder was committed on the 16th of October, 1879, when the body was put into a sack and thrown into the River Suck, and it was not discovered till the 19th of May, 1880. Not much expense was occasioned by the adjournments. There is no precedent for payment of the expenses of a solicitor at a preliminary investigation. I am informed that many precedents exist in England for an equal number of remands. In Gallagher's case there were 11 hearings in the police courts.

#### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ATHLONE BOARD OF GUARDIANS—ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, By whose authority, and at whose request, was the election of Chairman at the Athlone Board of Guardians postponed from the 29th March to the 5th of April?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, the election was fixed originally for the 5th of April, the earliest day on which it could be held.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

#### SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

#### IRELAND—CONSTITUTION OF THE MAGISTRACY.—RESOLUTION.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, in rising to call attention to the conduct of the Irish Magistracy; and to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, the present condition of the Irish Magistracy, constituted, as shown by a Return now in the possession of the House, almost exclusively from one religious denomination and one class, is offensive and injurious to the vast majority of the Irish people, and is calculated to destroy all confidence in the ordinary administration of justice in Ireland,"

said, if Irish Members were only con-

cerned with the one chapter of the history of the Irish Magistracy which described its composition, and if they were convinced that English and Scotch Members would read the Return recently laid before the House on that subject, and strive to understand it, hardly any argument would be needed to convey its full import and lesson. But his hon. Friends and himself could not suppose that this long and complicated Return would receive the attention to which it was entitled. Furthermore, there were other questions concerning the administration of justice beside the composition of the Magistracy which were not touched upon in that Return, and which could only be set forth on a Motion such as he had proposed. There were two classes of magistrates—the Resident Magistrates, who were appointed under an Act of Parliament, and held office during the pleasure of the Viceroy, and there were the Unpaid Magistrates, who were appointed by the Lord Chancellor, on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant of a county. Nomination by a Lord Lieutenant was taken as sufficient recommendation, so that the Lords Lieutenant virtually held in their own hands the appointment of the ordinary Magistracy. Now, it would hardly be believed that out of 32 Lords Lieutenant in Ireland only two were members of the Catholic Church. Ireland contained about 4,000,000 Catholic inhabitants, and about 1,000,000 of a Protestant population. These 4,000,000 Catholics had 869 Catholic magistrates and justices. The 1,000,000 Irish Protestants had 3,359 persons in the Commission of the Peace. These figures exhibited a very curious inversion of proportions, and showed that the great majority of Catholics had a miserably small minority of their faith on the Bench. Such a state of things hardly called for mere inquiry; it called rather for instant condemnation. No ingenuity or skill could reconcile a House of Commons, disposed to act with fairness and justice, to the disparity disclosed by these figures. In the Province of Ulster the population was very nearly balanced. There were about 830,000 Catholics, and about 900,000 Protestants of all denominations. Yet there were only 88 Catholic magistrates and 1,027 Protestant magistrates in Ulster. Leinster had a popu-

lation of 1,100,000 Catholics, and 184,000 Protestants; and in Leinster there were 296 Catholic magistrates, and 1,047 Protestant magistrates. Munster had a Catholic population of about 1,250,000, and a Protestant population of about 81,000. The minority of 81,000 had 884 Commissions of the Peace amongst them, while the 1,250,000 had only 301 Catholic magistrates. The Catholic population of Connaught was 783,000, and it had 184 Catholic magistrates. The Protestant population of 38,000 had 401 Protestant Justices of the Peace. In the boroughs the disproportion of Catholic magistrates to Protestants was not so obviously one-sided, although it was still sufficiently striking and shameful. The Catholic population of Irish boroughs was about 612,000; the Protestant population was 299,000. The Catholic magistrates numbered 145; the Protestants 226. In the whole county of Fermanagh there was only one Catholic magistrate, and he was a Resident Magistrate, so that Fermanagh had no unpaid Catholic Justice of the Peace; but it had 74 Protestant Justices. Carlow had but five Catholic Justices, and it, he need hardly say, was a Catholic county. Wicklow had five Catholic magistrates, and 99 Protestant Justices of the Peace. The county of Donegal, although mainly Catholic, had only nine Catholic magistrates out of 138 Justices of the Peace. It must be evident from these figures that, as regarded religious denomination, there was a monstrous and farcical perversion of all the principles of justice and fair play in Ireland. He should be sorry, however, to have it thought that their whole case was a question between Catholic and Protestant. That was a matter of immense magnitude; but it would by no means content him and his hon. Friends if by some sudden manipulation of the social arrangements the Viceroy were to place upon the Magisterial Bench a number of well-selected Catholic gentlemen, who had been ostentatious in their professions of devotion to the Castle. They should feel their people just as unprotected under that sort of change as if things were left as they now stood, with the administration of justice practically in the hands of a Protestant Magistracy. What they complained of was, that magistrates were not alone taken nearly all from one religious denomination, but that they

were chosen from one class of the community, and from what he might call the anti-National school. He wished the Return showed the names of the magistrates dismissed from the Commission of the Peace during the last 10 or 12 years. That would be instructive evidence; for the moment a Catholic magistrate had shown himself decidedly in sympathy with the National cause, some excuse was immediately found for his removal from the Bench of Justice. This had occurred more than once with honest, independent, sympathetic members of the Protestant Church. But he had no wish to see their places filled by the effervescing loyalty of certain Catholics, whose great ambition was to be invited to Castle balls and dinners. The complaint he made, beside that which concerned religion, was that nine-tenths of the magistrates were chosen from one class, and that the landlord class, which could not be supposed to be in affinity with any of the wants and wishes of the people of Ireland. It was possible that the Return did not do full justice to the case of the Chief Secretary, and that there might be more representatives of the farmer class on the Bench than this Return disclosed. Many in the class from which Irish Justices were chosen were nothing if not genteel; and it was not impossible that the position of the farmer might be decently wrapped up in the phrase "small landowner" or "gentleman farmer," which occurred now and then through the Return. Two or three times they had the title "gentleman land agent," and in one case they had a "gentleman soap and candle manufacturer." But, even making allowance for all the gentlemen farmers and gentlemen soap and candle manufacturers, it was clear that only a small minority of the Magistracy belonged to the farmer class. He would take examples from the county he represented. In County Longford they had 66 magistrates, of whom 62 were ordinary Justices; 52 of these were Protestants, and 14 were Catholics. If there was one county conspicuously Catholic in population, it was Longford. Of these 14 Catholics only five lived in the county, or took the slightest interest in what was called the administration of justice. One of the absentees was a Member of Parliament; and he, perhaps, was engaged in occu-

pations of a more delicate and exalted order than the administration of justice in the County Longford. Perhaps he considered it more dignified to play the part of a modern John Inglesant at Rome than to take any interest in the welfare of Longford tenant farmers. Another of the absentees was a Land Commissioner. A third was a gentleman who signed one of the addresses to Lord Rossmore; three lived in Dublin, and one was permanently settled in Australia, apparently having no intention of returning to adorn the Longford Magisterial Bench. Thirty-six were described as "landlords;" 5 as land agents; 11 as military officers, and of these, seven were also either landholders or the heirs to great estates. Only the two Coroners for the county were farmers, and, as most hon. Members knew, Coroners were chosen by popular election; but even of these two farmers one was also a land agent. There was a pleasant and rapid process of manufacturing magistrates out of the clerks of a great land agency office in Dublin, who in their tender years were sent to the county as agents or sub-agents, and were immediately inducted into the Commission of the Peace. To give an illustration. In one division of County Longford the Petty Sessions Bench had six magistrates. The first was a great landlord—a Member of this House; then came that landlord's agent, then the agent's son, then the agent's son-in-law, and then the agent's two nephews; and by that agreeable family party was justice administered in one portion of the county he represented. Any hon. Member might consider the sort of trial which would be given to a man brought before that Bench charged with having trespassed upon the great landlord's grounds in pursuit of a rabbit, or to cut a branch from a tree. It was possible that the Chief Secretary, or some other Member of the Government, might endeavour to argue that there was no way of getting proper men to place on the Bench unless from the landlord class or the Protestant denomination. Of course, as long as they stood upon the absurd and antiquated principle of property qualification there was little to be said in reply to that argument. But the property qualification had been excluded from almost every other institution in the country, and could not stand long as regarded county



magistrates. There was no reason in the actual facts of the case why there should not be obtained in every county a Bench of Magistrates well qualified to discharge their duties, while fairly representing the tenant farmers and Roman Catholics in Ireland. It must be remembered that nearly all the different Local Governing Bodies in Ireland at present had on their lists numbers of middle-class Catholics, who were able and intelligent, who understood local business, and who were well qualified to perform all the duties required by such a position. These men would be just as well qualified to sit on the Bench of Justice, and administer it fairly between man and man, as any of the landlord or land agent or military classes, no matter how high their intelligence or earnestness of purpose. That was the case to which he would direct the attention of the House. There were many questions connected with the discharge of their duty by a particular class of magistrates to which he had not referred at all. There were cases such as that brought to light in the Question of the hon. Member for Tipperary (Mr. Mayne) to-day, which introduced the House to a Justice of the Peace who might have stepped out of the pages of Smollett for grotesque misconduct and buffoonery. As to the Resident Magistrates, also, he presumed they would hear something in the course of the debate. If they did not, it was not because their action had not excited a strong and deep feeling in the country recently. He merely confined himself to the fact that the magistrates were, in nine cases out of ten, taken from one denomination and one class, that denomination being the denomination of the minority, and that class being notoriously, and he might almost say of necessity, out of sympathy with the vast mass of the population. If that was not a case which bore out the terms of his Resolution, he should like to know by what argument it could be proved. As long as this monstrous anomaly and this gross injustice stared the Irish Catholic tenant farmer and peasant in the face, as long as they saw that the Irish Magistracy was simply a garrison employed to keep down National feeling, and was in no sense a Bench of Justice, so long would they distrust and hate the law. He appealed, then, to the House to say whether the time had not come when, in

the interests of justice and good feeling, and of England as well as Ireland, this glaring and outrageous scandal should be brought to an end? He begged to move the Resolution standing in his name.

MR. O'BRIEN, in seconding the Resolution, said, after the masterly way in which his hon. Friend had exposed the scandal of the Irish Magistracy it would be merely travelling over the same ground to say anything upon the subject until they had heard the reply of the Chief Secretary. He almost anticipated that there would be no reply—at least, no reply to the damning case made against the composition of the Magisterial Bench in Ireland—and that the line of defence taken would be that anticipated by his hon. Friend—namely, that it was really not the fault of the Government, and that they had done their best to remedy it. Of course, it might be very convenient for the Government, when they had absolutely no defence to the case made against the Irish Magistracy, to say that they desired to reform it, and that they had tried to do so; but the people of Ireland had no belief whatever in such professions. On the contrary, he asserted that every step the Government had taken in the direction, apparently of Liberalizing the Irish Magistracy by the infusion of Catholics, was taken, not for the *bond fide* purpose of improving or reforming it, but for the purpose of corrupting the Catholics appointed. They had almost invariably, in the Catholic appointments they had made, selected men who were most open to the temptations of the Government—men who were even most obnoxious to the people. The consequence was that bad as were the Orange section of the Magistracy in Ireland, the Catholic section, with comparatively few exceptions, was worse. They were neither fish nor flesh—they were people who felt that they could only rise above their own order and gain a miserable social distinction by recanting their political opinions and cringing or intriguing with the Government. He and his hon. Friends complained that not only were independent Catholics fitted for office passed over, but that the most obnoxious of the Irish Catholics were chosen for these positions. Last Session he brought under the notice of the House the fact that in one of the most Catholic districts

in Ireland—the district of Roscrea—there was not a single Catholic magistrate, and that the people were absolutely at the mercy of an Orange Bench. He mentioned that one of them had entertained the local Orange Lodge at his residence on the 12th of July; and that, in fact, the whole of the magistrates of the district ostentatiously patronized the Orange Society and everything offensive to the people. The Chief Secretary seemed to recognize the hardship of that, and he gave a promise at the time that he would see whether something could not be done to remedy it. But what was the remedy? The Lord Chancellor, or the Lieutenant of the county, or whatever official was responsible, passed over a number of Catholic gentlemen of independence and high character in the town of Roscrea, and went into the Templemore Petty Sessions district, 12 miles away, where he selected one of the most obnoxious Catholics in the whole of Tipperary, a land agent of the very worst type, and a man who throughout the whole land agitation had been a conspicuous enemy of the people. This man, who scarcely ever visited Roscrea, was raised to the Bench in the Petty Sessions district; and the Chief Secretary presumably thought that by this appointment everything was done that was necessary to inspire popular confidence in the administration of justice. Of course, the result was that another outrage had been perpetrated on popular feeling in the district. He was glad his hon. Friend had made it quite clear that it was not merely upon religious grounds they objected to the composition of the Magistracy. The objection on that ground was conclusive so far as it referred to the facts brought to light in the Blue Book obtained by his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). They, however, regarded the religious test as no test in any case where a person enjoyed the confidence of the people. Indeed, owing to the class of Catholics whom the Government encouraged in Ireland, he believed the people would even prefer a Magistracy that was entirely and frankly Protestant, rather than a Magistracy partly composed of Catholics who were promoted for being parasites and toadies of the Government. He believed that there never would be a satisfactory Magistracy in Ireland until the

people elected their own magistrates, as they did their own Coroners, or at least until magistrates were nominated by representative County Boards. His hon. Friend the Member for Sligo had suggested beyond all question the next best way of getting at really representative men; but he was sorry to say that he believed that suggestion would not be taken up by the Government officials in Ireland in the spirit that would give it any success whatever. The only objection that could be raised to men nominated in the way he had suggested was that they were of pretty decided political opinions; that they were Nationalists, and, in fact, strong political partizans. He must say candidly that he thought it would be no advantage to the people of Ireland if persons of a colourless character were selected. [Laughter.] He heard hon. Members laugh. All he could say was, and there was no use in disguising it, that every man who was worth his salt in Ireland was a strong political partizan. What was the composition of the Irish Magistracy? Of 4,358 who composed the whole County Magistracy in Ireland, 2,876 were landlords, and 400 more were land agents. He asked hon. Gentlemen who laughed awhile ago, were these gentlemen partizans? Were they not bitter and interested partizans of the very worst type? He did not suppose that hon. gentlemen above the Gangway would reproach them for holding to their opinions. He maintained that a Nationalist who held his political opinions honestly was just as trustworthy and as fit to discharge the duties of the Bench as the rack-renter or a rent-warner. The plea that it was difficult to find men for the position was the merest excuse. There was no difficulty in finding honest, intelligent, and suitable men in Ireland, who were Catholics also. There were plenty of them to be had, only for the misfortune that they were stamped with National opinions. There were, for instance, the whole of the priests of Ireland, as was suggested in *The Freeman* of yesterday. Many of them were not strong politicians, and they at present, to a very great extent, discharged the functions of magistrates in settling disputes between the people. The effect of the appointment of a few Catholic magistrates in some districts was exceedingly



strange. Take the district of Castle-town Roche, near his own constituency, where Mr. Hickey was appointed. Well, but for Mr. Hickey the public would never have heard of as gross a scandal as ever occurred. They would never have heard that a supposed agrarian outrage, which cost the people of a poor parish £300, was a pure fabrication, bolstered up by flagrant perjury. What was the result? Of course, Mr. Hickey's opinion went for nothing in the eyes of the Castle, and the opinion of a military autocrat, who patronized this perjury, was believed. There was in the same district another magistrate named Roche, who was the principal party to a circular threatening a number of tenants that they would be flung out for arrears of rent unless they would do as the landlord wished. He exposed the matter in the House, and what was the Chief Secretary's answer? He said it was quite true that these poor people were at the mercy of the landlord; that they were intimidated; but that the Prevention of Crime Act was not passed for magistrates or rent-warners. Again, there were the Resident Magistrates. Instead of being men of high character, well trained, well versed in the law, and perfectly indifferent between parties, the Resident Magistrates of Ireland were almost exclusively composed of promoted police officers, detectives, and broken-down Indian officials. Were these men perfectly indifferent between parties in Ireland? Captain M'Ternan's example at Enniskillen was a warning to them that they would be instantly "Boycotted" in society if they thought for a moment to set up their opinions against those of the landlords. It was perfectly idle to think of getting rid of the difficulty or patching up the system by dismissing a few Orange magistrates, or giving a few Castle Catholics the power of adding J.P. to their names. He believed the difficulty lay much deeper—that the whole system was wrong and rotten; and that until they reformed it root and branch, and gave the people some voice, at all events, in saying who should be their magistrates, they would never get them to look upon the Magistracy as anything better than the soldiers and police, part and parcel of the English garrison, and that they would for ever hold them as the symbols of injustice and despotism.

*Mr. O'Brien*

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, the present condition of the Irish Magistracy, constituted, as shown by a Return now in the possession of the House, almost exclusively from one religious denomination and one class, is offensive and injurious to the vast majority of the Irish people, and is calculated to destroy all confidence in the ordinary administration of justice in Ireland,"—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. CHARLES RUSSELL asked the permission of the House to state, without indulging in exaggeration, the reasons why he should support the Motion of the hon. Member for Longford. It would be difficult to overstate the practical importance of this question in the eyes of the Irish people, especially the Irish people of the humbler class. It was to them of much greater importance in reality than many questions of wider political significance; because the magistrates in whose hands was placed the administration of justice in Ireland were, in the eyes of the class to which he referred, the whole embodiment and representation of the law. In every question which affected the conduct and action of that class these magistrates were the judges, and practically the irresponsible judges, for from their decisions in the great majority of cases there was virtually no appeal. He remembered hearing this question discussed and debated as a crying grievance considerably more than 30 years ago. Some 30 years since he lived in Ulster, the Province in which he was born, and in the town of Belfast he practised in the other branch of the Profession to which he now had the honour to belong. He recollected that the feeling of the humbler class of Catholics in that Province then was one of utter and complete distrust, speaking generally, in the honesty and fair-mindedness of the magistrates. He did not mean to say that that feeling was well-founded with regard to many men on the Bench in Ulster. On the contrary, he believed that a great many of them desired to be fair, and were fair; but in consequence of the action of no inconsiderable number of their body, and in consequence of the fact that the great



majority of them belonged to the religion of a class widely different, and indeed antagonistic, to their own, they felt the utmost distrust in the fair-mindedness and impartiality of the Bench in that Province, especially in cases into which religious and Party considerations entered. The consequences of that feeling of distrust were widespread, and very often led the humbler class of Catholics to take the law into their own hands, believing that on the Bench it would not be administered with even-handed justice. The state of things to which the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had called attention existed substantially to-day as it had existed 30 or 40 years ago; and although some changes had been made, he felt bound to say that nothing real, nothing effective, nothing thorough had been done. One naturally asked the question, how this came to be so? Well, what he found was this—that the appointments of magistrates in Ireland, whether for boroughs or for counties, had been made upon a wrong principle. The principle, so far as he could make out, was this—that they were made upon the supposition that it was a necessary condition and qualification for an appointment to the Magisterial Bench in the counties that the candidates should be great county magnates. It was thought that they should be great men, with great interests, landlords themselves, or at least agents or sub-agents. In point of fact, it was thought necessary that they should possess the qualifications which were thought necessary for Membership of that House some years ago, but which principle had long since been abandoned. It still, however, was practically enforced in the case of the Magistracy. One of the principles which he would not advocate was that Catholics should be specially appointed merely on account of their religion. He believed that they should try and find out if they could get men of honesty and independence, without taking into account whether they were men of high social position. They should endeavour to obtain men of fair intelligence; and, above all, they should obtain men of fair and honest judgment. A man of fair intelligence should not be considered disqualified for a magisterial position only because he was in strong sympathy with what was called the popular in-

terest. He would say that the first qualities to be looked for in the selection of a magistrate were independence and honesty of character and intelligence. The next thing to be looked for in the magisterial appointment was a man who would have the confidence of the people. That ought to be one of the primary principles of appointment. There was another practical difficulty which existed in this matter which had not yet been adverted to, and to which he would like to draw the attention of the House. The appointment of magistrates in Ireland practically depended upon Lord Lieutenants of the counties. Now, he wished to state, because he thought it right to do so, that he knew cases in which efforts had been made in Ireland by Lord Chancellors to induce Lord Lieutenants of counties to make suitable appointments. He alluded particularly to Lord O'Hagan, Mr. Law, and the present Lord Chancellor; and although he did not desire to examine too closely into the matter, still he thought it would not be fair to overlook the fact that in each of these cases they had acted without the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant, and had also, in some cases, he believed, against the suggestions of the Lord Lieutenants, made appointments to the Magistracy. What he did wish to emphasize was the fact that the Lord Lieutenants were permitted to have the nomination of the magistrates; and this rendered the action of the Lord Chancellor of the day, even if he were desirous of giving a full share of justice to the popular desire, extremely difficult. He would say, once and for all, that this power of nomination and practically the power of veto should not be in the hands of the Lord Lieutenants of the counties. It might be asked, then, who should have the appointment? Well, he thought it should at present be left with the Representative of the Executive Government, the Lord Chancellor. He thought it would be very desirable that these appointments should be made by some person who was not irresponsible to Parliament. If these appointments were made by an Executive Judicial Officer of the Government, they could make him directly responsible for his appointments in that House. He hoped, however, that the time was not far distant when through the medium of County Representative Boards the lawful representatives of

the people would have some voice in the nominations of those whose fitness for the place and whose independence and honesty were known to the persons among whom they lived. Lastly, he would say that no political opinion, however strong, no sympathy with the popular movement, however advanced, should be regarded by the Lord Lieutenant or the Lord Chancellor as a bar to magisterial advancement, but rather as a reason for magisterial advancement. There were amongst themselves men who held these advanced opinions. He believed that no man should be objected to for being advanced in his opinions, provided that he forwarded them only by Constitutional means and within the law.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, that in the absence of his hon. Friend the Member for the County of Dublin (Mr. King-Harman), he happened to be the only Lieutenant of an Irish county who had the honour of a seat in the House, and, therefore, he should like to trouble the House with a few observations. He had listened with careful attention to the hon. Member for County Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), who proposed the Motion; and, having read some of his works, more particularly *The History of Our Times*, famed for its beautiful language and moderation, he (Sir Hervey Bruce) had expected to hear a speech of conspicuous moderation, much as he differed from him in the terms of the Resolution. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) took a different view, and evidently thought that the magistrates should be appointed by those who were in direct antagonism to the Government of this country, and who wished to separate the Government of Ireland from Imperial principles. He thought the hon. Member might as well tell them that prisoners to be tried at Assizes should have the power of selecting the juries to try them. So far as regarded the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell), he thought his charges had been rather sweeping against the Lieutenants of counties, who had been taunted with not listening to the popular voice when names were submitted. For himself, he (Sir Hervey Bruce) had invariably carefully listened whenever names had been submitted to him on respectable and responsible authority. He had, however, carefully refused to listen to any repre-

sentation of popularity got up by Memorialists; and he had the authority of the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland for stating that he (Sir Hervey Bruce) was deemed perfectly right in not paying attention to such Memorials so far as regarded any clamorous demand. In a former debate it was noticed that applications were made to Lieutenants to nominate certain persons as magistrates on the ground of Party services. He regretted that that should be so; but thought that it must be accepted as one of the incidents of political life. The allegations which had been made against the Lieutenants rested upon the very slenderest foundation. It had been his desire, so far as possible, to appoint Roman Catholic magistrates where desirable. The late Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Johnson), who had met the rewards of his deserts, and now sat upon the Judicial Bench, had stated in a speech of his that where persons who had been recommended for appointment to the Magistracy had been passed over by the Lieutenants of counties application should be made directly to the Lord Chancellor. He did not know whether the hon. Member for Wicklow had taken that course. [Mr. M'COAN: I did.] He would call attention to remarks made by Mr. Law in July, 1881, when speaking to a Vote of Censure moved by the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell). Mr. Law appealed with some confidence to hon. Gentlemen opposite whether, upon the whole, the magistrates deserved the very sweeping charge that was made against them of having abused the powers they were called upon to exercise? The hon. and learned Member for Dundalk, in the same debate, concurred that a sufficient case had not been made out to justify the House in passing such a Resolution. A further Motion was made on the same day by the hon. and learned Member for Wicklow (Mr. M'Coan), expressing dissatisfaction with the constitution of the Irish Bench of Magistrates, in which he stated nine-tenths of the population were Catholics, and 19-20ths of the magistrates were Protestants. He disputed the accuracy of the numbers, though he admitted there was a disproportion. Mr. Johnson further quoted a letter from Lord O'Hagan, then Lord Chancellor, in which he stated as to how many Catholics qualified for the Com-



mission of the Peace had applied to the Lieutenants of counties, and been rejected.

"They had been, in our time, very few indeed. I have always regretted the disproportion between the number of Episcopalian Protestants, Catholics, and Presbyterians in the Magistracy."

And he went on to say "that the disparity of wealth and position made the difficulty." Mr. Johnson, late Solicitor General, quoted further from Lord O'Hagan, in which his Lordship stated that he had not received a single complaint with which he could deal, and then stated his own experience as to the conduct of the Conservative and Protestant Lieutenant of Cork, of his willingness to recommend qualified Catholic gentlemen. The figures of the hon. Member who had brought this question forward were hardly correct, in that he had over-estimated the Catholic and under-estimated the Protestant population in Ireland. The County Fermanagh had been alluded to, and he thought his noble Friend (Viscount Crichton) would be able to answer for his noble Father, than whom there was no man more loved or respected in Ireland for the way in which he had spent his time, his money, and his intellect for the benefit of his native land. [*Laughter from the Irish Benches.*] Hon. Members might laugh; but he could tell them that when their names were forgotten that of Lord Erne would be remembered and beloved in his native land. He should like to mention one or two instances in defence of the action of the Protestant Lieutenants of Ireland. The county of Meath, for example, had a Protestant Lieutenant, and there were 42 Roman Catholic magistrates and 97 Protestants of all denominations; and in County Limerick there were 123 Protestant magistrates of all denominations, and 42 Roman Catholics. He (Sir Hervey Bruce) thought it would be admitted on all hands that, at any rate, County Limerick had as many Roman Catholics in it as County Meath, and yet Limerick was represented by a Roman Catholic Lieutenant (Lord Emly); and if he had been able to find the people of his own religion in a position, no matter what their station, intelligence, or disinterestedness, to fill the office of Justice of the Peace, he would have appointed them. He might

state one other case—that of County Mayo—which had a Protestant Lieutenant; there were 88 Protestant and 26 Roman Catholic magistrates. In County Kerry, with a Roman Catholic Lieutenant, there were 83 Protestant and 32 Roman Catholic magistrates. He thought, therefore, all the Protestant Lieutenants had shown themselves equally willing with those belonging to the Roman Catholic Church to appoint Roman Catholics to the Commission of the Peace. Whilst he (Sir Hervey Bruce) did not wish to convey the impression that he was of opinion that property alone was to be considered the only test of the efficiency of a magistrate, at the same time the independence and education which usually accompanied the possession of property was undoubtedly one of those recommendations which made the position of the magistrate tenable, with honour to himself and advantage to those between whom he was called upon to adjudicate and administer justice. He was perfectly convinced, from an intimate knowledge as a magistrate for many years of his own county and the people of the different districts, that they infinitely preferred, what they called in their own native language, "one of the old stock"—one who was educated, who was not mixed up in any degree with their quarrels—to decide any differences between them, than a man, however much they might like him, who acted as a spokesman at meetings where there would be demagogic principles, or matters of that sort enunciated. He (Sir Hervey Bruce) was convinced that this was not a religious question; he thought that nothing could possibly be more unsatisfactory than to place the appointment of the magistrates of Ireland upon such a footing. It was a social, not a religious question. He granted that the disparity between Roman Catholic magistrates and the Protestants gave the matter a certain colour; but, after all, it was only a colour, and not really the foundation of a matter calling for the serious attention of the House. This desire to become a magistrate in Ireland was simply extraordinary. Directly a man bought two or three houses, or became the owner of property, the next thing he sought to be made was a Justice of the Peace. He instinctively thought that it was a qualification for the Magis-



tracy, and that the Lieutenant of his county was bound to recommend him to be made a member of the Bench. Then, as regarded the appointment of priests to the Magistracy, it was a direct instruction from the Lord Chancellor of Ireland that no officiating clergyman of any persuasion was to be recommended to him for appointment unless the case positively demanded it.

MR. O'BRIEN: How did the Rev. John Frith get upon the Enniskillen Bench, then?

SIR HERVEY BRUCE: I do not know that county.

MR. O'BRIEN: I thought all Ireland knew about the Rev. John Frith.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, he did know the case referred to; but he did not care if there were 20 Mr. Friths. Unless it was absolutely necessary for clergymen to be appointed, none were appointed; and perhaps hon. Gentlemen were not aware that the paper which was sent round for signature to those who were recommended by the Lieutenant of a county for appointment did not contain a single word about religion. He could honestly tell the House that he was not aware of the religion of many of those whom he recommended to the Lord Chancellor; and, indeed, he had frequently recommended gentlemen of the Roman Catholic persuasion for the Commission of the Peace. It was a sentimental grievance, and certainly not one of the extent it had been represented to be. He (Sir Hervey Bruce) was perfectly satisfied that it was not the grievance that it was represented to be; and to show the want of existence of any bitter feeling in the county to which he belonged, which he knew was essentially a Protestant county, he might state that they had had last year a Roman Catholic High Sheriff, for the first time, he believed, since the time of Queen Elizabeth. The Grand Jury responded to his summons almost more fully than ever before, so as to do honour to the High Sheriff, and to show that there was no dissatisfaction at his being appointed. The education of the county was principally confined to the Protestant portion of the population.

MR. HEALY: Through your stealing our endowments.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, that he did not mind interpolations from

hon. Members, because they sometimes assisted him; but such was the fact, the Roman Catholics, although in a majority as regarding population, were in the minority as regarding education.

MR. O'BRIEN: The Catholics hardly look for all the prizes which the Protestant members of the Bar get, and that is the reason of the comparatively small number of Catholic barristers.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE: Well, perhaps, that also applied to the Judgeships. The hon. Member's observations made him go a little further; because, undoubtedly, the Judgeships of Ireland were filled up more in proportion to the barristers by the Roman Catholics than by the Protestants. He could assure the House most positively that the people of the country had no such distrust of the Protestant magistrates as was represented by the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell). He believed that if the people of the country were not stirred up by those who had an object other than religion in view in bringing forward this question, they would accept the position of affairs as it was now. If hon. Members would suggest how the present state of affairs was to be remedied, consistently with the holding together of this great Empire, without dissolving the Union which had been established now for so long between England and Ireland, he, for one, would be most willing to join in the proposition. He could assure hon. Members that it was no light or enviable task, though it was an honourable one, to discharge the duty of recommending certain gentlemen to the Lord Chancellor as fitted for the office of the Magistracy. In the few words he had spoken he hoped that the cause he had at heart, although inadequately presented to the House, had not suffered at his hands.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON said, he entirely challenged the statement of the hon. Member who had just sat down, that the people of Ireland were satisfied with the present system under which the Irish Magistracy were appointed. The hon. Member had referred to a number of authorities; but he (Viscount Lymington) thought that the authority to be consulted in deciding as to the truth of the statement was the authority of the people of Ireland. It was a fact, which hardly any Member of the House could deny, that this was a Motion which

would be supported, not only by the section of Irish Members sitting in one portion of the House, but by the vast majority of the Irish Members sitting on both sides of the House, and by a large number of Members who, if not themselves Irish Members, were interested in Ireland. His hon. Friend told them that this was not a religious, but a social question. Well, it was because it was a social question it seemed to him that the House ought to attach great weight to the way in which this matter was looked at by the Irish people. The duties of the Irish magistrates, though in themselves of very great importance, were rendered far more difficult, and required the exercise of the utmost discretion and tact, owing to the various political and social differences that existed in Ireland. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell) made a very fair suggestion, he thought, when he said that, after all, the Government were not responsible for the present system. The Government could not be responsible so long as the selection of the Irish magistrates was in other hands than their own. He was sorry that the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) had spoken so disparagingly of the Resident Magistrates. He believed that Mr. Clifford Lloyd, for instance, had been an agent, and he thought, on the whole, a merciful agent, of the powers that were intrusted to him by Members on that side of the House and by the Conservative Party. He thought they would have to look for some remedy for the present state of affairs more immediate than the introduction of such a measure as the County Government of Ireland. He thought they ought to expect the Chief Secretary that night to tell them—first, whether he was satisfied with the present position of affairs; and, secondly, if he was not satisfied, that he would tell them the means by which the appointment of magistrates in Ireland should not rest entirely with the Lieutenants of counties, who—and he spoke with all respect of the hon. Member for Londonderry—were qualified neither by experience nor ability to perform the duties of their position. He hoped the Chief Secretary would suggest some means by which the appointment of magistrates in Ireland should be placed under the control of popular

opinion and of the Members of that House. It was for this reason that he supported most heartily the Motion of the hon. Member for Longford.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, it was admitted on all sides that the condition of Ireland at the present time was not satisfactory, and, moreover, that it had been unsatisfactory for a very long period. Now they were dealing with one of the causes of that state of things. He asserted that the administration, or rather the maladministration, of justice in Ireland in all its branches was one of the causes—and a very potent cause it was—of what was called the unsatisfactory condition of Ireland. They had heard a great deal in that House of the loyalty or disloyalty of the Irish people. The word "loyal" was used, not in the sense of mere allegiance to the Sovereign of this Realm—it was used as implying a want of allegiance to the system and rule that prevailed in that country. Well, they were that night dealing with one of the reasons why there was no loyalty in Ireland amongst the masses of the people to the system of rule that prevailed in Ireland. The reason was because the Irish people had no confidence in the administration of justice in any of its Departments. The Magistracy of Ireland was drawn exclusively from the ascendancy class in that country. It was drawn almost exclusively from those whom the people regarded as the enemies of the Irish people. It was drawn almost exclusively, at all events in a preponderating degree, from the people of one form of religious belief, and there used to be a pretence that, nevertheless, those gentlemen administered justice. It was so pretended to the people of England; but the Irish people never believed any such representation, because they knew very much better. Circumstances, however, had recently occurred, which had absolutely torn the veil from the face of those gentlemen, and revealed them in their true light to the people of Ireland and England and the whole world. Why, the magistrates of Ireland had risen in insurrection against a small act of common justice and good policy and sound feeling performed lately by Her Majesty's Government. Such was the Magistracy to whose tender mercies were left the people of Ireland. The Catholics of Ireland were "Boycotted" off the



Bench; they were "Boycotted" even off the petty juries; the Catholics of Ireland were not thought good enough to serve upon them; yet they were thought good enough to pay taxes—they were thought good enough to go out to the Soudan and get shot. Through his hands had come contributions from Catholic Irishmen in the Army and the Navy to help to carry on the National movement in Ireland; and he warned the Government to take care how they gave those people just cause of offence, and how they trampled on the feelings of their co-religionists in Ireland. Was it not confessed that the Magistracy of Ireland consisted almost altogether of landlords and landlords' agents; and was there any class in Ireland, or in any country, more distrusted or detested by the people among whom they lived than were the landlords and agents of Ireland? And if they had a spite against the Irish people in other days, they had ten times more of it now. The only qualification for a magistrate in Ireland was to be the owner of a certain number of acres of land, no matter how heavily mortgaged they might be. If the Government wanted a Magistracy which would command the confidence of the Irish people, let them look out for honest men—he would not say poor men, but men of independence and honour.

Mr. M'COAN, who, on rising, was received with ironical cheers from the Irish Members, said, he would not be deterred by those jeers from giving his experience in the county of Wicklow, so far as it bore upon the question now before the House. He had on a former occasion called the attention of the House to this subject; and his knowledge of what had occurred during the last three years had in no way lessened his sense of the gravity of the complaint. The county of Wicklow was one of the worst cases in point, for out of a total of 104 magistrates on the Bench only five were Roman Catholics, 94 were Protestants of the Church of Ireland. There was not a single Presbyterian, Methodist, or member of the Society of Friends amongst them; and the remaining five, as regarded their religious denominations, were returned as "unknown." It was to remedy a similar condition of things that he, three years ago, introduced a similar Motion

to that now before the House. He did not stop there, however, but endeavoured afterwards to make such a selection of Catholic gentlemen in the county as, by their social standing, intelligence, and character, might warrant him in recommending them to the Lord Chancellor of the day for the Commission of the Peace. He did so, with the help of many Roman Catholic clergymen and Protestant and Catholic laymen, themselves of position and character; and he was bound to say that in a county where four-fifths of the population were Catholic he was able only to select some 10 names from amongst the Catholic gentlemen and better-class tradesmen, who seemed to be generally regarded as eligible for nomination. Of these, three had declined to be put in nomination; the other seven consented, and their names he submitted to the Lord Chancellor, who, however, reminded him that the usual course was that such recommendations should reach him through the Lieutenant of the county, Lord Meath. Accordingly, he sent the names to Lord Meath; but not one of the seven was accepted by that Nobleman for nomination. Discouraged by that experience, he had allowed the matter to sleep for nearly two years; and within recent months he had again made another attempt to break through the monopoly of the magisterial position held by Protestants in the county. This time he submitted to Lord Meath three names of gentlemen of social position and high character, personally known to be such by the Lieutenant himself. With regard to the first of these, Lord Meath, while admitting the high qualifications of the gentleman, said that, having regard to the Public Service, he did not feel called upon to send forward his name to the Lord Chancellor. When, a few weeks later, he submitted the other two names, Lord Meath, with less than the usual courtesy, replied almost in these terms—"My 50 years' experience in the county requires no prompting from you; be good enough to mind your own business." He had no word to say against Lord Meath personally—he was a good landlord and a man of high personal character; but such an answer induced him to forward the two names to the Lord Chancellor direct, with a copy of Lord Meath's curt reply; and he entertained the hope that Sir Edward Sulli-



van's sense of justice and personal appreciation of the gentlemen recommended would have a different result. That was an ounce of fact and experience which, in a discussion of this kind, was worth many pounds of rhetoric. Since Lord Meath's appointment to the Lieutenantcy, in 1869, he had only appointed one Catholic to the Bench. But his (Mr. M'Coan's) objection was—and he spoke as a Protestant—not only that members of one creed exclusively were chosen for the Bench, but also that the choice was confined to men of one particular class. In the county of Wicklow they were all either landlords or land agents, or otherwise immediately connected with the landlord caste. In vain he looked over the list for a single magistrate who was engaged in trade, as shopkeeper, or was a professional man, excepting a few Protestant barristers, mostly resident in Dublin, and having only the slightest connection with the county. Only five Catholics out of a total of 104 magistrates! That was a fact which fully justified the angry invectives that had fallen from hon. Members opposite. The feeling expressed by those hon. Gentlemen was shared throughout Wicklow, not only by so-called Nationalists and members of the League, but by Protestant farmers, by shopkeepers, and also by thousands of others belonging to both the upper and lower classes. Indeed, all below the landlord caste complained of the existing scandalous anomaly in regard to magisterial appointments. There was a large field for selection among the upper trading and professional classes, which included men of education, position, and character, and with as high a sense of personal honour and integrity as the best men at present on the Magisterial Bench. The anomaly was a just ground of complaint, against not only the present but all preceding Governments. The mere appointment of more Catholics would not be a sufficient remedy. The field of selection should be widened and lowered; and if this were done, he had no doubt that suitable occupants for the Magisterial Bench, to whom no political or social exception could be taken, would be found without difficulty. Some of the writers in the Nationalist Press wrote strongly against the idea of members of their Party accepting Commissions of the Peace, and consenting to administer

British law at all. Such an attitude, no doubt, rendered it difficult for the Government or the House to know how to meet such a Motion as the present one; but, for himself, he should urge the Government to disregard such utterances, and to make early and generous efforts to remedy this, a real Irish grievance.

MR. PLUNKET said, he did not think the Motion before the House, or the manner in which it was being debated, was of a very practical character. The Motion was framed in very strong language, and supported by considerations the most opposite. It was introduced by the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) in a speech which was distinguished, as most of the hon. Member's speeches in the House were, by great moderation, clearness, and eloquence, but wholly out of accord with the speeches which followed from Members of his own Party. Now, the hon. Member for Longford really rested his case on this—that assuming the Magistracy of Ireland were to be continued substantially on the same principle as now existing, it was a great pity that a larger number of Roman Catholics were not upon it, and that it was a great mistake to appoint them from one social rank in the country. So far he (Mr. Plunket) agreed. He should be very glad if they had a greater number of persons well qualified to fill the post of Justice of the Peace who belonged to the religion of the majority of the people of Ireland, and he should be glad to see the area of selection extended; but that was not at all the spirit in which the hon. Member for Longford was followed by his Colleagues. They took quite a different view. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) spoke out plainly and frankly, as he always did; and he (Mr. Plunket) was afraid the hon. Member was a truer Representative of the majority of those who returned to this House the Gentlemen below the Gangway than was the hon. Member for Longford. The hon. Member for Mallow said—"There is no use in talking about a greater number of Roman Catholic magistrates, because I, for one, would prefer an Orange Tory magistrate to the kind of Roman Catholic magistrates one is likely to get." There was no use going on arguing if that was the spirit to be exhibited by Members of

Roman Catholic magistrates did not share the views of the majority of the people, so long as they were not men of strong political opinions, sympathizing with what was called the National Cause, so long, said the hon. Member for Mal-low, would the people of Ireland regard them with the same detestation as they already regarded the policemen and soldiers—namely, as the garrison of England. It was impossible to continue a debate on such grounds. To intrust the administration of the law to men chosen especially because they held opinions absolutely inconsistent with the observance of the law was perfect absurdity. But what he (Mr. Plunket) had just reason to complain of was, that men like the noble Viscount the Member for Barnstaple (Viscount Lymington), in a fine, philosophic spirit, came down with some shadowy theory of magisterial appointments, and actually added his weight to the opinion put forward by hon. Members from Ireland below the Gangway. The noble Viscount showed by his speech that he knew nothing at all about the country. He did not adduce a single fact, or give one particle of evidence; he had no remedy to suggest, and yet he gave his support to a Resolution that declared that—

“The present condition of the Irish Magistracy is calculated to destroy all confidence in the ordinary administration of justice in Ireland.”

It was a matter to be deplored to the last degree that hon. Members of the Party opposite should commit themselves to these kinds of theory, and should then seem afterwards to be surprised that they were called upon to vote Coercive Bills and other measures for putting down and counteracting the opinions which they had previously done their best to encourage. The hon. Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce) had made a complete and satisfactory defence on behalf of the magistrates of Ireland, and therefore he (Mr. Plunket) would only ask what alternatives had been put forward by speakers in this discussion? One remedy was that the magistrates of Ireland should be elected; but even in America, where Republicanism was robust and strong, and where there were safeguards for the social order and well-being of the people which did not exist in Ireland, the machinery

of judicial power was in a most deplorable condition—condemned not only by other countries, but by the Americans themselves—and yet the very root of evil in that country was admitted to be that which arose from the election of the Judges. He did hope that whatever misfortunes might be in store for Ireland she would, at all events, be spared the infliction of any elected magistrates. Another remedy which was proposed was that the Magistracy should be responsible to that House. He found it difficult to understand that suggestion. Were they to elect the Magistracy of Ireland as their Committees were elected? If not, and if the suggestion was that the action of the magistrates should be subject to revision in the House, then he was still more surprised, for of all the officials of the Three Kingdoms there were none upon whom the fierce light of Parliamentary criticism beat more strongly than upon the Justices of Ireland. Complaint after complaint was made in the form of Questions; but in 19 cases out of 20 they were unfounded, and for that reason, perhaps, it was a very good thing the Questions were asked. He did not believe that responsible politicians, of whatever nation or Party, would support this Resolution. He was as desirous as anybody to see more Roman Catholics appointed; but he must join in the protest of his hon. Friend (Sir Hervey Bruce) against the wholesale charges, unsupported by facts or evidence, which had been brought against a body of public servants in Ireland, who were, almost without exception, of the highest character, and animated by the best of motives.

MR. T. A. DICKSON said, he should vote for the Motion; but protested against the wholesale charges, unsupported by detailed facts or evidence of any kind, made at the expense of a body of public servants in Ireland, who, he believed, were almost without exception of the highest character, and acted with the greatest possible conscientiousness. The Motion had been supported in language which he held to be not one whit stronger than the facts of the case warranted. The charge brought against the noble Viscount the Member for Barnstaple (Viscount Lymington), that he knew nothing about the subject, could not be brought against



that House; because so long as the him. He was an Irish Member, and did know something about it. The grievance in connection with the Magistracy pointed out by the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) was not a grievance connected with Catholics in various parts of Ireland; but it was a grievance which, to his knowledge, affected both Presbyterians and Catholics in Ulster. The Presbyterians composed nearly half of the population of that Province, while the Catholic population was equal to the Presbyterian and members of the Church of Ireland combined. During the 10 years in which he had been a Member of that House he had done his best to get the grievance remedied; and his efforts had been successful to this extent—that whereas three years since there were only one or two Presbyterians among the Magistracy of Tyrone, the number had slowly crept up, and there were now 24 Presbyterians and 6 Catholics. But he need not say, taking into consideration that the population was composed largely of Presbyterians and Catholics, that number was far below what they were entitled to if there were any kind of fair representation of the religions on the Bench. Although Presbyterians numbered half of the population of the Province of Ulster, there were only 137 magistrates of that religion out of 1,065, while 840 belonged to the Church of Ireland, and Catholics, who formed more than half of the population, had only 88. Catholics and Presbyterians, who made three-fourths of the population, had only 225 magistrates on the Commission. The only reason he could give why the Presbyterians of Ulster were not better represented on the Bench was that they nearly all belonged to the middle classes—they were nearly all merchants and farmers. There were few landed proprietors or agents amongst the Presbyterians, and the same remark, he believed, applied to the Catholics. In Tyrone half the Protestant population were Presbyterian, and yet out of the 159 magistrates only 24 were Presbyterians. The Catholics formed more than half the population, and their entire representation on the Bench amounted to six, and these had all been put on within the last three years. Fermanagh had been alluded to by the hon. Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce). In

Fermanagh the majority of the people were Catholic, and yet they had only one representative on the entire Magistracy. The Methodists formed the backbone of the Protestant population; but out of 74 magistrates in the county only two belonged to that Body. Only last week one of the leading Methodist clergy in Fermanagh wrote to him upon the want of Methodist magistrates; and he advised his correspondent to write to the Lord Lieutenant of the county, feeling sure that a representation from a leading member of a numerous Body in Fermanagh would be attended to. What was the result? The name was submitted of a small landed proprietor, but it was, peremptorily refused. The Government sheltered themselves behind the Lord Lieutenants of the counties. It was said the nominations lay with the Lord Lieutenants; but he wanted to ask the Chief Secretary who appointed the Lord Lieutenants? There had been Liberal Viceroy's in Dublin for more than 34 years out of the last 50, and if there was any anxiety to have Liberal Lord Lieutenants in the counties those Viceroy's had ample opportunity of appointing such; but yet all over Ulster there was only one Liberal Lord Lieutenant, and he would not have been appointed if it were not that he happened to be a Lord. [An hon. MEMBER: Who is he?] He referred to Lord Waveney. When the late Lord Lieutenant of Armagh—who was a Liberal—died, he (Mr. Dickson), along with other Liberal Members from Ulster, specially attended at the Castle to urge Lord Cowper to appoint a Liberal. They recommended a gentleman who was a large landed proprietor, and who had declined the honour of a Baronetcy. But then he was not a Lord, and, of course, he was not appointed, and Lord Gosford, a young Nobleman resident in Armagh, was appointed. On his arrival he had to ask his way to his own residence. What could Lord Gosford know about those qualified to act as magistrates in Armagh? Why, no more than Lord Cowper did. And who were his advisers? The land gentry, who, of course, gave biased representation to him. The result was that since Lord Gosford was appointed by a Liberal Lord Lieutenant no one Presbyterian or Catholic had been appointed to the Magistracy in the county.



Mr. BERESFORD: I rise to Order. The very last gentleman who was appointed to the Commission of the Peace, within the last month, was a Presbyterian. [*Cries of "Name!"*] Mr. Moorhead, who—

Mr. SEXTON: Upon the point of Order, I beg to ask you, Sir, whether the hon. Member interprets the Rule of Order correctly in supposing that a statement merely held by him to be inaccurate is thereby a breach of Order?

Mr. SPEAKER motioned to Mr. Dickson to proceed.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON, continuing, said, the difficulties in regard to the Irish Magistracy with which the Government were face to face were largely the creation of former Whig Viceroys, who refused to appoint anyone as Lord Lieutenant unless he belonged to the aristocracy. The magistrates had been defended by hon. Members opposite; but all he could say—and he knew as much about it as any Member of that House—was, that since the late violent outbreak of Party spirit the confidence of the Catholics of Ulster had been weakened, if not destroyed, in the administration of justice. Could it be wondered at? Was it matter of surprise, after the events in connection with the magistracy which had been referred to that night? What confidence could a Catholic of Ulster have in the administration of justice when brought before the Master of an Orange Lodge? What confidence could that Catholic have in the administration of justice in a case arising out of a Party riot? The question would be asked, what was the remedy? He thought it was very plain, and it was that magistrates should not continue to be drawn solely from one class—that class being landowners or their agents; but that they should be honest, upright, intelligent men—business men, respectable farmers, if they liked—and men who had the confidence of the people in the locality in which they lived. These men should not be thought unworthy of the Commission of the Peace. He was glad that they had now in Office a Lord Chancellor who was strong enough to act on his own judgment, so that everything would not be yielded to the privileged classes. The hon. Baronet the Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce) had stated that he

always carefully listened to every representation that was made to him, and to every Memorial.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, that he did not listen to Memorials, and in not doing so he acted under the advice of the Lord Chancellor.

Mr. T. A. DICKSON: The hon. Baronet did not act upon Memorials then? He (Mr. Dickson) wished to point out to the hon. Baronet that Memorials were the only form in which the people could properly express their opinions upon this subject. What was the use of one man in the county of Londonderry going to the hon. Baronet and asking him to appoint a magistrate? The hon. Baronet said he listened to all representations made to him, and what was the result? Only 25 Presbyterians were magistrates for the county and nine Catholics. He did not know the exact proportion which the Catholics formed, but he knew that three-fourths of the people of the county were Presbyterians, and yet he could only find out 25 who were qualified for the Commission of the Peace, though he said he had gone out of his way to appoint them, and though there were 118 belonging to the Church of Ireland. The hon. Baronet also stated that in the paper sent to those nominated there was nothing about religion. That was so; but there was plenty about land—about how many acres of land they owned, and who was their agent, or whose agent were they. It was only fair he should say a word in connection with the Lord Lieutenant of his own county—that was Lord Charlemont—and he had to say, in justice to him, that during the last fortnight he had communications with him as to increasing the number of magistrates in Tyrone; and his Lordship wrote that he was perfectly ready to appoint a Catholic magistrate in every Petty Sessions district in Tyrone if suitable names were placed before him. Lord Charlemont cordially acceded to his wishes in appointing four Presbyterians and four Catholics last week.

Mr. HARRINGTON said, the Return as to the Magistracy showed how very strangely the system of appointment worked in the North as compared with the South. It had happened that in the North of Ireland, among those appointed to the Magistracy, there were numbers of men belonging to the farming class;

while in the South there was scarcely a single farmer on the list. In order to justify their presence in the North the word "wealthy" was placed before their names in the Return. Everyone who was acquainted with the circumstances of the farming classes in Ireland knew perfectly well that in the South of the country—in Limerick, Tipperary, and Cork—there were many farmers who were much better off, and better educated, than the farmers appointed to the Magistracy in the North. The reason was that political Parties in the North held the appointment out as a bribe at the elections. When Members were returned they tried to conciliate certain sections of their supporters by putting their names forward for the Magistracy. In almost every parish of Tyrone men were pointed out to him who knew they were to be raised to the Bench. They knew they would be elevated to that position owing to their services in political struggles, or perhaps for coming in at the call of duty to break the heads of their fellow-countrymen. The Liberal Party had a special interest in setting this question at rest, because, whenever they attempted reform in Ireland, they met with the most hostile opposition from those very landlords whom they had elevated to the Magistracy. In Kerry there were 118 magistrates, all of whom, except one, held landed property in the county. In Kerry very much agrarian agitation had been carried on; and as regarded agrarian outrages, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had placed it at the head of the list of all other counties in Ireland. Did the right hon. Gentleman suppose that the dominant class did not strive to suppress the uprising of the people for their rights, and that the number of outrages in the county was not due to the system which the Government had themselves created? It had been his own fortune, more than once, to have incurred the enmity of that class, and he found himself brought to trial in Kerry, as President of the local branch of the Land League, before a Bench of magistrates, seven in number, and the seven were landlords. He presumed they were men whose conduct had been canvassed at the various meetings of the League; and the seven magistrates sat in judgment upon him, not only for his own words, but for the words of others,

because he tried to save the people from the oppression to which they had been subjected. Not only was Kerry at the head of the counties of Ireland as regarded the number of outrages, but also as regarded the number of evictions; and it was remarkable, where such absolute power was in the hands of the landlords, that the rents were higher than elsewhere, and, even as reduced by the Commissioners, they were still 50 per cent above the Government valuation. There could be no confidence in the administration of justice when it was dispensed by one class. It was a remarkable fact that in Ireland in many counties the magisterial power rested in two or three families, who had intermarried, and the sons of which were put into the Commission of the Peace the moment they came of age. They had a glaring instance of the manner in which these families managed the county business. In Kerry, Sir Maurice O'Connell, whom no person could describe as a Nationalist, and who was on the Grand Jury for 15 years, was excluded from it this year because the Hussey family, who had the selection of the Grand Jury, wanted to put in their own men in order to carry a job. There were 96 per cent of the population in Kerry Catholics, and yet there were 96 Protestant magistrates, and only 32 Catholic magistrates. How could the Chief Secretary expect that, under those circumstances, there could be any respect for the administration of the law in Kerry? The right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket) said that they did not challenge the impartiality of the administration of the law in Ireland by the present magistrates. That was exactly what they were doing. He referred the right hon. and learned Gentleman to the evidence lately given in Londonderry by Captain M'Ternan, and to the fact that a meeting of the Fermanagh magistrates, convened by the Lord Lieutenant of the county, was about to be held to denounce Captain M'Ternan because he had the firmness of character and strength of mind to give such evidence. He referred the right hon. and learned Gentleman also to even a more recent case than the one at Enniskillen—the case against Colonel Digby, who, when the Arrears Act was passed, thought a good opportunity was afforded to him for stealing a little



money from the Treasury. Colonel Digby got his tenants to make false declarations that they owed him arrears, when they really did not owe him anything. But when he found that attention was directed to the case of Mr. John Byrne, the late Collector General of Dublin, who attempted the same game, he was wise enough to decline to receive the money. Colonel Digby was brought to trial in Westmeath, and how was the tribunal which tried him composed? Two brother-landlords, one of whom did not attend the Court for three years, came on that day in order to serve a friend, though he perjured himself. There was also the Resident Magistrate. Of course, Colonel Digby was acquitted, though the Resident Magistrate said he ought to be sent for trial. Now, he did not think the Crown would be doing its duty if it allowed that case to rest, or if they allowed to continue in the Commission of the Peace a man who endeavoured to perpetrate a fraud, and who only refused to benefit by it when he found another man was punished for a similar offence. These were only specimens of the many cases of the kind that occurred in Ireland. "But," said the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Plunket), "What remedy do you propose?" Whenever Irish Members complained of a grievance they were always met with the reply, "What remedy do you propose?" But no sooner did they propose a remedy than they were met with opposition, not only from one, but from the two sides of the House. Their reply now was that it was not their duty to propose a remedy. It was the duty of the Government, which assumed the responsibility of governing Ireland, to propose a remedy for this state of things.

MR. EWART heartily concurred in the sentiments that had been expressed by his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) in regard to the present position of the Magistracy in Ireland; and, after the speech of the hon. Member for the County of Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson), he thought it would be admitted that the question under discussion was not a strictly Party question as between Liberals and Conservatives. The hon. Member for Tyrone did not seem to know much about who constituted his own Party when he described Lord Gos-

ford, who was a Whig, as a Conservative. The present state of things was very much owing to the system that had prevailed in Ireland for a very long time. The origin of the system dated from the time when Ireland was divided into three classes—landlords, farmers, and labourers—and when, in point of fact, there were very few of what might be called the middle classes. At that time there was a great want of education among the Roman Catholics, and few of them were eligible for the Commission of the Peace. He (Mr. Ewart) was glad to say that there was an improvement going on, and that a much larger proportion of the middle classes, both of the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Party, were being added to the Magistracy. He agreed with the hon. Member for the County of Tyrone in regard to the classes from which the Magistracy might be drawn. He would, however, add a further condition—that they should be taken from the loyal classes; but that, he was afraid, would not give satisfaction to the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), who would not appoint magistrates so much for the class as for the political Party to which they belonged. The hon. Member for Mallow would rather have them appointed for their disloyalty than for their loyalty; and no Lord Chancellor could think of appointing men who did not belong to the loyal classes. The hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell) proposed that the magistrates should be an elected body; but, with the experience of America, this would not be found to be on the side of a pure administration of justice. A strong statement had been made in the course of the debate about Lord Meath; but he (Mr. Ewart) would require strong proof before he could believe it. The hon. and learned Member for Dundalk had referred to the dissatisfaction that had been expressed with regard to the administration of justice in Belfast, and he (Mr. Ewart) must say that it was the first time that he had ever heard any charge of the kind. [Mr. KENNY: How about Mr. Haslett?] He believed that everywhere an amendment was taking place; more should be done by those who recommended gentlemen for the Commission of the Peace to the Lord Chancellor to bring about a representation of all classes upon the Magis-



tracy; and he thought that the Lord Chancellor should exercise a more strict scrutiny over the appointments which he made, so that each religion should have fair play. In reference to the appointment of magistrates in Belfast, he might say that, during the time of the late Government, he and his Colleague (Mr. Corry) had been in communication with the authorities on that very subject, and they took care that there should be a fair proportion of Roman Catholics and Presbyterians; he and his Colleague did what they could in that direction in the way of nominating suitable Roman Catholics. Two or three of those nominated by them were appointed magistrates; but one nominated had declined to serve. He would like to see fair play in this matter, and he gave this instance to show what was the feeling of Irish Members on that side of the House.

MR. FINDLATER said, they all should be extremely obliged to the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) for having obtained this Return. It disclosed a state of things which ought clearly to be altered. In the county which he represented—Monaghan—great dissatisfaction prevailed with regard to the Magistracy. According to the last Census, the population of that county was 102,748, and of these the Roman Catholics numbered 75,748. There were 66 magistrates, of whom 44 were landlords, and 12 agents, leaving only 10 for all the other classes. Only two farmers were magistrates, and one of these was returned as a “gentleman farmer.” There were but seven Roman Catholic magistrates; 58 belonged to the Church of Ireland, and one was a Presbyterian. In the name of fair play, was that proper representation of the county? He and his late Colleague used efforts on several occasions to obtain the appointment of magistrates, but failed altogether. Lord Dartrey was Lord Lieutenant of the county, and his letters of reply were anything but pleasant. There were many educated persons amongst the tradesmen who would make excellent magistrates, and would act on the Bench in a manner creditable to themselves and satisfactory to the country. He cordially supported the Resolution of the hon. Member for Longford.

COLONEL NOLAN remarked, that the enormous weight of Irish opinion had

been very clearly expressed in favour of the Amendment, and he would not be afraid of the result if it depended upon the votes of the Irish Representatives who had been present; but he did not doubt that when the Division came, hon. Gentlemen who had not shown any interest in the question would come in and outvote the Irish Members. So far as he was aware, no speaker had yet drawn attention to the fact that magistrates in Ireland did something more than administer justice. Being a magistrate gave a man a position in a county which was of pecuniary advantage to his friends and class. It gave him the right to sit at the Poor Law Board, to attend Road Sessions, to vote at the election of county officers, and to assist in the administration of the county votes, which were practically disbursed by the magistrates, although they were mainly contributed by the tenants. He believed these powers of the magistrates were felt far more in Galway than in anything relating to the administration of justice. He complained of the inadequate number of Roman Catholic magistrates who had been appointed. In Galway they were not so well off in respect to Catholic magistrates as he would wish; but still, he thought, when compared with other counties in Ireland, they were in a good—a splendid position. It had been complained that Catholics had been excluded from the Bench as Catholics, but he did not attach any great importance to that; but he believed that Lord Lieutenants of counties were in the habit of selecting men with a very considerable amount of landed property, and in some cases even they selected men who did not ask to be appointed. He thought it would be well if some controlling power could be exercised over the Lord Lieutenants, so as to insure the appointment of the necessary number of Protestants and Catholics. On looking at the Returns in his county, he thought it was very extraordinary not only that Catholics had been kept off the Bench, but also that farmers had been kept off the Bench. He knew in his county men who farmed very large tracts of land, and yet out of the 200 magistrates not more than four of them were farmers, and of these four he must confess two were proprietors. He could practically say that farmers were kept off the Bench, and also that commercial

men were kept off the Bench. He could not agree with the hon. Member (Sir Hervey Bruce), usually a good authority on Irish Conservative subjects, who stated that the people of Ireland liked to have one class of men to represent them in that House and another class of men to represent them on the Bench. He thought that the proposal which had been made by the hon. Member for Limerick was a reasonable one—that was, that each Poor Law Union in Ireland should have power to nominate at least one representative. That was a suggestion which he thought the Government might fairly take into consideration. Another remedy would be to really make the Lord Lieutenants of Ireland sensible people, and not have persons who would precipitate matters. He would also suggest that in such towns as Gort, Tuam, Ballinasloe, &c., commercial men should be selected, and that out of the 200 magistrates about 40 should be commercial men. Some 100 years ago, when Catholics were not educated, they were excluded from the Bench; but he believed that the Catholics would never have put up with it had they been educated. He would not ask the Government to appoint Catholics, whether they were educated or not. English Members to whom he had spoken on this subject informed him that the appointment of magistrates to a great extent depended upon the recommendation of the Members; but such a practice did not anywhere exist in Ireland. In conclusion, he expressed a hope that the Government would take the matter into consideration; and, whatever might be the result of the vote upon the Motion that night, he hoped that something would be done to remedy the present state of affairs.

MR. MACFARLANE wished to say a few words upon this subject, and he wished to confine himself entirely to the general question. They were aware that there was a good deal of opposition to the present system of the Magistracy. The whole of the people were dissatisfied with the administration of the law. He believed that the laws were unjust, and that the fountains of justice were poisoned. Now, this must have a fatal effect upon administration of the law in any country; and when it was believed that the whole system of law was rotten, as was undoubtedly the belief in Ire-

land, it was absolutely essential that some effort should be made to remedy it. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had shown the House what was the cause of all this. In this country (England) if a man was brought before a magistrate he did not inquire what was his religion, whether Catholic or Protestant; but in Ireland the case was different, as there the people instructed the magistrates. The question was a serious one, and he hoped it would be taken into serious consideration by the Government. If they wished the people to be law-abiding they should try and impress them with confidence in those who administered the law. He believed the Chief Secretary was willing to do what he could. [MR. BIGGAR: Oh, oh!] Hon. Members might jeer; but he might say for himself that he believed the Chief Secretary was willing to do what he could. [MR. BIGGAR: Oh, oh!] He believed the Government should try and satisfy the minds of the people.

MR. LEA supported the Motion, as he believed that it was essential that some steps should be taken to devise a remedy for the present state of things in Ireland as regarded the Magistracy. There was no doubt that a remedy was urgently required. He could only hope that it would not come too late. The hon. Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce), who was a Lord Lieutenant, said he had listened to all representations made to him with regard to the Magistracy, and dealt with them separately. His (Mr. Lea's) experience was very different, for he had received no reply to letters or memorials forwarded by him to the Lord Lieutenant of the county of Donegal, and any gentlemen whose names had been urged by him had only been appointed to the Magistracy by reason of the influence of the Lord Chancellor. Now, the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell) hit the right nail on the head when he said that the Lords Lieutenant were an absolute bar to the confidence of the people of Ireland in the magistrates. The Magistracy in Ireland at present was used as an agency for political purposes, and was conferred by way of political patronage. Such a state of things could never be satisfactory to the country, nor could it induce a satisfactory regard for the law. This matter was partly a religious question and



partly a social one; but no one who had not something to do with the land, either as an agent or a landowner, had but little to do with the Commission of the Peace. In the county of Donegal, where there was certainly a great preponderance of Roman Catholics, there were only nine Roman Catholic magistrates. He had found that applications to the Lord Lieutenant of Londonderry were much more favourably received than similar applications made to the Lord Lieutenant of Donegal. He himself had been able, in spite of writing a large number of letters, to obtain but very little attention. He believed that in the last three years three Catholics and two Presbyterians had been appointed magistrates in the county of Donegal; and here he might remark that Catholics and Presbyterians experienced almost equal difficulty in getting their names on the Commission of the Peace. He hoped the Chief Secretary would, in the course of his speech, say that there should be some measure of relief in this matter; as he maintained that unless something was done in respect of the Irish Magistracy serious injury would be done to the cause of law and order.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, that as the hon. Member who spoke last represented the county of Donegal, he might have stated that 19-20ths of the Catholic population were either agricultural labourers or occupied holdings of less than £10 annual value; and one of the great difficulties every Lieutenant of a county had to encounter in the North of Ireland was in selecting out of the Roman Catholic population a number of magistrates in any way proportionate to the Roman Catholic population. His father was the Lord Lieutenant of the county of Donegal; and he understood the hon. Member to say that no reply had been given to the letters he wrote recommending the appointment of certain gentlemen as magistrates. Since then, however, it appeared that five gentlemen had been appointed, three of them being Catholics and two Presbyterians. This showed that the hon. Gentleman's representations had not remained without effect.

MR. LEA explained that, in addition to the Memorial sent to the Lord Lieutenant of the county, he wrote a considerable number of letters. Five magistrates were subsequently appointed; but

whether this was in consequence of the influence of the Lord Lieutenant of the county or not, he could not say.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he thought it was somewhat unfair for the hon. Member to intimate that the appointments were not made by the Lord Lieutenant of the county. His brother, who long represented the county in Parliament, endeavoured to find out such Catholic gentlemen as were fit and eligible to undertake magisterial duties, and he believed that nine were appointed in consequence. Nowhere in Ulster was there a larger number of Catholics as compared with Protestants amongst the population than in the county of Donegal; and nowhere was it more difficult—in fact, it was almost impossible—to find Roman Catholics who were both willing and able to discharge the duties of magistrates. ["Oh, oh!" from the *Irish Members*.] Hon. Members said "Oh!" but what did they know about the county of Donegal? The moment you got out of the Protestant districts of Donegal it was almost impossible in the Roman Catholic districts to find gentlemen who were willing and capable to undertake the duties of magistrates.

MR. SEXTON: May I ask the noble Lord if he considers Catholics elected as Poor Law Guardians, and competent to discharge the duties of Guardians, are ineligible to act as magistrates?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, that was a controversial question. He did not think it necessarily followed that if a man was elected a Guardian therefore he ought to be a magistrate. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) had denounced Roman Catholic gentlemen as toadies and flunkeys, because they had accepted the position of magistrates, and were tolerably well disposed towards the Government of the day.

MR. O'BRIEN: Will the noble Lord allow me to explain? I found fault, not with Roman Catholics who accepted the office, but with the Government, who sought out the most objectionable class of Roman Catholics.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Quite so. Therefore, what the House was asked to accede was, not that the disproportion of Protestants and Roman Catholics should be remedied, but that only Roman Catholics who held the same political views as hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway should thereafter



be appointed. [Mr. HEALY: Why not?] He would tell the hon. Member. The Roman Catholics who answered that description hated the existing law; and if those gentlemen were appointed they would clog the whole administration of justice in Ireland, and justice would not be obtained. The hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson) said he knew Ulster well; and, that there was not a single Lieutenant of a county who was not a Tory, except Lord Waveney. Well, there was once a considerable number of Lieutenants who had been Liberals; but whom the policy of the Government had made Conservatives. Then the hon. Member had instanced Lord Gosford, who, he said, did not know his own house. Now, the fact was that Lord Gosford was a man of over 40 years, who, for the last 20 years had lived more or less in his own house, in Armagh. The fact was that there had been a great change of opinion in the North of Ireland of late years, and now every man was either a Tory or a Nationalist. His own view was—and he always expressed it in public—that when a gentleman was eligible to perform the duties of a magistrate he ought to be appointed, no matter what his religion might be. In an agricultural country magistrates were necessarily either owners or occupiers of land; and it was natural that owners should be chosen rather than occupiers, because they had more leisure to attend to their duties. Then the noble Viscount the Member for Barnstaple (Viscount Lynton) had given the House the benefit of his philosophic mind; but, like most philosophers, the noble Viscount always liked to apply his remedies to other people. Living always in England, the noble Viscount could know little of the condition of Ireland. The hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell) had advocated something like popular election of magistrates. He should have thought that the example of the United States would have deterred anyone from wishing to introduce a similar system into this country. If there was one defect in the Constitution of the United States, it was in the system of electing Judges. ["No, no!"] Look at the Cincinnati riots—59 persons had been shot and 200 wounded. And why? Because the administration of justice was corrupt.

*Lord George Hamilton*

COLONEL NOLAN: I rise to Order. I wish to know are we discussing the administration of justice in the United States?

MR. SPEAKER: The noble Lord is perfectly in Order. I do not desire to interfere unnecessarily; but I desire to point out to the House the inconvenience of conducting the debate amidst the constant interruptions which are going on. It is impossible for hon. Gentlemen to continue their speeches if this kind of thing goes on.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, in New York, where the elective principle was followed to a greater extent than anywhere else, the administration of justice became a perfect farce; and the result was that many citizens of New York took the law into their own hands. Considering the antagonism that there was between the different races and opinions in Ireland, he could not conceive any proposal better calculated to throw the country back, and make the administration of justice a perfect farce, than to adopt the alternative suggestion which had been made to-night; and, therefore, he trusted the Government would resolutely oppose the Motion.

MR. TREVELYAN said, no one who had listened to what had passed in the House during the last four and a-half hours could doubt that they had a useful, and in some respects, momentous debate. No one who had heard the speech of the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. Ewart) and the speech of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Findlater) could doubt that a system which was not altogether satisfactory in the past had seen its worst day, and that a better state of things was being, and would be, inaugurated. The hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan) wished that the House had been full of English Members, in order that they might hear how very real was this Irish grievance. The hon. and gallant Member was anxious to get at the law of the case. He could inform him that the law in Ireland was precisely the same as the law in England. But in Ireland that law had been worked much more invidiously and oppressively than in England. Not only was the law the same, the custom was the same also. The recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant was simply a question of custom. It was the Lord Chancellor who appointed,

and who always had appointed; but the custom was much stricter in England than in Ireland. On the last occasion when an application was made to the Secretary of the Lord Chancellor of England to ascertain how often the Lord Chancellor exercised this right in the counties of appointing Justices of the Peace outside the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant, he answered that such an incident was seldom or never known, and he did not know that the last few years had made much difference in this respect. Let there be no mistake in the matter. The power of recommendation exercised by the Lord Lieutenant was a matter of custom, and not of right. It was a power which had been conceded and which could be taken away, and the manner in which these recommendations had been exercised formed the subject of the debate of that evening; and no one who had listened to the debate could doubt that if there was not a real grievance, there] was, at any rate, what was regarded as a real grievance by the majority—he might say the great majority—of the Irish Members in at least two out of three parts of the House. In the Blue Book which had lately been published, and which was very interesting reading, it was shown that the number of Protestant and Catholic magistrates was as nearly as possible in inverse proportion to the numbers of Protestants and Catholics in the country. But the grievance was not confined to Roman Catholics. It extended also to Presbyterians; for, although they formed two-fifths of the total Protestant population, they were only represented by 1-16th of the total number of Protestant magistrates. Out of 25 Petty Sessional districts in the county of Antrim—and what would Antrim be without Presbyterians?—there were 17 without Presbyterian magistrates; in Londonderry there were 10 without; and in Down, out of 26, there were 12 without. It had been said rightly that this was not only, and perhaps not principally, a question of creed, but that it was likewise a question of class. On this point sufficient weight had not been given to certain reservations and considerations. The hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), in a speech which was so often praised as temperate, and hon. Members who followed him, spoke with a certain disapprobation of gentlemen

magistrates. Undoubtedly money was not everything in this world; but money, to a great extent, represented leisure and education; and that sort of leisure which relieved a man from private work and enabled him to give time to the larger problems of society was a very decided element in choosing men for important positions, and, above all, for that of Judge. In Judges they must either have the sense of professional honour and reputation, or what might in a broad sense be called status. He would be the last person to draw the line too tightly. In the Northumbrian borough he represented he found that the most active magistrates belonged, to a great extent, to the class of shopkeepers. Better, more trustworthy, and more suitable men for a judicial position he never knew; and he had no doubt that what he found that class in the North of England he would find in the North of Ireland, and the South of Ireland likewise. He believed that this line of social status had been drawn much too tightly in the past, and especially in the remote parts of Ireland, in the way of excluding men who ought to have been admitted, and much too rigidly in admitting men who ought to have been excluded. All the same, he would say most emphatically that hon. Members must not lose sight of the fact that there were very few men indeed who were fit to be magistrates who could give the time to prepare themselves for magisterial duties and spare time to discharge them, who were free from the sort of temptation by which men of their position must be surrounded, unless they belonged to the educated, and, in some sense, to the leisured class. This educated and leisured class had been spreading wider and wider in past years, and it had embraced a much larger part of the community than some Lieutenants of counties in Ireland—and perhaps England, too—had been willing to admit. A Lord Lieutenant, with whom he agreed, had written him a letter in which he said—

“A combination of loyal sentiment with property and educational qualification and a reasonable social status is what I look for, and in any increase of numbers I would prefer to see Roman Catholics appointed;”

the writer being the Lord Lieutenant of a county in which there might be said to be no Presbyterians; and he gave



instances of extreme difficulty in appointing eligible men because their educational qualifications were clearly insufficient. As regarded the Return, there was a matter which cut two ways. He found in one county 27 magistrates who held the Commission, in one other county six who held it in two other counties, and one who held it in three counties. He should say that if this question were approached in an exhaustive manner he should be very glad to have magistrates only appointed in the county in which they resided. A nobleman who happened to hold property in the county of Galway, for which he was also a magistrate, had caused an address to be sent from that county objecting to the manner in which Lord Rossmore had been dealt with; and he threatened that, if a meeting was held in the county, he would act as Lord Rossmore had acted. Now he scorned the threat, for it came from a nobleman who had never been near Galway for years and years, who never went to Galway, but Galway had to come to him; and if he waited until that nobleman was there to meet him he would wait a very long time. [AN IRISH MEMBER: Why did not you cashier him?] He would answer that at another time. The present system was one of old standing, and many of the abuses were due to the fact that it was so. Up to quite recently magistrates had been appointed by Lords Lieutenant; and Lords Lieutenant, being chosen as they were, could not be trusted to make appointments without being corrected by another authority, and for the most part, until quite recently, they had not been so corrected. In the boroughs magistrates were appointed by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and in the boroughs, omitting Ulster, there were 120 members of the Church of Ireland to 119 Roman Catholics. But this included boroughs where Justices of the Peace did not act as magistrates; and, omitting Dublin, in the boroughs outside Ulster there were 61 members of the Church of Ireland to 90 Roman Catholics. The disparity of Church of Ireland to Catholic and Presbyterian magistrates in the counties came from the fact that the appointments had been the unadulterated appointments of Lords Lieutenant. Now he came to the suggestion of reform made by the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell). His sug-

gestion with regard to the popular election of magistrates could not be entertained. Whatever they borrowed from America, they would never borrow that. Judges must be in a position of prominence and independence, and removable only for misconduct, and should look only to Parliament or the higher authorities for the approval of their conduct. The second suggestion was that the action of the Lord Chancellor should be made immediate. Happily, in this case, it was not necessary to wait for legislation, for the matter rested entirely with the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, with such recommendations as the Executive Government could give him. Months ago the Lord Chancellor made up his mind to exercise his legal and statutable responsibility in this matter, and to determine for himself whether the gentlemen whose names had been submitted by the Lords Lieutenant of counties, or had been passed over, were the right persons for appointment or they were not. In a series of letters the Lord Chancellor had informed him that no trouble on his part should be spared to redress, so far as he could, any inequality, or to remove any injustice. The action must necessarily be a very slow one. He thought that of all the methods for carrying on public business, none were ever so slow as communications connected with the appointment of magistrates. But, still, something very genuine had been done. Since the present Lord Chancellor had been in Office he had appointed, either without the recommendation of the Lords Lieutenant, or by conferring with them, and urging them very strongly to recommend particular individuals, no less than 61 magistrates. He could not help hoping that the Lord Chancellor was only at the beginning of his appointments, because, as he had said, the preliminary steps in these matters were very slow. [MR. GIBSON: What are the figures?] 33 were members of the Church of England—[Cries of "Oh, oh!" from the Irish Benches, and "Very slow!"]—19 were Catholics, and six were Presbyterians. [Derisive cheers.] Hon. Members who cheered derisively might remember that they had over and over again stated that this was a matter of class, and not of creed. Whether it was a matter of class or creed, those gentlemen who had been appointed would



not have been chosen if the Lord Chancellor had not taken the matter in hand. A noble Lord (Viscount Crichton), speaking in that House in an early debate, stated that, after all, Lord Rossmore would lose very little by ceasing to be a magistrate, because the office had been so much degraded. He supposed the noble Lord meant that it had been degraded by the appointment of people who would not be acceptable to the class of magistrates who sent up an address in favour of Lord Rossmore. Since that time the magistrates had been "degraded" to the extent, at any rate, of those 61 gentlemen; and he hoped the degradation, if such it was called, would be continued, because that degradation only consisted of taking good men, irrespective of politics and class, simply for the reason that they would make good magistrates, and, as the Lord Chancellor thought, magistrates who ought to be trusted by the people. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), in criticizing a magistrate named Roche, said it had been stated by the Government that the Prevention of Crime Act was not meant for rent-receivers or rent-warners, or for those who intimidated people at Poor Law elections. His recollection was that he stated that it was not going to be used against intimidation or supposed intimidation of people at Poor Law elections, when he answered a Conservative Member who asked him to put the Act in force against Roman Catholic priests. He found that that sentence had been quoted as having been delivered in answer to a Question with reference to putting the Act in force against a landlord, and his sentiments had thus been greatly misrepresented, he had no doubt by mistake. The hon. Baronet the Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce), who made the best defence for the Lord Lieutenants that could be made, praised Lord Erne. Well, Lord Erne now had an opportunity of showing whether he deserved those praises. A proposal had been made to call a meeting of magistrates with regard to a libel case which was still *sub judice*. On that case he could find a great deal to say if it were not *sub judice*; and he hoped Lord Erne would not give his countenance to that most injudicious proceeding that had taken place at Enniskillen—that monstrous proceeding, in which a magistrate

who had been condemned by the unanimous vote of a jury of his own class—"Oh!"—he meant morally condemned—though he knew that the case was still to be tried—actually received an address from the solicitors practising in his Court, and allowed himself to give vent to his own opinions, even after he knew that in the House of Commons not a word had been allowed to be said about this matter. Lord Erne had been asked to call a meeting of magistrates to consider that case. He did not care whether the magistrates decided for or against; but Lord Erne had no right whatever, if he wished to be a just defender of the Magistracy, to allow that meeting to be called. [IRISH MEMBERS: He has called it.] He had stated what the intentions of the Government were in this matter, and how far they proposed to carry them out. [AN IRISH MEMBER: What are they?] They were to use vigorously and impartially the power of the Lord Chancellor. It was quite another matter, however, when they were asked to agree to the Resolution before the House, which was calculated to destroy all confidence in "the ordinary administration of justice in Ireland." The number of days on which Petty Sessions were held were 14,400. On those days the enormous block of cases consisted either of small civil cases, of which there were 113,000, or of ordinary cases of smaller criminal jurisdiction, of which there were 217,000. The principal heads of the civil jurisdiction of the magistrates were:—The recovery of small debts below 40s., actions for damages or for the hire of horses and agricultural implements not above £10, and the settlement of disputes as to sales at markets and fairs, &c., involving claims not exceeding £5. That jurisdiction did not touch anyone who had a tenancy from year to year; and the enormous majority of civil cases were of a sort in regard to which the Government were quite unwilling to accept the dictum that—

"The present constitution of the Irish Magistracy was calculated to destroy all confidence in the ordinary administration of justice in Ireland."

As to the ordinary criminal jurisdiction, out of this large number of cases there were 87,000 cases of drunkenness, 30,000 of common assault, 13,000 of offences against Local Acts and borough

bye-laws, 5,000 of malicious damage and trespass, and 17,000 of offences against the Highway Acts. He must say, with regard to this great class of cases, he had heard no complaint of such volume and number as would justify the Government in acceding to the Motion of the hon. Gentleman. If this enormous mass of work was to be done by others than the Unpaid Magistracy the burden on the public would be very great; and he really doubted whether they would be able to find such an enormous Judicial Staff of the character which they wished to secure as would make head against such a vast amount of work. Besides, the Government were not the least prepared for so entirely revolutionizing the Judicial system of Ireland, and so separating and isolating it from the Judicial system of the rest of the country, as to withdraw from the Unpaid Magistracy their ordinary work; and he thought no one could expect, as a practical result, that any exertions which the Lord Chancellor, or successive Lord Chancellors, could make would model the Irish Bench into a state that would be exactly reduced to his ideas of what the Bench should be, with such a rapidity as to enable them to look forward to the time when these questions would be dealt with by a different class of magistrates than the present. Therefore, the Government were satisfied with regard to the ordinary administration of the law by the Bench as at present constituted; but they were not satisfied that the administration of justice with regard to Party questions could be intrusted to the Bench as at present constituted. There were, he thought, grave reasons for doubting whether the magistrates could in such cases be everywhere trusted. In a county like Fermanagh, for instance, there was not a single Roman Catholic magistrate on the Bench, except a Resident Magistrate; and the terms in which he had been spoken of by some of his brother magistrates were in themselves enough, he would not say to show that justice would not be done in Party cases, but to make it quite certain that a great body of the people would not believe that justice would be done. Under these circumstances, if only as a temporary expedient, the Government had thought it right to divide the functions of the Magisterial Bench; and by placing several

counties under the 8th section of the Prevention of Crime Act—[“Oh!” from the Irish Party.]—well, hon. Gentlemen would find it hard to suggest any expedient for getting a fair trial of Party cases for the next few years—by placing several counties under the 8th section of the Prevention of Crime Act make it quite certain that such a scene as had occurred between the magistrates on the Enniskillen Bench would not occur again, and would make it quite certain also that justice would be done by a body of men who would hold the balance evenly between the two parties. He did not think his noble Friend (Viscount Lymington) had been quite fair in his remarks so far as the Resident Magistrates were concerned. His own experience had convinced him that they possessed very many of the best qualities of Civil servants. He believed that they were very impartial and very public-spirited men, and that they had stood, as some undoubtedly had stood, between the people and those whom they thought wished to bear hard upon the people. The Government, therefore, could not accept the Resolution, which went so far as to say that the present constitution of the Irish Magisterial Bench was calculated to destroy all confidence in the administration of justice. They were not prepared in any way to revolutionize the system of appointment. They were going to work carefully, steadily, and, he believed, boldly to use the Constitutional means they had at present through the power of appointment by the Lord Chancellor; and he had no doubt that the debate of that evening, and the very great number of speeches from Members of more than one shade of politics in that House, would give the world assurance that that policy had not been adopted a day too soon.

MR. SEXTON said, that the advantage which the right hon. Gentleman had made up his mind to give to the Irish Members in reply to the appeal they had made was a very sad and instructive commentary on the principles which governed the English administration of Ireland. When the Prevention of Crime Act was being passed into law they were assured that it would be applied only to a limited number of districts; and now, when they had brought forward a grievance of great magnitude, and estab-



lished an irrefutable case, they were told by a Liberal Minister, who put on the airs of one giving a favourable answer to their appeal, that the number of districts to which the 8th section of the Prevention of Crime Act was to be applied would be increased. He was obliged to say that the right hon. Gentleman had delivered a most unsatisfactory speech. He had not been able to deny that the Irish Magistracy was almost exclusively in the hands of one denomination and one class. He had not been able to make any case against the contention that it was offensive and injurious to the vast majority of the Irish people; but by a kind of pettifoggery special pleading he had objected to the final clause of the Resolution, and upon that vague and unsubstantial objection he refused to accept any part of the Motion; whereas the logical conclusion from the right hon. Gentleman's speech was that the Government should have accepted every part of the Resolution, except the clause to which he objected. The interest in that debate did not arise from any novelty in the facts; because, although the Return which he moved for in the Winter Session of 1882, and succeeded in obtaining a few days since, had placed the facts in a formal and conclusive manner before the attention of the House, yet the real state of the Magistracy of Ireland with regard to class and creed had been no secret to any intelligent man who took an interest in the affairs of Ireland for many a year. The interest of the debate arose from the fact that Irish Members were submitting their claims to a Government which boasted that it steered an even keel in Ireland; but he was bound to say, judging from the performance of the steersman that evening, that the right hon. Gentleman, in spite of all the cautions he had received in the course of the debate, was likely to run his ship upon the rocks. The right hon. Gentleman told them that the principles which would guide the Government lay in the bosom of the Lord Chancellor; but perhaps he made a nearer approach to frankness when he stated that the Government would proceed at a slow pace; for when the right hon. Gentleman passed from rhetoric to figures, and described the reformatory action of the Lord Chancellor in appointing 61 magistrates, when pressed by the right hon.

and learned gentleman (Mr. Gibson) as to the creed of the Gentlemen appointed it was found that the action of the Lord Chancellor, instead of decreasing, had gone to increase the monstrous disproportion which already existed. So true was it that the Government were proceeding slowly that the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, like a crab, was travelling backwards. The terms of the Resolution were true beyond denial—the Irish Magistracy was almost exclusively in the hands of one religious denomination and one class. Even in a country where different creeds lived in a spirit of amity, and where the different classes had a common interest, the selection of magistrates from one class or creed would promote discontent and disorder, because the classes and creeds excluded would feel that they had been ignored and slighted. If that were true of such a country, how much more true of Ireland, where they had selected for the Magistracy almost exclusively men who professed a creed bound up until yesterday with traditions of aggression and greed, men who belonged to a social class which he might say, without exaggeration, had lived by preying upon the people. The Chief Secretary put the case in a nutshell when he said that the appointments to the Magisterial Bench had inverted the ratio of the creeds in Ireland. There were 5,000,000 of people in Ireland, of whom 4,000,000 were Roman Catholics and 1,000,000 Protestants. If that proportion had been preserved there would now be between 3,000 and 4,000 Catholic magistrates in Ireland as against 1,000 Protestant. The actual state of the case, however, was exactly the reverse. Then, out of the 4,000 existing magistrates, nearly 3,000 belonged to the class of landlords and land agents. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of wealth and leisure as necessary qualifications for the Magistracy. That came strangely from a Minister speaking in the Supreme Court of the Realm, for admission to which no property qualification whatever was required. There were hon. Gentlemen whom he could see who were engaged in important business all day, and yet were, they all knew, able to discharge their legislative functions in that House, and to furnish some of the most important ornaments of their debates in the evenings; and was it to be con-



tended by the right hon. Gentleman that if men who were engaged all day were able to discharge the multifarious duties required in that House every night in connection with the Government of that Realm, that they would require men of leisure and wealth to go once a fortnight to the Petty Sessions? If there was necessity for wealth and leisure, he would ask how it came to pass that 400 land agents were members of the Magisterial Bench? Were they men of social position? No; they were open to corruption of the most patent kind, for they were in every case which was to be decided between landlord and tenant precluded from giving an unbiassed decision. He believed that they were just as much dependent on the landlord class as any clerk in the City of London was who received a salary from his employer. When he found 400 gentlemen of this class allowed to hold positions on the Bench, he was constrained to ask the Chief Secretary what position or leisure they had. If they had used the terms Protestant and Catholic in that debate it was not because they recognized any substantial fitness in the Catholic, or because they denounced any special unfitness in the Protestant for the position of magistrate. It was simply because it so happened that the dominant class in Ireland were Protestant, and that the masses of the people were Catholic, and that this was the most compendious way of putting a great social and political question. It was said that it was hard to find Catholics sufficiently educated in Ireland; and he (Mr. Sexton) must say that the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) spoke in terms which were most insulting to the people of Donegal. He spoke of his brother's efforts to find suitable candidates in that county; and he drew a pathetic picture of his father going out, so to speak, with a lamp in his hand in order to scour the country to find an honest man. Well, what did he (Mr. Sexton) find to follow after all those labours? That in a county where the Catholics were to the Protestants as three to one there were 128 Protestant magistrates to nine Catholics. He (Mr. Sexton) denied that Catholics were not fitted by education to act as magistrates. He agreed with the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell) that the qualifica-

tions were intelligence, education, and probity; but he was not aware that God had conferred those qualities upon persons who were either above or below any given limit of valuation. He asked if the noble Lord was not able to find amongst the elected Poor Law Guardians who sat at the same Board with him any who were fitted for a seat upon the Bench? The House had been addressed that evening by a Lord Lieutenant—the hon. Baronet the Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce). He did not know that the hon. Baronet was gifted by nature, or had acquired by art, any special powers of discrimination; but after he had held the office of Lord Lieutenant for nine years in a county where the Catholics formed about half the population the Magistracy stood in this position—the non-Catholic magistrates were 109 and the Catholics nine. And the noticeable fact was that the hon. Baronet had told the House that he never paid any attention to Memorials from the people in connection with the nomination of magistrates. Surely the best way to secure the confidence of the people in the administration of the law was to take their advice with regard to the appointment of magistrates. There was a saying in Ireland to this effect—"You may judge of the sack by the sample;" and if they were to judge of the Lords Lieutenant of Ireland by the conduct of the hon. Member for Coleraine it might be the duty of the Government to consider whether the functions of the Lords Lieutenant ought not to be entirely swept away. He had never discovered in the selections of the hon. Baronet or in his speeches in that House anything which marked him out as possessing unusual acuteness or intellectual supremacy over other men. By what right, then, did he constitute himself a buffer between the people of his country and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland? In looking over a Report there was a paragraph which afforded them some instruction on the subject. It set forth that persons returned as Peers, gentlemen, &c., had been classed under the following as of "no specified occupation." Vagrants and such like were also included in this order. He must say that he should always entertain a respect for the compiler of that Report. If the Government were to make every landlord in Ireland a magis-

trate they would hardly render the state of things worse than it was at present. There were 4,294 landed proprietors in Ireland, and out of that number 3,000 were upon the Magisterial Bench; and unless they fell back upon the vagrants of the same class, he did not really see what was to be done unless to pass from the persons who had no specified occupation to the persons who had some. The Catholics of Ireland were not open to the reproach of ignorance which had been brought against them. It was true that only 0·3 of their children were receiving a higher education as against 1·23 of the Protestants. The Protestants, no doubt, were richer and more cultured as a class; but the number of Catholics was eight times that of the Protestants; and, therefore, twice as many more Catholic children were receiving higher education as Protestants. In the schools and Colleges there were 12,000 Catholics and 8,000 Protestants; in the high schools 10,000 Catholics and 6,000 Protestants; and in the highest schools of all 2,305 Catholics and 1,052 Protestants. Arguing from the children to the parents, it must be clear that there were plenty of well-educated Catholics in Ireland. The principal criticism made by the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) and other advocates of the Irish magistrates was that they had made no specific charges against them. What need was there of specific charges when Lord Rossmore's case was so fresh in their minds, and when no less than 1,000 magistrates from 15 counties threw back into his face the letter of the Lord Chancellor condemning Lord Rossmore's conduct, and declared that, in similar circumstances, they would act as he did? A Magistracy so politically degraded, or so shamefully devoted to the prejudices and passions and supposed interests of one class, needed to have no specific charges brought against them in order to justify their abolition. But he could instance the case of Colonel Smith, of County Meath, who prosecuted a man for unlawfully carrying a gun and shooting a hare. When it was discovered that he was in the employ of a relative and neighbour magistrate he was let off with a nominal fine; while two young farmers convicted of the same offence were sentenced to two months' imprisonment. In Omagh a drunken Orangeman drew a re-

volver on the sentry at the gate of the barracks. He also was brought up before a Bench consisting of five magistrates, three of whom were Orangemen, and he was released on paying a nominal fine. In Fermanagh, where the father of the noble Viscount (Viscount Crichton) had been Lord Lieutenant for 44 years—the memory of whose public spirit, it was said, would long be remembered—there were 74 magistrates, of whom 73 were Protestants, and the remaining one, who was a Resident Magistrate, Captain M'Ternan, was a Catholic, and on that account the rest of the magistrates were doing their utmost to worry and harass him. The father of the noble Viscount had violated not only decency, but even the law itself, by calling upon those very magistrates who, a few months before, had conspired with him to endanger the public peace, to discredit Captain M'Ternan, to drive him out of the country, and to corrupt a jury. If Lord Erne persisted in holding that meeting to corrupt a jury and to intimidate witnesses, would the Government prevent it—would they suppress the meeting? If they did not suppress it, he hoped that they would send two official notetakers to the meeting and claim admission for them. Would the Government, he asked, prosecute those magistrates who were endeavouring to intimidate their paid official? It was clear to him that they would never advance upon that magisterial question in the direction of reform until they got rid of Lords Lieutenant. Let the Lord Chancellor apply his own intelligence to the applications made to him. He regretted that the Chief Secretary had not answered three questions put to him. He had answered two; but in the case of the third, as to what other means he would suggest of appointing magistrates that would place their appointments more open to public opinion, he had given no answer. He would himself suggest, as a remedy for the existing state of things, in the first place the abolition of the property qualification. Practically, this qualification had been already abolished, because there were a number of land agents now on the Bench who had not enough land in Ireland to sod a lark. Then they must extend to the counties the same principles as they applied to the boroughs, and must cease to confine the office of magistrate to



landlords or land agents. In Ulster there were respectable tenant farmers and millowners, and persons of such classes; in every village, in the most insignificant hamlets, they would find shopkeepers and professional men of ability, education, and independence. Let those gentlemen be appointed to the Commission of the Peace; and let the power be abolished of those mouldy relics of the past, the Lords Lieutenant. It was all very well to say—

“For forms of government let fools contest;”

but good laws, however well designed, might have their effect minimized by bad administration. The object to be aimed at was to appoint the men, whether Protestants or Catholics, who were in accordance with the feelings of the people. That was the practical test of their fitness; and until that was done he would tell them solemnly, as one who knew that country thoroughly, that the ordinary administration of their law in Ireland would be regarded, not only with distrust, but with dislike—nay, with hatred and contempt.

MR. GIBSON said, the debate which had taken place that night must unquestionably be regarded as of importance; and he himself was not sorry that the charges which had been brought forward had been brought forward distinctly at the beginning of the discussion, when the matter could be fairly looked into, and the House and the country could thoroughly realize and understand what, in the face of day, was the case that was made against the Irish magistrates, and on what foundation the charges which had been made against them were supposed to rest. He asserted fearlessly, after a discussion which had now gone on for a considerable number of hours, that most unquestionably the Irish Magistracy had come out of the ordeal triumphantly and successfully. There were more than 4,000 magistrates in Ireland; and in troublous and disturbed times in the history of that country, when every action of almost every magistrate was canvassed, criticized, or condemned, it was something to find that when their conduct was brought to the test of an examination in the face of day there was nothing to be urged against them except what had been urged during the last few hours. He ventured to say that if the Magistracy of any other coun-

try, under similar conditions, were to be subjected to the same criticism as that which had been directed against the Irish magistrates that night, they would not have come out of the ordeal better—he doubted whether they would have come out of it as well. What was the constitution of a Magistracy—what must be the constitution of any Magistracy, worthy of the name? What must be the qualifications of any Bench of Magistrates that was to be regarded with respect by any person whose opinion was challenged in reference to it? Must not the Bench of Magistrates be composed of men whose independence of character, whose sufficiency of education, whose reasonable sufficiency of status, and whose sufficiency of property formed a guarantee of independence such as would stand a scrutiny and command respect? Those tests being familiar tests, they had a right to expect to find them in all magistrates, whether Irish, English, or Scotch; and the most that could be said against the Irish magistrates was that they did possess every one of those qualifications. [“No, no!” *from the Home Rule Members.*] The charge against them was not that they were deficient in the possession of those essential qualifications, but that they were not commended to popular acceptance by the absence of some of them. He asked every impartial English and Scotch Member of the House who had listened to the discussion to bear in mind the ordeal to which the Irish magistrates had been subjected, and from which the English and Scotch Magistracy had been exempted. If an Irish magistrate committed the smallest error of judgment, the smallest slip of language in conversation in public or in private—if a single incident of his public, private, or magisterial life could be got at, even although it occurred in private conversation only, it was at once published in the Press and dragged before the House of Commons in Question after Question. He should like to know what body of men in the important public position of the Irish Magistracy, and numbering over 4,000, could, under such circumstances, come better out of the ordeal than the class of persons to whom he was referring? What was the foundation of this charge? He would appeal to the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M’Carthy), who intro-



duced the Motion in a speech as moderate as was expected from a Gentleman of his position and attainments. Was it not obvious to everyone in the House who listened to the speech that the hon. Member himself felt there were great difficulties in his way, in asking the House of Commons, acting in a judicial capacity, to arrive at the conclusion that they were coerced to affirm such a Resolution as that which he had placed upon the Paper? What was the true foundation, not of the hon. Member's charge, but of his suggestion of a charge? That there might be differences in the constitution of the Irish Magistracy, both as to religion and as to class. Now he asserted, notwithstanding the speech they had just heard from the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), that no one on that or the other side of the House had spoken with disrespect, or without sympathy, of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland from the beginning to the end of the discussion—certainly no one on those Benches, and he had heard no one on the other side, say one word that was out of sympathy with that great section of the people of Ireland. Everyone knew that one of the circumstances and incidents of the country was that the great bulk of the population, numerically, was Roman Catholic; and it would naturally be found that the great bulk of the population had not got that amount of education, and property, and of status which all must recognize as being required in a magistrate, and as necessary qualifications before they could be placed in the area from which the Lord Chancellor or anybody else would be justified in selecting the Magistracy. Of course, he did not deny, and no one would attempt to assert, that there were not many Roman Catholics in Ireland—indeed, a large and powerful section of Roman Catholics in Ireland, who were endowed with great natural intelligence—the gift of so many people in Ireland, but who were also possessed of high education and character, and all the qualities which entitled them to a seat upon the Magisterial Bench, and which would do honour to any Profession or any Bench. But in saying that he felt bound to add what he believed to be the fact in reference to the state of the Bench in different counties in Ireland, that he had had occasion during the last few years to consider the matter himself, in

conversation and in association with numerous friends in Ireland; and he believed that Lords Lieutenant of counties in that country were sincerely and loyally anxious, whenever they thought they fairly could, to appoint Roman Catholic gentlemen to the Commission of the Peace in the counties in which they resided. He was himself satisfied of this—that in many cases they had strained points in their anxiety to appoint gentlemen to the Commission of the Peace, whose main and principal qualification was that they were Roman Catholics. He believed that this was the simple and plain fact, as anyone who was acquainted with the country and the difficulties of the position would bear testimony to. Hon. Members who had taken part in the discussion had found themselves in a strange dilemma. They had pointed out that the number of Roman Catholics on the Bench at present was roughly estimated at about 1,000, and that the remaining number of magistrates were Protestants. One would think that that was a charge levelled against the disproportion which the Roman Catholic magistrates bore to the Protestant ones. But the argument which had been pressed was not that at all; it was a kind of mixed and confused argument. They said it was wrong, in the present constitution of the Bench, that there were not more Roman Catholics upon it; but they went on to say that the Roman Catholics who at present had found their way to the Bench were certainly as bad, if not worse, than the Protestant magistrates. He did not see how it was possible to satisfy hon. Members who made such a complaint. He was glad that the Presbyterians had not been lost sight of in that discussion. They were a class who were entitled to be spoken of with the very highest respect, and there was no one who had had any opportunity whatever of meeting them who would not recognize that they were endowed with qualifications and gifts which entitled them to every possible consideration. He ventured to hope that there would be no Lord Lieutenant of a county or Lord Chancellor ever found in Ireland who would not be anxious to consider every claim that could be urged for the appointment of intelligent and independent Presbyterians, endowed with the requisite qualifications, for the Magistracy. He

desired to point out that there were only two counties mentioned by the Chief Secretary when he made allusion to the Presbyterians. Those counties were Antrim and Down. The Lord Lieutenant of Antrim (Lord Waveney) was a friend and supporter of the Government of the right hon. Gentleman. [Mr. T. A. DICKSON: Within the last six months.] If that fact was worth making anything of it did not apply to the other county with which he was better acquainted. County Down was the other county mentioned, and who had had the management of the Magistracy of that county for several years? It was an hon. Gentleman who was well-known in the House, whose familiar figure was now only occasionally seen outside the House, clad in a seasonable garb. Unfortunately, he was not in the House that evening. ["Name!"] He alluded to the hon. Member for the County of Londonderry (Sir Thomas McClure). He believed that Gentleman was a Presbyterian of the Presbyterians. He had wielded the power of appointing magistrates in the county of Down, in the absence of Lord Dufferin, for many years; and if there was any deficiency in the appointment of Presbyterians in the county the blame was not to be laid on the innocent persons who sat on his side of the House, but on the respectable Presbyterian gentleman who held office in that county, who had uninterruptedly made the appointments for the last six or seven years. What was the other class of objection, in addition to the religious one, which was made as to the present method of appointing magistrates? The objection was called a social one, and consisted of a complaint that the present magistrates were taken substantially from one class only. He would ask the House if that was not an objection which might be taken to the magistrates of almost every country? Take England, Scotland, or any civilized country in the world they liked, and they would find that the magistrates were taken from a class of the community substantially the same as that from which the Irish magistrates were taken. It must always be so. In the very nature of things he did not see how it was possible to have, speaking broadly and generally, any substantial change in that respect. They must have a

Magistracy recruited from those who possessed the requisite position, independence, education, and status referred to by the Chief Secretary. The hon. Member who moved the Motion, and other hon. Members who supported him, had been under some difficulty in making positive and absolute suggestions as to how they thought the present state of things should be remedied. They seemed to think, wisely, as he thought, that it was not for them to suggest remedies; but that it was their function to state what they considered a grievance, and to point it out. He thought there was some logical force in that position; but, at all events, whether logical or not, it was a prudent course to take. Some hon. Members, however, took a different course, and did not hesitate to suggest a class from which the Magistracy might be entirely and exclusively recruited. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), and the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), boldly put it that they considered the class from which the magistrates should not be partially recruited, but from which they should be entirely taken, were from those who were in entire sympathy with the popular traditions of Ireland, and in sympathy with the people of Ireland—that, in fact, they should not be "colourless politicians," as the phrase was delicately put by the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy). How would this method of choice work? Let them apply it for a moment, and the House would see that they were involved in a state of embarrassment, to use the mildest possible word. If in any locality they were to take men who were strong partizans—not colourless in their politics—but men who held strong views in reference to the affairs in which they entered, in what position would they be landed? Why, in the South of Ireland they would have strong Land League magistrates, and in the North they would have strong Orange magistrates. [An hon. MEMBER: You have them already.] If they were to have strong members of a particular class—strong partizan magistrates—they could not always have them of the complexion they might like; but they must have Party men. If that were so, they would have a state of facts which would rapidly bring about disturbance. But what was the other point mentioned?



It had been suggested, although the suggestion was at once abandoned, because it was obvious that no one would listen to it, that they should select men for the Magistracy of Ireland from those who were of sound Nationalist views, and who were in full sympathy with the National League. The only other alternative was to try to get impartial Resident Magistrates. Why, they were the very class who had been most roundly abused during the whole of the discussion; and where were they to look for a Magistracy if they were not to have it appointed reasonably, and fairly, and possessing the requisite qualifications, entitling it to respect? How were the magistrates appointed at present? He thought some confusion prevailed in the House in reference to that subject even at the present moment. Certainly, the noble Lord who recently addressed the House seemed to be in a state of profound simplicity as to the appointment of magistrates. He had suggested boldly that the Government had nothing to do with the matter, and having made that statement he went quietly away. But there were three kinds of magistrates in Ireland, and as to each class the Government had a substantial power; in some respects they had an absolute and exclusive power in appointing all paid Resident Magistrates. In that case they exercised their own discretion in regard to what they considered the interests of the country. He would take that class first. The paid magistrates were appointed by the Executive Government on their own responsibility. They sought out trained men with the qualities and training which they thought most expedient. He asked the House to remember the number of Questions which were addressed to the Chief Secretary day after day; and they would find that not a single day passed without some Question being levelled against the magistrates who had been selected by the Executive Government, and paid for their training and qualifications the same as any other class of officials in Ireland. The second class of magistrates were the borough magistrates. The Lords Lieutenant of counties had nothing to say to them; but they were all appointed on the absolute *ipse dixit* of the Executive Government who had the absolute and exclusive power in reference to them. The only other class

remaining were the county magistrates. How were they appointed? The county magistrates were appointed by the Lord Chancellor of the day. True, it was upon the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant of the county; but the Lord Chancellor was the person who made the appointment, and the Lord Chancellor was the highest legal official of the Government in Ireland. The Lord Chancellor usually acted on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant of the county; but he reserved to himself, and sometimes exercised, the right of his own jurisdiction, and of asking the Lord Lieutenant why some particular individual was passed over, or why a preference had been shown? And if he did not feel satisfied with an excuse offered to him for passing over certain persons, he could, and had done more than once, as an act of administration, appoint for himself any person to the position of magistrate in any county in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Trevelyan) in the course of his speech had drawn a contrast. He did not complain of the right hon. Gentleman, who had a right to speak as well as he could for his own Government. That was only reasonable; but the right hon. Gentleman drew a distinction in favour of the Government between the constitution of the County Magistracy and the constitution of the Borough Magistracy which would not stand the test of examination. If a man lived in a borough it was perfectly obvious that his range of connections was far wider than if he lived in a rural district. He would probably live in the midst of a great mercantile community of the highest intelligence, education, status, and property; and, therefore, the Government in dealing with a centralized population knew, obviously, that it contained within itself large classes of persons qualified to be magistrates. They had a larger and higher area of selection, and did not, as in the case of selecting a county magistrate, experience any difficulty in searching out men fit to perform the duties of the Magistracy. He fully admitted the difficulties that in the administration of Irish affairs must often press upon the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and others engaged in the government of the country; but he was bound to say that, having regard to everything that had occurred in this



case, it would have been wiser and more gracious if the right hon. Gentleman had spoken with more reserve in reference to the Enniskillen case. He (Mr. Gibson) did not intend to discuss that case, and he would not say a word in regard to it except this—that Lord Erne was a man whose public character had been before England and Ireland for many a long day, and there was not a more respected man in the whole community than Lord Erne. [Mr. HEALY: Who says so?] That was the view of everyone in the country who was acquainted with Lord Erne, and he was perfectly convinced of this—that Lord Erne would continue to act in the future as he had done in the past, so far as the Lord Lieutenancy of the county of Fermanagh was concerned, with full regard for the duties and responsibilities of his high position. He (Mr. Gibson) was so strongly assured of that, that he regretted the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary should have used one word in reference to the magistrates who were on the Bench on the occasion referred to, which was open to criticism. He would not go further into the matter; but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be told by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland, who was counsel in the case, what the real facts were. He (Mr. Gibson) was bound to say that, considering the political character of the case, it would have been as well if the Law Officers of the Crown had not allowed themselves to be mixed up with it at all. The words which had been used to describe the case were open to criticism. The defence of justification—that the alleged libel was true—was not affirmed by the jury; and the only ground on which the verdict was given in favour of the owner of the newspaper was that of maintaining the rights of journalism, and it had nothing whatever to do with affirming, in the slightest degree, the truth of the allegations contained in the libel. It would, therefore, have been well if the right hon. Gentleman had ascertained the facts of the case before he used the words he had used. If he had done so, he would no doubt have modified, materially, the statement he had made. He (Mr. Gibson) would pass away from this topic of Enniskillen and the county of Fermanagh with a remark

in reference to the statements which had been made as to the small number of Roman Catholic magistrates who had been made there. [Mr. HEALY: None at all.] It was true that a meeting had been held recently in Enniskillen, convened by Circular, the object of which was to suggest to Lord Erne the names of Roman Catholics who might be appropriately appointed to the Magisterial Bench. But who was it that was suggested to the notice of Lord Erne? The names of three gentlemen—men, he believed, of respectability—two of whom had publican's establishments, while the other was a pawnbroker. He did not say that these were not honourable pursuits, and that the gentlemen who followed them were not entitled to the highest respect; but it showed the difficulty there must be in making suggestions to the Lord Lieutenant of a county as to who he should appoint, when the individuals selected for his approval, however respected they might be, after searching the whole county through, were such as he had mentioned. What was the alternative, in regard to the constitution of the Magistracy? The appointment of paid magistrates. But was there anyone who was prepared to affirm that suggestion? Would any Member of the Treasury like to hear that suggestion boldly put forward—namely, to swamp the whole of the unpaid class of Irish magistrates, and substitute for them a network of paid magistrates, involving an immense financial operation? He was bound to say that, tested by present experience, and seeing that the existing paid Resident Magistrates were not able to attract to themselves more popularity than the unpaid magistrates, any Government would hesitate long before they proceeded to make a change. No one except the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), and the hon. Member had certainly made the suggestion somewhat strongly, urged that there should be elected magistrates. It was not a proposition that any Member could be seriously or gravely entertained by the House of Commons. The hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell), speaking with that great skill and dexterity of language of which he was a master, had suggested some vague reference to County Boards, with the notion that they might exercise

some influence over the office. He was bound to admit that the suggestion was made very tentatively. The hon. and learned Member did not say what kind of County Board, or what kind of office; and, therefore, he (Mr. Gibson) ventured to think the suggestion might be passed over. The noble Viscount the Member for Barnstaple (Viscount Lynton) also made some rather hazy suggestions, winding up with the proposal that the appointment of magistrates should be subjected to the impartial criticism of the House of Commons. It was a very good sentence in the speech of the noble Viscount; but it could hardly be treated as a practical contribution to the solution of a very difficult question. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, who spoke with much emphasis on the matter, and naturally attracted a great deal of attention, said the Lord Chancellor would consider for himself. The present Lord Chancellor was one of the most emphatic men who ever held the Office, and he had no doubt inspired the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary with a good deal of his own emphasis. The right hon. Gentleman said the present Lord Chancellor would consider how to exercise his functions in reference to the constitution of the Magistracy. Every Lord Chancellor who ever held the Office was bound, in the discharge of his duty, to do that. No doubt the present Lord Chancellor, whose ability everyone would readily recognize, and whose high character they all acknowledged, followed the traditions of his Office, and, fully acquainted with the requirements of his position, applied his mind vigorously to the discharge of his important functions. Then a more extraordinary solution came, later on, from the right hon. Gentleman, when he said the Government solution was the separation of the magisterial functions into two parts—namely, the ordinary functions, and those which were regarded as Party functions. It was rather a difficult division, and he should like to know where and when the division was determined upon? It was now the 4th of April, and he should be glad to know when Her Majesty's Government decided upon this division? It was no new question. It had been considered from time to time. It was discussed in 1881, and they were all acquainted with the circumstances.

He was bound to say that it struck him, from the collocation of the words, as if it had been done in consequence of the case of Londonderry, in which the Solicitor General was counsel for one of the parties, and also of the Enniskillen case. He hoped it was not so. If the objection were taken on any such ground it would be open to grave and substantial criticism. He himself, before he could approve of such a method of division, should like to know the exact way in which it was proposed to make it. It did, however, strike him that the placing of eight counties under the Prevention of Crime Act was a crude and clumsy way of working out the division of magisterial functions, and it was open to the charge of being made in consequence of the trial at Londonderry, and what had recently taken place at Enniskillen. At any rate, it was open to the charge of not being particularly gracious. His state of knowledge did not permit him to criticize the matter in detail; he would forbear. At present the Magistracy of Ireland was amenable to very important checks. It was amenable to the check of public opinion, which had been very freely directed to it; and it was amenable also to Parliamentary criticism, which was unsparing in the way in which it pried into every one of his actions. It must be remembered that no injustice and no unfairness in the administration of their duties had been, or could be, substantiated against the Irish Magistracy. [Mr. BIGGAR: Oh!] Yes; they had made great and sweeping charges; but he fearlessly asserted that no case had been made out against the Irish Bench of injustice or unfairness in the administration of justice. He was speaking now of the great class of unpaid magistrates, who had enormous difficulties to contend against, and received very little gratitude or thanks for the way in which they discharged their duties. They got no pay—indeed they were the great unpaid—but they were amenable both to actions at law by persons aggrieved by their mistakes, and also to the jurisdiction of the Lord Chancellor, who could suspend or remove them from the Commission of the Peace for error or incapacity. It was, therefore, obvious to everyone that the Irish Magistracy discharged their duty under every responsibility that should make them careful, and should



win for them fair sympathy and respect from every impartial man. One word more, and he should have done. This question of the Irish Magistracy was not a very new one. He should be very sorry to make charges against any class of men who had, in disturbed times, to discharge difficult and unpopular duties. He had no wish to refer to the tributes given to the Irish Magistracy by those who agreed with him in politics, or who belonged to the Church to which he belonged. Instead of doing so he would remind hon. Members that in 1881 Lord O'Hagan, a very eminent, gifted, and sympathetic man, a member also of the Roman Catholic Church, gave an opinion as to how the Irish Members had acted, and as to how Lords Lieutenant of counties had been guided in reference to the selection of Irish magistrates. Lord O'Hagan, on that occasion, paid a high tribute to the merits of the Irish Magistracy. But it did not rest there. It rested also on the opinion of the late Lord Chancellor Law—a most able and gifted man, only too early removed, but a man also of strong Party views, and as strong a supporter of the present Government as ever sat upon the Treasury Bench. In 1881 Mr. Law had an opportunity of expressing his opinion of the Irish Magistracy, and he refused unquestionably to give the weight of his name and the power of his authority to an attack similar to the present upon the magistrates of Ireland. He would appeal also to the Lord Chancellor now in Office, clothed as he was with all the immense powers which had been mentioned of appointing paid magistrates and magistrates in boroughs, and of controlling, directing, and checking the appointment of every magistrate in Ireland. And what did he find? That although the Lord Chancellor had exercised his power, and would exercise it, as other Lord Chancellor's had done before him in the appointments he had made to the Bench, in the 61 cases mentioned by the Chief Secretary he had himself, by the logic of facts and the potency of circumstances, been compelled to make appointments very little dissimilar, in the ratio of religious selection, from those appointed by his Predecessors.

COLONEL COLTHURST said, he was anxious to say a word or two to explain why he supported the Motion, although

he did not agree with all the arguments which had been used in its favour. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had skillfully turned a debate which was intended to be a complaint of the manner in which magistrates were appointed into a defence of the manner in which those magistrates discharged their duties. He (Colonel Colthurst) believed, himself, that taking the ordinary affairs of life, day by day, Irish magistrates did just as well as any others. But that was not the question. The question was, whether the mode of appointing them was a right one? The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) had spoken about the difficulty, in regard to the status of the majority of the population of Donegal, in connection with the selection of magistrates. But Donegal was an extreme case, and no doubt extreme cases would always be found. He was quite ready to admit that in Donegal, and in some other counties, it might be difficult to find Catholics in any number who were fitted to discharge the duties of the Magistracy. But let them take the county of Cork. Although there were a large number of Catholic magistrates there, there were very few in some parts of the county. What was the cause? By the present canons the Lord Lieutenant considered himself bound to appoint, only except in rare cases, the owners of landed property or land agents; and it was almost impossible to obtain the appointment of a magistrate who did not fulfil one of these conditions. He was able to speak from personal knowledge of the difficulty of obtaining the appointment of Roman Catholics as magistrates in the county of Cork. He did not say that the present Lord Lieutenant had any prejudice himself. On the contrary, he had appointed several magistrates who were Roman Catholics; but in some cases he had refused, or had put the matter off. In cases where no allegation could be made against the Catholic gentlemen put forward, the reason why they had not been appointed was that they were not considered by the magistrates of the district in which it was proposed to appoint them to be of a social status sufficient to qualify them for a seat on the Bench. For that reason,

*Mr. Gibson*



and for that reason alone, there were gentlemen at that moment in the county of Cork who were magistrates who, if they were Catholics, would not be magistrates, and gentlemen who ought to be magistrates who, because they were Catholics, had not been placed upon the Bench. As far as the suggestions for reform were concerned, nothing more practical could be done than that the Lord Chancellor should institute, as had been suggested by several speakers, a searching inquiry into these cases, and then use the large powers vested in him. He would certainly be the first Lord Chancellor who had ever taken that course. He wished to speak with great respect of Lord O'Hagan and the late Lord Chancellor; but, except in very rare instances, they had never felt themselves justified in using the powers of which so much had been made. He trusted that what his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary had said that night would be carried out; and that the present Lord Chancellor, who had the will, the power, and the talent to carry out a great reform, would at any rate make a beginning, by calling for information, and finding out for himself, in each county, whether among Catholics, Protestants, or Presbyterians, those who were best fitted to serve on the Magisterial Bench, disregarding those canons which had hitherto required a magistrate either to be a landowner or a land agent.

MR. HEALY remarked that the legal training of the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had been of considerable service to him, because it enabled him completely to deny the justice of everything which had been said; and it had placed him in the position of the man who, having a brief from one side, was determined to take no notice of the other. The Chief Secretary for Ireland, in his speech, had made a declaration which, practically, amounted to this—that he admitted everything, but that he would do nothing. The right hon. Gentleman had not said a single word to traverse the case which had been made out in the course of the debate by hon. Members on that side of the House. All he said was—"We can do nothing; we have no remedy to offer to you," except, indeed, to quote the right hon. Gentleman's own phrase—"We will

use, vigorously and impartially, the power of the Lord Chancellor." Now, what did that mean? Did it not mean that the right hon. Gentleman condemned the partiality of the conduct of the Lords Lieutenant of counties, and that he would use, vigorously and impartially, the power of the Lord Chancellor to restrain the course of the Executive in future? Why did he not *chasse* the 32 Lords Lieutenant of counties altogether who refused to use, vigorously and impartially, the power which the law had given them? The right hon. Gentleman had, as usual, endeavoured to trim and to compromise. He (Mr. Healy) had no wish to impute unworthy motives; but that was certainly the position of the Government of Ireland. They told hon. Members privately that they would do all they could for them in favour of justice and impartiality; that they wished to treat Ireland as if it were Yorkshire or Kent; but hitherto they had signally failed in treating Dublin as if it were situated in Yorkshire, or Galway as if it were a town in Kent. At the same time, the Chief Secretary fully admitted that the Irish magistrates so abused their functions that it was necessary to call in the aid of the Lord Chancellor to use his powers vigorously and impartially; but he said nothing about putting pressure upon the Lords Lieutenant themselves. If the present Lords Lieutenant were deprived of the power they had so grossly abused, the next set of Lords Lieutenant would be much more careful how they used it. The right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had made a great point of the fact that 61 Catholic magistrates had been appointed by the present Lord Chancellor; and that at a meeting of Catholics held at Enniskillen only three gentlemen had been recommended to the Lord Lieutenant for appointment. He (Mr. Healy) did not know that that statement was correct, because he generally found that Tory facts were not correct when they were able to get at the bottom of them. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had made the allegation that two of the three gentlemen were connected with the publicans' interest, and he spoke of it as if it were a very great fault indeed. Was it a fault in my Lord Ardilaun—the biggest publican and creator of drunkards in the Kingdom—whom a

Tory Government made a Peer? That noble Lord, publican as he was, was good enough, not merely to be made a Justice of the Peace, but to be converted into a Peer of the Realm. Surely, a Tory Government who made a big publican, like Lord Ardilaun, not only a magistrate, but a Peer, might condescend to wink at the minor evil of elevating a publican to the Magistracy. Personally, he (Mr. Healy) contended that what was wanted in the Magistracy of Ireland was the honesty and straightforwardness of an intelligent Irish jurymen. Where did they get their jurymen now? Did they look for men of learned leisure? Certainly not, except when they had the Prevention of Crime Act in full operation. Who were the men who distributed justice throughout Ireland, week by week and day by day, without receiving 1*d.* of pay for their services? It was the jurymen of the country. There used to be a property qualification for jurymen; but except where the Prevention of Crime Act was concerned it was practically non-existent, and yet the Irish jurymen were called upon to decide cases in which hundreds of thousands of pounds depended upon the honest decision at which they arrived. But if it became necessary to fine a man 5*s.* for being drunk and disorderly, the penalty must be inflicted by a man of learned leisure. It was a ridiculous position; and when the Chief Secretary condemned the notion of electing magistrates, although he represented the Border Burghs, he displayed gross ignorance of Scotch law—probably because his experience was confined to the Borders. If he lived in the heart of Scotland, he would know quite well that the system of elected magistrates was in full blast in the Sister Kingdom. The right hon. Gentleman had denounced the American system, because it was elective; but as they had the same system in cannie Scotland, surely that was far enough to go without travelling to Democratic America. He would, however, say this of America—that the elected Judges of that country administered the law with far greater purity and impartiality than the Judges of this country. In the American Divorce Court they would not find a Sir James Hannen, who would shut up a case because it affected somebody who was connected with the upper classes. ["Order!"]

*Mr. Healy*

In the Republic of America it would be impossible to find a Judge like Mr. Justice Lush, who would sentence a man like Valentine Baker to only 12 months' imprisonment for a disgraceful crime, while he—

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Member is not in Order. He must not use language that is disrespectful to Her Majesty's Judges. He may comment upon their conduct; but he is not in Order in using language that is disrespectful towards them.

MR. HEALY: I was referring to the American Judges.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member was using disrespectful language in regard to the Judges of this land, and was contrasting their conduct with that of the American Judges.

MR. HEALY said, that after the correction of the Chair he would only remark that in America it would be impossible to find a Judge who would sentence one man to 12 months' imprisonment for a disgraceful crime, and in the same Court sentence a man of lower position, for the same offence, to seven years' penal servitude. The Judges of the American Courts were elected; they were courteous to the suitors, and neither browbeated or bullied the witnesses. They were the servants of the people, and they depended upon the favour of the people for the position they occupied. He was satisfied that if they had more of the elective system, both in Ireland and in this country, they would derive much advantage from the greater purity of their judicial institutions. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary told them the magistrates of Ireland were not to be trusted to deal with and decide Party questions, and that such questions in future must be given to the Resident Magistrates, who would hold the balance equally between the parties. But who were the Resident Magistrates in Ireland, and where would they get the judicial balance? Was it in British Burmah, or Hindostan, or Madagascar, or those other far-off places from whence the offscourings of the Judicial Bench were swept into Ireland? Was it a broken-down military man, or a disused sailor, who was the fittest person to administer justice in that country, for those were the men who were created Resident Irish Magistrates? They were told



that the ordinary magistrate in Ireland was not to be intrusted with the decision of Party questions in Ireland, because he did not know how to deal with them. So far as he was concerned, he would much sooner take his chance with the hon. Baronet the Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce) than with Mr. Clifford Lloyd. He would say this of his own countrymen—that they were Irishmen; and he would prefer to deal with an Irishman in his own country any day in the week, where Irish questions were concerned, than to deal with some British foreigner. They had been told that they had suggested no remedies. Well, he would venture to suggest a few. He would suggest this to begin with. Let every magistrate who held the Commission of the Peace in more than one county be obliged to decide which he would keep, and give up the others. That would cause a number of vacancies, which could be filled by better men. In the second place, he would suggest that any magistrate who did not attend in his Petty Sessions district for a certain number of days out of the 365 should be struck off the roll. That, he thought, would only be fair. What was the use of absentee magistrates? What were they good for? He would tell the House what it was that pricked on the feeling in Ireland with respect to the magistrates. It was not so much the decisions at Petty Sessions, and the fining of individuals 5s. and costs for being drunk and incapable, or the sending of men to gaol in a Party case; but it was the fact that every magistrate in the county, in addition to being a Justice of the Peace, was a Grand Juror, and in that capacity he decided what roads were to be made, what bridges were to be built, and what compensation was to be levied. He expended the money of the people without check or control; he did what he liked in the district without any representative authority, and he possessed enormous prerogatives, power and patronage. Then, again, the magistrates were *ex officio* Guardians. Indeed, one-half of the Board of Guardians were composed of *ex officio* Guardians. Therefore, it was not merely what the magistrates did at Petty Sessions, but what they did as Grand Jurors, and upon the Board of Guardians, that affected the real life of the country. They would find these absentee magistrates who did

not attend a single meeting at Petty Sessions, now the 25th of March was past, going across the Channel like swallows from the warmer climate of Cannes, Nice, and Madeira, to vote as *ex officio* Guardians for the election of Chairman and Vice Chairman of every Board in Ireland. Indeed, he was surprised to see the hon. Baronet the Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce) in his place. Why was he not over in Ireland voting as an *ex officio* Guardian?

SIR HERVEY BRUCE was understood to say that the meeting of his Board had taken place the previous Saturday, and that he had been re-elected Chairman.

MR. HEALY congratulated the hon. Baronet upon having been able to make matters fit in so neatly. It was in this way that all the officers in the Union were appointed—the master, the clerk, the rate collector, and every other *employé*. By this means they were able to influence the voters' list, for the rate collector could strike off certain persons and put on others; and the clerk had similar power. The Tory magistrates in Ulster manipulated the electoral lists in this way; and it was that grievance—a far more striking one than anything done by the Magistracy at Petty Sessions—of which he complained. And who were these magistrates? What was their title to the confidence of the people? The fact was, that every man among them—from the hon. Baronet, who was Lord Lieutenant of the county of Londonderry, down to the *Custos Rotulorum* of Roscommon, the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman)—had been branded by the Land Commission as an extortioner, and had had his rent-roll reduced. As a class, they had been told, by the highest authority in the land, that they had been plundering the people for generations; and it was to these plunderers on the Magisterial Bench that they asked the common people of the land to give their confidence to. These *Custodes Rotulorum* and Lords Lieutenant were the men who had raised their rents so immoderately that the Land Commission found it necessary to cut them down by 20 per cent. The Irish people derided and mocked at the entire system; and if the people of Ireland had not been mere serfs they would have made a far more vigorous



protest against it long ago. He believed that the people of Ireland were the greatest serfs that ever existed in any country. They had allowed the British Government to tyrannize over them in every possible way; whereas, if they had kicked and showed their teeth like men, they would get far more justice than they did from the British Government, and the Government would get rid of some of the difficulties they now experienced in governing them. In such circumstances, it would be impossible to reject the Motion of the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) by a speech like that which had been delivered by the Chief Secretary. The right hon. Gentleman admitted the existence of grievances, and told them that the Lord Chancellor would in future exercise, vigorously and impartially, the powers vested in him; but, in the meantime, in regard to the Lords Lieutenant, who, as the right hon. Gentleman admitted, had degraded the duties of their office, he would do nothing. Why not sweep them away altogether? What magic was there in rack-renters? It might be thought that there was some holy chrism about these men which entitled them to the confidence of the people. Every man among them was branded as a thief, and yet it was to men of that kind that they intrusted these large and important powers. If the Government were in favour of treating Ireland as they would treat Yorkshire or Kent, the Irish Members would not have been met with a shuffling speech such as that which they had heard from the Chief Secretary, who, while admitting the grievances, refused to redress them, and told them the Government would vigorously and impartially use the powers of the Lord Chancellor, who, in the course of four months, had appointed 61 magistrates, 19 of whom were Catholics. He made no complaint of that fact, because he regretted to say that some of the greatest villains in Ireland had been Roman Catholics. He preferred the honest Protestants of Ireland, who stood aloof from the religion to which they belonged, to the unfortunate Catholic serfs. In the whole course of history the leaders of the Irish people had been Protestants. If the people of Ireland had to erect monuments to-morrow to their great men, there would be a long roll of Pro-

testants to commemorate. There had been admirable Protestant magistrates. One of them was a gentleman named Charles Parnell, and what had Her Majesty's Government done with him? The Government of the even keel had struck him off the roll. When the Irish Members made Motions of this kind it was not upon religious grounds. If the Government wished to have the law respected they must bring respect for the law home to the minds of the commonest people of the country. Three hundred years ago, when Sir John Davis was Attorney General, justice was administered, and no people respected the law and stood by it more than the Irish people. Give them justice again, and the law which they now despised they would obey.

Mr. W. REDMOND said, that while the case of the Irish people was being stated by more able Colleagues, he had determined not to contribute any observations to the debate; but having heard the grievances of the Irish people fairly stated, having heard the moderate and explicit address of the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) in introducing the Resolution to the House, and having listened to the most unsatisfactory and certainly discouraging statement made to the Irish Members by the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, he thought he should not be doing his duty to the people who sent him to that House to represent them if he failed to avail himself of this opportunity of entering his solemn protest against the action of the Government in refusing to redress the grievances which they practically admitted the Irish people were labouring under. It had been proved most clearly that night, by moderate and calm speeches from the Irish Benches, that in Ireland, which was pre-eminently a Catholic country, the vast majority of the magistrates were of a different religion. That was a state of affairs which he thought would be admitted even by Englishmen and Scotchmen to be very much against the interests of the country, and the chances of the people living there in a contented and satisfactory spirit. It had been urged by a Member of Her Majesty's Government that more Catholic magistrates were not appointed because, forsooth, some difficulty was found in obtaining gentlemen in fitting positions to

occupy the post of magistrate. In a Return which had been placed before the House in response to the demand of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), what did he find? He found that in some of the Northern counties of Ireland, where, unfortunately, the Orange spirit and feeling was predominant, Her Majesty's Government had not hesitated to appoint as magistrates gentlemen occupying the position of merchants, farmers, shopkeepers, hotel proprietors, and even there was one gentleman who had been appointed a magistrate for the county of Tyrone, who, when they looked for his description, was designated "unknown." He certainly thought it would be a very long time before Her Majesty's Government would appoint to the Commission of the Peace a gentleman in the county which he had the honour to represent (Wexford) who was as completely unknown to them as this gentlemen in the county of Tyrone appeared to be. It was a hollow and lame excuse to say that more Catholic magistrates were not appointed for the Southern counties of Ireland because there were no gentleman possessing the qualities that would enable them to fulfil the position of magistrate. If Her Majesty's Government could see their way to making a hotel proprietor a magistrate in the county of Tyrone, or a publican, why could they not also see their way to making a hotel proprietor or a publican a magistrate in the South of Ireland? Surely, a gentleman occupying the position of a merchant or farmer in the South of Ireland was quite as capable in every degree of fulfilling the duties which appertained to the position of a magistrate as gentlemen occupying similar positions in the North of Ireland. Over and over again it had been stated that this was not a religious grievance. That was not really so, because it was undoubtedly an outrageous state of affairs that, in a Catholic country like Ireland, there were only 1,000 Catholic magistrates to the 3,000 or 4,000 Protestant magistrates upon the Irish Bench. But he did not put their claims before the House on religious grounds at all, nor even on the ground of national feeling. They had no wish that the Government should appoint gentlemen to the Commission of the Peace who were Nationalists, or who belonged to any other political Party.

They did not think it was absolutely necessary for gentlemen, in order to discharge the duties of the Commission of the Peace, to be either distinctly an Orangeman or a Nationalist—a Catholic or a Protestant. The qualifications which were necessary in a gentleman to fulfil properly in Ireland the duties of the office of a Justice of the Peace were that he should reside in the locality where he was to exercise the duties of a magistrate, and that he should have some sympathy with the people over whom he was to exercise control. Now, was that the state of affairs in Ireland? English Members could not say there was anything unreasonable in the demand, when the Irish Members asked that the magistrates who were appointed should be gentlemen permanently residing in the district where they were to exercise the duties of their office. What did they find? The list of magistrates given in the Return showed that out of 89 half that number were non-resident. They were gentlemen who did not live in Wexford; who, for the most part, did not go there; and who, so far from being popular with the people, did not in any degree enjoy their confidence. It was idle for Her Majesty's Government to pretend that they could not find Catholic gentlemen in Ireland of sufficient education and other qualifications for the Magistracy. There were plenty of Catholics there fitted for that office in every way; but it was well-known that the Catholics of Ireland were national in their aspirations; and it was not because they could not be found, but because the Government did not want to place the office of magistrate in their hands, that the Catholic gentry of Ireland were not represented on the Commission. It was well that a little plain speaking should be sometimes indulged in; and he would tell Her Majesty's Government that the sooner they recognized the predominance of the Nationalist feeling in Ireland the sooner would peace between the two countries be promoted. The English Government had not to deal with a section of Irish Members sitting in this or that quarter of the House; they had to deal with a Party which extended itself beyond the little Island for which he and his hon. Friends had been struggling—a power which existed in every one of their

Foreign Dependencies, and which one day or another would be concentrated against them, unless in time they acceded to such reasonable demands on behalf of the Irish people as, in language of the most moderate description, had that night been made upon them.

Question put.

The House divided :—Ayes 106 ; Noes 59 : Majority 47.—(Div. List, No. 55.)

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," by leave, *with-drawn*.

SUPPLY,—Committee *deferred* till Monday next.

ARMY (ANNUAL) BILL.—[BILL 144.]

(*The Marquess of Hartington, The Judge Advocate, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

COMMITTEE. [*Progress 3rd April.*]

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 3, inclusive, *agreed to*.

*Amendments of Army Act, 1881.*

Clause 4 (Amendment of s. 154 of 44 & 45 Vict. c. 58, as to apprehension of deserters).

MR. HOPWOOD said, he would move the Amendment standing in his name.

THE CHAIRMAN : I have looked at this Amendment, and at the clauses standing in the name of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), the hon. Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins), and the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and I have come to the conclusion that they must be considered as new clauses, and taken at the end of the Bill.

MR. HOPWOOD said, that inasmuch as the clause he proposed was intended to amend a section of the Army Act of 1881 prior to the provisions of the present Bill, he thought its place should be where he moved it. If it were not inserted here it would read very awkwardly as an Amendment of the Army Act, 1881.

THE CHAIRMAN : I am much obliged to the hon. and learned Gentleman for the statement he has made. I was of the same opinion myself at first ; but, on consideration, it appeared to me that the Amendment would come in more properly as a new clause. The hon. and learned Gentleman has not

stated in the Amendment itself when it will come in—neither the page nor the line.

MR. HEALY asked whether it was the intention of the Chairman to rule out every Amendment under similar circumstances ?

THE CHAIRMAN : I do not rule them out.

MR. HEALY : Is it your intention to rule that every Amendment to the Army Bill must be moved in the form of a new clause ?

THE CHAIRMAN : No ; it will depend upon circumstances. I consider that these clauses to amend the Army Act of 1881 will come in more properly as new clauses at the end of the Bill, rather than, as it is now proposed, after Clause 4.

MR. WARTON said, he wished to move the omission of the first five lines of the clause. He did not know what Member of the Government was in charge of the Bill ; but, whoever it was, he hoped he should have his attention, as his desire was to assist in drafting the Bill, and not to obstruct Her Majesty's Government. If the hon. or right hon. Gentleman would look at Clause 4 and the next clause, he would see 'that they were drawn on two perfectly different principles, although they were both amendments of sections of the Army Act of 1881. Clause 4, it would be seen, commenced with an introductory paragraph, or preamble, showing the expediency of the provision, which paragraph, for all practical purposes, was merely surplusage. There was no occasion to go into the question of expediency at all ; but if they did go into it and recited documents, it was essential that they should recite correctly. In other words, a correct representation should be given of the section of the previous Act, which Clause 4 professed to recite. The recital only mentioned the police officer, and did not refer at all to any " officer, soldier, or other person," as did the section of the Act of 1881. So much for the recital ; but, more than this, Clause 5 seemed to be drawn up on an entirely different system, as it did not give the introductory paragraph. The clauses were differently drawn, and they could not, therefore, be both right. He would leave it to those in charge of the Bill to say which was right and which was wrong ; and, in the meantime, would



move the omission of the first paragraph in Clause 4.

Amendment proposed, "That all the words from the word 'whereas' to the word 'follows,' in line 17, be omitted."  
—(Mr. Warton.)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, the words referred to were put in the clause by way of recital, in order to show the reason for the amendment of the Act of 1881. The recital came first, and then followed the words which were really operative. It was a matter of perfect indifference what the preliminary words were, because, as his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Warton) knew perfectly well, the object of the Amendment was simply to import, this year, a certain necessary Amendment into the Army Act, which Amendment would be incorporated into the Act quite independently of recital in question.

MR. WARTON agreed with the right hon. and learned Gentleman that the preliminary words were unnecessary; but, as they purported to recite the words of the Act of 1881, should they not recite correctly? Moreover, as he had pointed out, if Clause 4 was properly drawn, Clause 5 was not. Which form would the right hon. and learned Gentleman decide upon for both clauses; for, surely, the drafting should be on general, uniform lines?

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN): The recital is only intended to show the Committee the meaning of the provision. I do not think any alteration is requisite.

MR. WARTON: When you recite, why do you not do it correctly?

MR. TOMLINSON: Are we discussing the Bill or the Amendment only?

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN): Only additions proposed to be incorporated in the Act which is really permanent, although renewed annually.

Question put, and *agreed to*.

Clause *agreed to*.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must point out to the hon. Gentlemen the Members for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood), Roscommon

(Dr. Commins), Cork City (Mr. Parnell), and Sligo (Mr. Sexton), who may not have understood what I stated just now, that the Amendments standing in their names should be moved as new clauses. They will come on in the order in which they stand on the Paper, precedence being only given to any Amendments which may be proposed by the Government.

MR. HOPWOOD said, he would move the Amendment standing in his name—

"That in section 32 of 'The Army Act, 1881,' the words 'penal servitude' be omitted, and the word 'imprisonment' be substituted.

He wished to say, frankly, that in this Amendment he was not dealing with the wider question in the minds of many hon. Members—namely, the general question of the administration of the punishment of penal servitude by courts marshal, but was limiting himself in this particular instance to Section 32 of the Army Act. The sense of that section was this—it repressed a particular offence, which was described in this way—

"Every person . . . having been discharged with disgrace from any part of Her Majesty's Forces, or . . . from the Navy has afterwards enlisted in the Regular Forces without declaring the circumstances of his discharge or dismissal shall, on conviction by court martial, be liable to suffer penal servitude, or such less imprisonment as is in this Act mentioned."

Now, what he wished to call the attention of the Committee to was the fact that penal servitude was a very severe punishment and should only be applied to most serious crimes. The crime, however, to which he was drawing attention was hardly to be called a crime. It was a venial offence, a deceit, and hardly came within the wider range of offences which were called "crimes." A man having been in the Army, and having been dismissed, chose, for purposes of his own, to offer himself again for enlistment as a soldier. Such an act might be a disturbance of the arrangements of the Army, and might be displeasing to commanders of regiments—it might be anything but satisfactory for a commander to have black sheep come into his regiment; but, after all, the offence was one which could be very fairly met by the old punishment that used to be meted out in respect of it—namely giving the offender three months' imprisonment as a rogue and vagabond. This new punishment of penal servitude was

owing, no doubt, to the stern ideas of some people connected with the administration of the Army; but he could only say he had traced back the offence, and had found that in 1877 it was punishable with imprisonment as a rogue and vagabond on summary conviction before two magistrates, or before a district court martial—and he supposed that a district court martial under the Statute could hardly have given a longer period of imprisonment than the magistrates could have done. However that was, the offence could not be punished with anything more than imprisonment. As the Committee would remember, in 1878-9 there was an inquiry—a considerable inquiry—before a Select Committee, and the drawing up of a body of military laws known first as the Army Act of 1879 and now as the Army Act of 1881. In the model Act suggested by the Committee, the offence with which he was dealing was only made punishable with imprisonment; but, somehow or other, the provision to which he took exception was inserted in the Act which became law. He could not trace the change of opinion which took place; he did not know how it was determined upon; and he could not discover in the history of the matter that any hon. Member, in giving his sanction to the Act, and agreeing to the section in question, was informed that he was giving to courts martial the increased power which, it seemed, they now possessed. The fact was, however, that an offence which was a mere personation, a mere fraud—he did not wish to minimize it, but an offence which certainly, in the minds of those he was addressing, the Legislature was right in thinking three months' imprisonment amply atoned for—was actually now punished with five years' penal servitude. Nay, the punishment had gone beyond seven years in some instances. It had absolutely reached 10 years' penal servitude, and all for a simple lie or false act on the part of a man presenting himself for enlistment—in fact, in the midst of his false pretences, coming forward to confer on his country the advantage of his services as a soldier. Would the Committee sanction the continuance of this preposterous punishment for such an offence? He did hope the Committee would take action in the matter, and say that such things should not be—that two years'

imprisonment should satisfy the most craving hunger for punishment of any officer who ever sat on a court martial for an offence like this. He would tell the Committee what disclosures were made on this subject in the Return he had moved for, and which had been laid upon the Table of the House. In the year 1882 there were 92 men subjected to five years' penal servitude, five to seven years, and one to over seven years—the Return in the latter case did not specify the exact period. In 1883, 54 were subjected to five years' penal servitude, one to seven years, and one to over seven years; and the note in the Return in regard to the last was highly suggestive, and, he was sure, would strike the Committee as such when they heard it. There was an asterisk against the case in the Return; and on referring to the corresponding sign at the bottom of the page it said of this man, who was subjected to over seven years' penal servitude—"Five years is remitted from 10 years' penal servitude," so that, in this case, someone had actually been barbarous enough to inflict on the man for this mere lie—for this mere passing of himself off as a competent soldier, which, perhaps, in one sense, he was, though the authorities might not be desirous of seeing him in the Army—10 years' penal servitude. He thought the Committee would agree with him that it was time they should take away from the military authorities, who now exercised it, the power of inflicting such a punishment. Was it possible, he would ask, the offence on the part of the man endeavouring to enlist could ever be so exaggerated that two years' imprisonment would not be sufficient to punish it? Would that not be a sufficient punishment to repress the practice? He considered that, with regard to this, as in regard to other courts martial punishments, that the Memorial recently issued by His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief must give a great many of them immense satisfaction, because of the chiding it gave the courts martial. He trusted that an additional remonstrance would be conveyed by the decision of the Committee that night, and that it would do something still further to repress an evil which was becoming a scandal; and that the Committee might part with its work with the satisfaction of knowing that it would for the future

prevent such a monstrous punishment as this, and enable a remission of the punishment inflicted on 154 men, now confined in penal servitude for long periods, to be obtained in connection with an offence which might be described as a manufactured military offence, and the importance of which was greatly exaggerated. He begged to move the Amendment standing in his name.

New Clause :—

(Amendment of section thirty-two of "The Army Act, 1881.")

"That in section thirty-two of 'The Army Act, 1881,' the words 'penal servitude' be omitted, and the word 'imprisonment' be substituted,"—(*Mr. Hopwood*.)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (*Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN*) said, that, as a rule, courts martial acted very fairly, and in the course of four years he had found their decisions very just; but there was a marked decrease in crime in the Army, and he was glad the hon. and learned Member had called attention to the Circular of His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief. Still, this was a most serious offence, for these men returned to the Army and corrupted the young soldiers, and so did great harm; but the offence was on the decrease, and the number of sentences of penal servitude had greatly diminished. Upon the whole, he was authorized to state that the Government would accept the Amendment.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was very glad to hear what the right hon. and learned Gentleman had said, for he thought two years a sufficient term.

MR. GRAY said, he thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman was about to favour the Committee with some explanation of why the Government had made this change.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS said, that formerly this offence was increasing, but now it had diminished.

MR. WARTON pointed out that in Section 32 of the Act the words "penal servitude" were used in two senses. He thought there should be some clear definition of who was the person to

be discharged with disgrace from the Army.

MR. HOPWOOD said, that what he proposed to do was to amend the clause by inserting, after Section 32, the words "Sub-section 1."

Motion *agreed to*.

Clause read a second time.

Amendment proposed, after Section 32, to insert the words "Sub-section 1."—(*Mr. Hopwood*.)

Amendment *agreed to*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*, and *added* to the Bill.

DR. COMMINS said, the clause he now proposed spoke for itself. It read thus—

(Unauthorised Punishments.)

"Whereas doubts have arisen whether commanding officers or courts martial administering the provisions of 'The Army Act, 1881,' in dealing with offences under sections thirty-eight, thirty-nine, and forty of the said Act, committed by persons with whom they were also entitled to deal, under powers conferred by some Foreign Potentate or Power, were, under the authority of such Potentate or Power, entitled to deal with the persons committing such offences otherwise than as provided in the said Act: Be it therefore enacted, That wherever any court martial or commanding officer exercising the power or authority conferred by 'The Army Act, 1881,' also holds commission or authority from any Foreign Potentate or Power, such court or officer in dealing with offences committed against sections thirty-eight, thirty-nine, and forty of the said Act shall prosecute, punish, or otherwise deal with the same only in manner and form as provided by the said Act."

Some men had been punished in Egypt by methods which would not be approved of by hon. Members; and he believed the general feeling of the public revolted at such punishment. If British officers were empowered to inflict such punishment as they had imposed, an example would be given to foreigners that would not be to the credit of the British Army, while it would destroy the morale of the Army itself.

New Clause *brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the said Clause be now read a second time."

MR. PARNELL said, the clause which his hon. Friend now proposed to add to the Bill was an alternative clause to one which stood in his name, and he thought



it was one which the Government might very well adopt. The necessity for some such provision as this in the Army Discipline Act had been rendered apparent by recent events in Egypt, where persons subject to British military law, and to all the penalties provided by the Act of 1881, had been tried under Egyptian military law. They were persons who accompanied our Forces as camp-followers, who were subject to British law, and who stood side by side with our soldiers; but on their return they were tried not under British law, but under Egyptian military law, and sentenced by a British officer to be flogged, which punishment had been abolished by English law. When this Army Act was going through the House, in 1879, the question was considered whether it would not be possible to extend the provisions of that Act to officers who might be tried under what was known as martial law. During warlike operations it was the habit of commanding officers to proclaim martial law; and the proclamation of martial law meant the suspension of all law and the establishment of such regulations as the commanding officer chose or thought necessary to maintain his position. But soldiers could not be tried under that martial law; if they were British soldiers they could only be tried under the Army Discipline Act. The House came to the conclusion that it would be impossible, under the Act of 1879, to assent to such a considerable alteration as was then proposed; and the clause of his hon. Friend did not in any sense extend so far as that, because, on the very expedition which had directed attention to this matter, a large number of Egyptian soldiers who were subject to Egyptian military law were tried and flogged under that law. Those soldiers had never come under the provisions of British military law; and he and his hon. Friend, therefore, confined their attention to the case of persons who were subject to British law, and they asked that such persons should not, under any circumstances, be punished by British officers with penalties not allowed by the Act of 1881. This, he thought, was a very reasonable request. A British officer accepting the services of a Foreign Power did so, or ought to do so, with a knowledge of the Military Code of that Power; and in every case it would be a reasonable con-

dition to insist upon that officer not inflicting punishment, under the law of that Power, upon soldiers who were at the same time subject to British military law. He thought the lash had been finally abolished by that House; and he was very much surprised—and he believed very many other people had been greatly surprised—to find that the obsolete “cat-o’-nine-tails” had been applied to certain persons who were subject to the stringent penalties of the Army Discipline Act of 1881. In the discussions on flogging, the House was told that it would be impossible to maintain the provisions of that Act unless the lash was retained; but that statement had been falsified by the results. The discipline of the Army and Navy, and the courage of their soldiers and sailors, had not been impaired by the abolition of that barbarous punishment; and he believed it was quite possible for the officers of the Queen to maintain discipline among auxiliaries accompanying British Forces, and engaged in the same operations, without resorting to this horrible and condemned system of punishment. He, therefore, trusted the Government would see their way to making a graceful concession, and that they would not, by refusing an amendment of the law in this matter, go back on the hustings’ declarations of the Liberal Party at the last Election.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he did not know whether the hon. Gentleman was aware of it; but, as a matter of fact, neither his Amendment nor that of the hon. Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins) would effect the object the hon. Member had in view. Neither of the proposals would prevent a repetition of the act the hon. Members desired to put a stop to. As he (Mr. Osborne Morgan) understood it, Sir William Hewett, holding no military command in the British Army, but being a naval officer with no jurisdiction over soldiers, but being, at the same time, Governor of Suakin, ordered certain camp-followers to receive the punishment of the lash. He could not have done it, if he had been a military commander, either before or under the Act of 1881, for the abolition of flogging in the Army made no difference in the particular case in question, the punishment in question not having been awarded by a court martial

as the law before 1881 required. The hon. Member (Mr. Parnell) asked under what authority Admiral Hewett had acted? Presumably, he had acted under his authority as Governor of the Egyptian fortress of Suakin. What jurisdiction the Egyptian military law gave the gallant Admiral, he (Mr. Osborne Morgan) could not say. English military law was difficult enough to understand, to say nothing about Egyptian. No doubt, by the law of Egypt, Admiral Hewett had been entitled to do what he had done. [Mr. PARNELL: He is a British officer.] No doubt Admiral Hewett was a British officer; but if his conduct had been regulated by English military law, his hands would have been altogether tied. He would have been governing a foreign fortress under a law altogether alien to that of the country in which he held command. Moreover, he was in command of a beleaguered fortress—a fortress really believed, at that time, to be in considerable danger. Hon. Members would not contend that a commander of a fortress should never be entitled to take the law into his own hands; and yet they were complaining of Admiral Hewett for having done that. Such acts might not be justified by military law, but by that necessity which justified the suspension of all law. For there might be times—nay, there must be times—when men were mutinous, when a commander, for his own safety, and for the safety of those depending on him, was entitled to disregard all law, military as well as civil. Sir James Mackintosh, a great jurist, and a man above all others opposed to the improper exercise of prerogative, in 1824 had pointed out, in connection with the case of a man who had been shot without trial, that while the law was silenced by the noise of arms, the rulers of an armed force must punish as equitably as they could those crimes which affected their safety. He went on to instance the case of mutineers, and to justify killing, in self-defence, by means other than those laid down by law. They knew what occurred during the Indian Mutiny, when acts were done which, of course, nothing but necessity could justify. Yet hon. Gentlemen now proposed to take away the power of resorting to these extraordinary measures by an amendment of the Army Act, forgetting that Admiral Hewett was not

and could not be brought under its provisions. He doubted whether the Amendments proposed would meet even the case of General Gordon; but they certainly would not touch Admiral Hewett. They could not touch him in this Act, for it applied solely to military men; and the result of accepting either of the Amendments might be that they would have one law for a Military Governor of a fortress and another law for a Civil or a Naval Governor. He had shown hon. Members that they could not do what they wanted by their Amendments; but, besides, it was surely not the business of English law to interfere with the jurisdiction of the commander of a foreign fortress. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, hon. Members might differ from him; but he did not think it was right to interfere with the authority given to an officer as Governor of a foreign fortress. If they did interfere they would cause endless confusion; they would have an Englishman holding a foreign command governed by English law; and they might have cases of insubordination, and even of open mutiny, in which such an officer, simply for administering the ordinary law of the country in which he held command, might be subjected to the penalties attaching to a breach of the Army Act. He hoped British officers would seldom be reduced to the necessity of resorting to such extremities. But what he contended was, that neither by this Amendment, nor by any other, could they touch Admiral Hewett; and that if they could they ought not to interfere with him in the discharge of his functions as the Governor of a foreign fortress.

Mr. LEAMY asked whether, supposing the Egyptian law allowed an officer to subject men under his command to the greatest possible torture, Her Majesty's Government would allow their officers to avail themselves of the powers of that law? Would English officers be allowed to use the torture? In the case of a naval officer, would he be allowed to keel-haul his men, supposing keel-hauling was allowed in the Egyptian Naval Service? If such a punishment were inflicted by an English officer in Egypt, would the right hon. and learned Gentleman get up in the House and defend that officer?

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, the



case would not come under English law at all—it would be an act outside English law. An officer who committed such an act would not be amenable to English military law, if he was acting as an Egyptian officer, and in conformity with Egyptian law.

MR. HARRINGTON declared that the right hon. and learned Gentleman missed the point of the matter altogether. The law passed to abolish the punishment of flogging was passed in the interests of humanity; and hon. Members wished to know whether the Government could not, in the case of English commanders in foreign places, impose on them the restrictions they imposed in their own country?

MR. LABOUCHERE agreed with the Judge Advocate General that the Amendments did not meet the case of which hon. Members complained. They would not touch the case of Admiral Hewett, for the reason that flogging by law was still permitted in the Navy, and was only forbidden in the Army. It would meet the case of the Commander of Suakin, if he were an English military officer—indeed, without either Amendment, if Admiral Hewett had been an officer in the Army, the flogging would have been illegal, and the camel-drivers, whom he had punished, could have prosecuted him and obtained damages. But the Judge Advocate General went further than this, and said that not only did the Amendments not meet the case it was desired to meet, but that if they did they ought not to do so. Now, why did the right hon. and learned Gentleman say that? He had read them an extract from the opinion of an eminent lawyer, in which, it was perfectly true, it was set forth that a commander in danger of his life might take extraordinary means for defence. It was shown that if a military commander suddenly found himself in the midst of a mutiny, he might shoot the mutineers without trial; but that did not give him a right to resort to the punishment of flogging. Why he (Mr. Labouchere) hoped the Amendment before the House would be carried was this—because whenever they had a British officer abroad in command of a force, if there were men in it of a different colour to himself; and of a race that they were prone to look upon as inferior to their own, that officer and all his subordinates were inclined to

ill-use such men. He had no doubt that the men who had been flogged by Admiral Hewitt had been badly treated all round by all those of our men with whom they had come in contact. What was desired by hon. Gentlemen who brought forward these Amendments was to place these unfortunate camel drivers and camp-followers under the same law as English soldiers. There ought not to be one law for the one and another law for the other. It was monstrous to say that because a British officer received his authority from a ridiculous puppet like the Khedive, whom they had set up in Egypt, he was to be allowed to flog Egyptian subjects. Suppose the British Army were in Persia, where impaling was a form of punishment practised by the authorities, and an English officer held a commission from the Shah, would he be allowed to impale Persian subjects? Hon. Members objected to impaling, because they thought it a horrible punishment; and, in like manner, they also objected to flogging—although their objection to that was, of course, not so great as to impaling.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, he had nothing to do with the question of a “puppet” who had been “set up in Egypt;” but if the hon. and learned Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins) would give him his attention, he would be able to show him that his Amendment would do nothing at all. The courts martial to which the Amendment would apply were not the courts martial the hon. and learned Member wished to affect—namely, the Egyptian courts martial. Egyptian courts martial would be governed by Egyptian law. The Amendment went on to say, after the Preamble—

“Be it therefore enacted, That wherever any court martial or commanding officer exercising the powers or authority conferred by ‘The Army Act, 1881,’ also holds commission or authority from any Foreign Potentate or Power, such court or officer in dealing with offences committed against sections thirty-eight, thirty-nine, and forty of the said Act shall prosecute, punish, or otherwise deal with the same only in matter and form as provided by the same Act.”

If the offences were against the English Act, and if the Court was sitting under the authority of that Act, why, of course, they could only proceed in accordance with the terms of that Statute.



If they were dealing with an offence in the Act, they could not administer any other punishment than that permitted by the Act. It certainly, therefore, would appear that the hon. and learned Member had not drawn up his Amendment in the manner he himself wished. The Amendment would leave the law exactly as it was, even if it applied to Egypt. He (the Attorney General) did not know whether he would be in Order in referring to the Amendment of the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell); but perhaps he might, as the hon. Member himself had raised a discussion on it. If the hon. Member would look carefully at this Amendment, he would see it would be impossible for the Committee to adopt it, because it went even beyond reference to military law. Let them take the case of a British officer, who became a Civil Governor in a foreign country. Supposing a person under his jurisdiction committed a murder, and he consented to the delinquent being hanged, that would be an offence against the Act. Did the hon. Member say that such an act as this should be held to be illegal? [Mr. PARNELL: Hear, hear!] Now he knew what the hon. Gentleman meant. If a British officer was acting as a civilian abroad he was only to be allowed to act in a military manner. They must remember they were dealing with the civil administration of a Foreign State. Was it possible the House of Commons would say to a Foreign State who took an English officer into its service—"That officer shall not administer your civil law, unless he comes within the terms of the English Act of 1881 affecting military men and not civilians." And yet that was the effect of the Amendment they were asked to accept. He could urge a great many other objections against the Amendment if they wished to apply it to the particular instance which had occurred at Suakin. It would not meet that case; but was it possible to say, even if they took away from its operation civil administration, that where a British officer put himself under the Regulations of a Foreign Army he should be bound, in effect, to declare—"I will not accept your punishments; I will adopt my own, or those allowed by the English Army Act?" Supposing it was deemed advisable by a British officer in command of a foreign fortress to hand-

cuff a man instead of imprisoning or shooting him, he would find it impossible to carry out his desire. To his (the Attorney General's) mind if a British officer was going into the service of a Foreign State they must either prohibit him from entering it, or trust to that Foreign State to know how to deal with its Army. The adoption of the Amendment would really be to prohibit British officers entering the service of Foreign States. The intentions of the hon. Member for the City of Cork were most humane, and reflected great credit upon him. Votes were given in 1879 which similarly reflected great credit on the other side of the House, and which had not been without their effect; but on the present occasion, however good their objects might be, hon. Members were attempting the impossible task of adapting the English military system to a foreign country. The only result of the acceptance of the Amendment would be to prevent British officers taking responsible positions in foreign countries.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER said, that five years ago the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) brought this question of corporal punishment before the House, and succeeded in awakening a responsive echo in the breasts of hon. Members sitting opposite to him. To-night the hon. Member made a similar appeal, but with a very different result. Liberal Members on the occasion referred to, five years ago, boiled over with indignation because courts martial in time of war were empowered in certain cases in the field to inflict corporal punishment; but now they listened with callous indifference to the story of the flogging of Egyptian camp-followers by a British Admiral without trial. He remembered the right hon. Gentleman the present President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), who, at that time, sat on the Opposition side of the House near the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork, declaring that flogging was immoral and altogether wrong; that it was brutalizing and unworthy of our civilization; and that the friends of civilization owed a deep debt of gratitude to the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork for daring to stand up alone against this system of flogging, whilst he (Mr. Chamberlain) and many

other hon. Gentlemen had not the courage of their convictions. The last part of that sentence was as true to-day as it was five years ago. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had not the courage of his convictions; and why was that? Because he was sitting in the safe and tranquil haven of the Treasury Bench; and, forsooth, his slumbers and repose must not be disturbed by the cries of a few wretched foreign camp-followers. He (Major General Alexander) had listened with astonishment to the special pleading of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) in regard to the camel-drivers who had been flogged by order of Admiral Hewett. The noble Marquess said he had no official knowledge of these transactions, as though the special correspondents of the newspapers had invented them; and now, to-night, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Judge Advocate General tried to fasten the responsibility for what had occurred on the Khedive. It was all very well to quote the authority of the Khedive; but the Committee knew very well that that authority was treated with but scant courtesy whenever Mr. Clifford Lloyd wished to get rid of, or summarily eject, one of the Khedive's dummy Ministers. The real fact was that the Khedive was only allowed to have a will of his own when it suited Her Majesty's Government to shift responsibility from their shoulders to his. The Committee would not condemn too strongly the spurious humanitarianism, the mawkish sentimentality, and the transparent hypocrisy which endeavoured to draw a distinction between the flogging of British soldiers and Egyptians. Believing, as he did, that if the punishment was degrading in the one case it was equally so in the other, he should have the greatest pleasure in supporting the Amendment.

MR. PARNELL said, it was true the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for England had pointed out some weak places in the Amendment of his hon. and learned Friend (Dr. Commins) and in his (Mr. Parnell's) Amendment from a technical point of view. Well, the Amendments had been drawn up for the purpose of carrying out a definite object, and he and his hon. and learned Friend had drafted them to

the best of their humble skill. They had not the legal ability of the Department of the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Osborne Morgan) who was defending the conduct of the Government on the present occasion; but it was perfectly obvious what they desired to effect; and if there should happen to be some imperfections in the Amendments, the way to remove them should be pointed out, and he and his hon. and learned Friend should not be met by a double set of arguments. The Government should state to the Committee what they intended to do, and how they intended to meet this issue. Did they intend to rely upon the special pleading of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for England; or did they agree with those hon. Members who contended that the officers of the Queen should not be allowed to inflict the punishment of flogging on the British Military Force in Egypt? That was the single question raised by the Amendments. If Her Majesty's Government admitted the justice of their claim as he had described it, and if they saw their way to bringing up clauses on Report to carry out this object, since they found fault with the words which he (Mr. Parnell) and his hon. and learned Friend in their ignorance had employed, all he could say was that he should be willing to refrain from pressing his Amendment on the attention of the Committee, and also to advise his hon. and learned Friend to withdraw his Amendment. But, so far as they had gone, they had had no such satisfactory assurance from the Government; and, failing any satisfactory assurance, they should be obliged to seek the opinion of the Committee by taking a Division on the words of the first Amendment.

DR. COMMINS said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Judge Advocate General had pointed out that the Amendments would not apply to a naval officer. Of course it would not, for the Act itself did not apply to the Navy, and, therefore, could not meet the case of Admiral Hewett. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had made use of an argument which, if he would look at the clause, he would find was a bad one. The right hon. and learned Gentleman read it as if it only contained the words "courts martial;" but it also contained the words "commanding officers . . .

*Major General Alexander*



administering the provisions of the Army Act, 1881." Supposing that instead of Admiral Hewett—who was a naval officer, and therefore did not, as he had said, come under the Act—a military officer was in command of the British Forces at Suakin, he would be the "commanding officer administering the provisions of the Army Act, 1881," and precisely under the conditions that the Amendment was intended to meet, such an officer would not be able to act as Admiral Hewett had done, and inflict a cruel, unusual, and demoralizing punishment without any authority whatever from either this Act or any other British Commission, and would not be able to shelter himself by saying—"I have a commission from the Khedive or Foreign Power which enables me to do what I have done." Such an excuse as that might, as the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) had pointed out, be used to cover occurrences which took place in Persia, or China, or other countries where systems of punishment were practised which were utterly abhorrent to the sense of humanity of the people of this country. The Amendment before the Committee would meet the case of a British Commander who had a body of auxiliary troops under him as well as a British Force. It could not be said that the punishment of flogging had been resorted to by Admiral Hewett for repressive purposes at a time of great peril. Of course, at such a time, neither this Amendment nor anything else would tie the hands of a commander; but in the case of the camel-drivers, so far as he could make out, the measure of their offending was only something like want of sufficient activity in performing their duty.

MR. HOPWOOD sympathized with hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House, but did not think the Amendments proposed would have the desired effect. As to the action of Admiral Hewett, if it had been as hon. Members had described it, no doubt it had been barbarous; but he should like to have more evidence on the matter before he pronounced on it. They must remember that they were now dealing with the Army, and not with the Navy, and that it was General Graham, and not Admiral Hewett, who was in command of Her Majesty's troops at Suakin. They were now proposing regulations which would

not in the least affect the particular case of Admiral Hewett. As to the gallant Admiral, he was Governor of Suakin; and if he adopted a course which no British Governor had a right to adopt, and anyone suffered in consequence, he could be sued for damages. Many cases of that kind had occurred—there was the case of General Picton, and the cases of Governors of British Colonies, whose defence was that by the laws of the places and the circumstances of the cases, the punishment, and even torture, they had inflicted had been justifiable. This defence had been set up in British Courts, and declared invalid. A protest had been made against the conduct of Admiral Hewett, and many severe remarks had been made on the subject; and though it might fairly be said that that was very slight compensation to the unhappy men who had been flogged, yet it might not be without substantial effect in preventing any repetition of the flogging, at Suakin or anywhere else.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER said, he had not intended to take any further part in the debate, and should not have done so if it had not been for the remarks which had fallen from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood). He must express his astonishment that the hon. and learned Gentleman, of all men in the House, should have taken the course he had taken. He (Major General Alexander) remembered the course the hon. and learned Gentleman thought fit to take on, he thought it was, the 17th of June, 1879. The hon. and learned Gentleman spent a whole afternoon demonstrating to the House that a sentence of 50 lashes really meant one of 450, because the "cat" having nine tails multiplied the lashes by nine. The hon. and learned Member had horrified the House with the harrowing details of this punishment; and that he, of all other persons, on this occasion, should oppose what the real friends of humanity were proposing, almost took his breath away.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Ayrshire (Major General Alexander) is indignant at what he considers the inconsistency of hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House, who, having abolished flogging in the British



Army, are, as he thinks, disposed to tolerate it in connection with the people of another nation. Well, I must say the hon. and gallant Gentleman's inconsistency is at least equal to ours, because I believe he was one of those who supported corporal punishment when applied to the British Army.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER: I proposed to reduce the punishment from 50 to 25 lashes.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Therefore, seeing that the hon. and gallant General would apply corporal punishment to a certain extent to the British soldier, I do not know why he should be so angry at its being applied to foreigners, who might or might not be soldiers. But I should not have risen to found an argument on the inconsistency of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, had it not been for another observation which fell from him, and which, I must say, I heard with great astonishment coming from a Member of this House, and from a Member of the hon. Gentleman's Profession. He has accused me of special pleading, or quibbling, because I said the other day I was not willing to form a judgment of the conduct of our officers until I had full official Reports before me bearing upon that conduct. The hon. and gallant Gentleman says—"Are not the reports of special correspondents sufficient?" They may be sufficient for the hon. and gallant Gentleman; but I acknowledge openly, whatever hon. Gentlemen say, that these reports are not sufficient to induce me to form an opinion on the conduct of any officer in Her Majesty's Service. The newspaper reports are often highly sensational, and I am certainly not going to form an opinion from them. The material upon which I form my judgment must be of a more authentic and reliable character.

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER wished to explain the course he had taken in June, 1879. He should not have gone into the matter if it had not been for a remark of the noble Marquess who had just sat down. He (Major General Alexander) had proposed that the punishment of flogging should be reduced from 50 to 25 lashes.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: How do you know Admiral Hewett gave more than 25 lashes?

*The Marquess of Hartington*

MAJOR GENERAL ALEXANDER said, that his proposal had been accepted by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the late Secretary of State for War (Colonel Stanley), and he had taken no further part in the debates. He was perfectly content that the punishment should be done away with in the Army altogether; and now that it was abolished in the case of English soldiers, he objected to English officers having the power to inflict it on Egyptians.

MR. MOLLOY considered the doctrine laid down by the Judge Advocate General the most extraordinary he had ever heard. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said that if an officer in Her Majesty's Service accepted a command under a Foreign Potentate he was exempted from all obedience to the laws of the Service to which he originally belonged.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN): I did not say anything of the kind.

MR. MOLLOY said, he should be sorry to misrepresent the right hon. and learned Gentleman. He had understood him distinctly to say that they could not judge of Admiral Hewett's conduct, because he was acting under the laws of the Khedive of Egypt, and was not bound by the military laws of England. It came to this, therefore, according to the doctrine laid down by the Judge Advocate General—that an officer in Egypt, though still remaining in the British Service, though under the laws of the British Army he was not entitled to administer certain punishments of an extreme character, yet, as he was in the service of the Khedive, might use the laws of the Khedive—or whatever Potentate he might be under—against the Natives under his command. Let them follow out that doctrine. Suppose a British officer accepted service for a time, with the permission of Her Majesty's Government, in the Zulu Army, and supposing that impaling was justifiable under Zulu laws. According to the doctrine of the Judge Advocate General, a British officer, although bound by the laws of his own country, yet in time of war could exercise the laws of the Zulus on camp-followers who were fighting side by side with the British soldiers. That was one of the most monstrous doctrines ever laid down by the British Government. He should

be obliged if the Judge Advocate General would explain whether that was his meaning or not. That was what he understood, and what was being argued upon. When the Attorney General rose, he thought the hon. and learned Gentleman was going to modify the statement of the Judge Advocate General; but after indulging in special pleading, which was like a red herring drawn across the path, he justified what the Judge Advocate General had said.

MR. HEALY wished to ask a question of the noble Marquess. A fortnight ago the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) put a Question on the Paper as to whether these men had or had not been flogged. The noble Marquess said he did not know whether that was so or not; and he now wished to ask the noble Marquess whether he had called for a Report on the matter; and, if so, whether he had received it; and, if not, why he had not obtained the information, knowing that the hon. Member for the City of Cork intended to raise this question? The telegraph wire was at the disposal of the Government, and was freely used. Admiral Hewett had now sailed away to Massowah; but he would like to know whether the Government put themselves in communication with that officer or not upon this subject? If not, their conduct was not justifiable, for they knew that this Bill was coming on; and if they had not got this information they were open to the charge of special pleading. It was entirely their own fault; and it was a shame to meet a question of this kind in the spirit that had just been shown. The noble Marquess accused the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Major General Alexander) of inconsistency; but he thought the hon. and gallant Gentleman was much more consistent than the Government. The noble Marquess was an old Leader of the Liberal Party; but the position of the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Major General Alexander) was a very different one. He was not opposed to flogging in the Army; but, it having been abolished, the hon. and gallant Gentleman, like a sensible and humane officer, said if it was abolished at all it was abolished for Blacks as well as for Englishmen; and in that he was much more consistent than the noble Marquess. He should like to know whether, as a matter

of law, if these Blacks came over to this country and took action against Admiral Hewett, they would not have a good case against him? He contended that they would. There was a famous case in 1798, when so-called martial law was proclaimed in Ireland, and a High Sheriff had a respectable gentleman flogged. What happened? When the rebellion was put down this gentleman took action against the High Sheriff, and he obtained damages. Therefore, if an honest jury could be got together, and these Blacks took action against Admiral Hewett for assault, he believed they would win the case. Of course, he knew there was no chance of anything of the kind; but he thought it was very discreditable to the Liberal Government—the friends of humanity—that this punishment, which they had abolished in the case of White men, should be inflicted on Blacks. They must either be logical in this matter, or admit the possibility of this barbarous punishment. As the courbash had been administered to these Egyptians he would suggest that the Government should go to the country with the cry of the Courbash and the Caucas.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he thought the result of that evening's debate was too instructive to be passed by without a few more observations. It was not surprising that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) should have raised this question; for there was nothing in all his career to which he could look back with greater pleasure than the abolition of flogging in the Army. He wished to say a few words as to the position of the Government in this matter. He did not agree with his hon. Friend the Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) that the noble Marquess was inconsistent, for the noble Marquess had opposed the abolition of flogging in the Army as long as he could possibly stand by it, and he only abolished it when he was forced to do so. In fact, with regard to flogging in the Army, the noble Marquess performed the same useful functions he seemed always to perform in respect to the Army—he acted as chief Conservative spokesman on every proposed reform. Having been forced to abolish flogging in the English Army, he now took refuge in flogging in the Egyptian Army; therefore, the hon. Member for Monaghan was not entitled



to accuse the noble Marquess of inconsistency, but should rather offer the incense of his admiration to the ardent advocate of every abuse of the rights of human beings. When flogging in the Army was under consideration in that House, a discussion took place which he thought would not be publicly recorded until those long-expected Memoirs of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) were given to the world. The hon. Member was prominent with the hon. Member for the City of Cork in urging the abolition of flogging, and for a while they were let severely alone in their crusade against this punishment; but in the last Parliament the House of Commons had the advantage of gaining some keen electioneering instincts; and some hon. Members, seeing that the hon. Members for the City of Cork and Cavan had got hold of what he thought the hon. Member for Monaghan would call a "good thing," immediately joined the forces of the hon. Members, and distinguished themselves by the zeal, and energy, and enthusiasm of their attacks on the lash. But now came a little piece of private Parliamentary history which would foreshadow and anticipate the Memoirs of his hon. Friend. The hon. Member said to one of these electioneering English Radical Members whom he had called from the vasty deep, if such a course were adopted it would not result in the purpose which this English Liberal professed to advance—it would not advance the abolition of flogging. The hon. Member was of too ingenuous and almost Arcadian a disposition to understand the superior wisdom of his English ally; but he was soon undeceived, for the hon. English Member said—"We do not want to abolish flogging in the Army, but it is good for an electioneering cry." He was in the recollection of every Member of the House in saying that, with regard to that electioneering contest, the iniquities of Lord Beaconsfield were not so effective.

**THE CHAIRMAN:** The hon. Member is travelling very wide of the Question.

**MR. T. P. O'CONNOR** said, he was sorry the Chairman had found it necessary to curtail his observations on this point; because when he came into the House, after a brief absence, he found it engaged in an amusing contest be-

tween the noble Marquess and the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Major General Alexander) with regard to their record on this question. He wished again to call attention to this point, which was perfectly novel, and which he hoped did not go outside the ruling of the Chair. The position taken up in this matter by the Judge Advocate General, and fortified by the Attorney General, was that there must be a distinction of nationalities; and the whole argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was that these men should be flogged because they were not Englishmen, but Egyptians. That was not what the Attorney General said a few years ago; his argument then was the equality of man, and sympathy with all races of men. But now the Government, who went to the country on the abolition of the lash, was standing up for the lash; they who went to the country upon the equality of nationalities were now standing by distinctions between races, and consenting to wholesale and purposeless slaughter.

**MR. SEXTON** doubted whether the most devoted supporter of the Government could feel any pride in the attitude taken by the Government upon this matter. They appeared to have taken refuge in silence; but as he and his hon. Friends did not think the argument had been exhausted, they could not consent to the Government taking that course. The Government had left this question in a most extraordinary position before the House; and they had placed themselves and the Liberal Party, on questions which were very likely to arouse deep feeling in England, in a dilemma from which they would not very easily escape. He had not derived any information from the argument of the Judge Advocate General, who generally got fogged on any question he attempted to deal with. All that he could gather from the right hon. and learned Gentleman was that neither the words of his hon. Friend, nor any other words, could compel an officer to keep within the limits of British law. The Attorney General did not commit himself to such an extreme view as that no words could accomplish that object; but so far as could be gathered from the speeches of the two learned Gentlemen—one of whom said no words could accomplish that object, and the other allowed the



Committee to infer that some words would accomplish it—was, that an officer holding the commission of the Queen might leave this country, and, with the sanction of the Queen and of this Government, take service under a Foreign Ruler, and might apply to persons acting under his command—which he had acquired by virtue of his capacity as a British officer—the rude and barbarous laws of the Foreign Power under which he took office. Such an officer might go to Egypt, as Admiral Hewett had gone, or to Abyssinia, or to Zululand, and might inflict on persons under his command punishment of the most violent character; and after a few years of such practices he might return to England, having all the time enjoyed the sanction and countenance of this Government, and resume his position as an officer of this civilized and Christian State. He should imagine that the British public would hear of this to-morrow, and that a strong feeling would be aroused by the helplessness of the Government to control their officers abroad. The Government knew the hon. Member for the City of Cork intended to call attention to this matter, and they were within a couple of hours' communication by telegraph with Admiral Hewett. The noble Marquess, or the Judge Advocate General, might have ascertained the facts of the case as to the infliction of the flogging if they had cared to do so; they could have found out from the Admiral without difficulty whether a mutiny had been attempted, or whether the punishment had been inflicted simply because the camel-drivers had been wanting in energy, or had attempted to run away. The noble Marquess was blameable for having taken no measures to ascertain the facts of the case since this inquiry had been set on foot, and for giving no answer to the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) as to whether or not he would now use the telegraph for the purpose of obtaining information. In order to give the Government an opportunity for reflection, and for explaining what their intentions were, he begged to move that the Chairman do report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—*(Mr. Sexton.)*

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I should be glad to give an answer to the question put to me; but it certainly would not be regular for me to do it on the Motion for reporting Progress.

MR. HEALY: Why did not you do it before?

MR. SEXTON said, he should be happy to withdraw the Motion, in order to afford the noble Marquess an opportunity of making an explanation.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Question again proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: In answer to the question put to me, I may say, in the first place, that it was not "several weeks ago" that the question was first put to me. Only a fortnight has elapsed since then. It is true we are in communication with Suakin by telegraph; but it is not possible to go into detail upon all questions of minor importance when serious events are constantly taking place, and the wires are occupied with business of importance. What I mean to say is that the matter is not of such great importance as to warrant full telegraphic communication with regard to it. When the question was first mentioned in the newspapers, Admiral Hewett was requested, without the aid of the telegraph, to send information; and, in reply, the telegram which has been communicated to the House was received. The matter is not connected with the Department in which I am specially interested, but is connected with the Admiralty. I do not think my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook) has yet received a full Report. As to the observations made by several Members opposite, to the effect that any barbarous punishments sanctioned by the laws of barbarous countries can be inflicted by officers of Her Majesty's Army and Navy, I think that the obvious and simple reply is that it is possible, so far as any legal consequence is concerned, for such barbarous acts to be committed; but, of course, we know that the country is the judge of the conduct of its officers; and that if such acts as those suggested were committed notice would be taken of it by the public. The officers would be brought to account in regard to such acts, just as they are at the present

moment brought to account in regard to failure of duty in other matters.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY wished to know how far the Government desired to go with hon. Members, and how far they wished to keep away from them? It was now admitted that the barbarous systems permitted in some foreign countries could be practised, under certain conditions, by Her Majesty's officers—when holding a foreign fortress, or in command of foreign troops. Well, hon. Members on those (the Irish) Benches desired to make that impossible. Did Her Majesty's Government wish to make it possible or impossible? If the Government wished to go with hon. Members for Ireland they could put an Amendment to effect the desired object into proper shape; and if they did not do so, those hon. Members would know perfectly well that the Government were against them.

Mr. PARNELL said, that, as he did not see a Representative of the Admiralty present, doubtless the noble Marquess had been in communication with that Department on this question. As the Amendment referred to the conduct of a naval officer, he (Mr. Parnell) wished to ask whether the Admiralty had called for any Report on the matter from Admiral Hewett? It seemed to him that if such a Report had been called for by telegraph, sufficient time had now elapsed to have enabled it to be sent several times over by mail. They had received detailed accounts by mail of things which had occurred in the Fleet since the flogging incident. He saw that the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had just taken his place. He was asking whether the Admiralty had called for a Report with regard to the flogging of the camel-drivers who accompanied General Graham's expedition, a Question on the matter having been put in the House a fortnight ago?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) had referred to the fact that a question had been immediately put to Admiral Hewett by telegraph, and that the reply thereto had been laid on the Table of the House. No further inquiry had been made since then. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, no second

inquiry was made, because the first appeared sufficient, and because, as had often been declared in the House, it was not desirable to repeat inquiries unnecessarily, or to occupy the time of officers in Admiral Hewett's position by sending and requiring needless telegrams. There could be no doubt that when they received Admiral Hewett's detailed despatches they would have full accounts of all the steps he had taken in connection with the matter under discussion.

Mr. PARNELL said, it appeared to him that the answer of the hon. Member was most unsatisfactory. In reply to a Question he had put to the Government a fortnight ago the noble Marquess had read to the House a telegram which had been received from Sir William Hewett. The noble Marquess had stated at that time that he was not aware whether the punishment dispensed by Admiral Hewett had been flogging or any other punishment. The noble Marquess stated that Admiral Hewett had reported that he had caused the camel-drivers to be "punished"—that Admiral Hewett had not used the word "flogged;" and that, therefore, corporal punishment might not have been inflicted. Under the very grave circumstances of the case, the probability being that a very unusual punishment had been inflicted by a British officer, and Notice having been given that an Amendment would be moved in Committee on the Army Bill, the least the Government could have done would have been to have sent a definite telegram to Admiral Hewett asking for explicit information on the subject. As matters at present stood, Admiral Hewett was probably under the impression that his telegraphic despatch to the Government was perfectly satisfactory, and that no further inquiry would be made. In order to give time to the Government to give further consideration to this matter, and to enable them to communicate with Admiral Hewett again, he would move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(Mr. Parnell.)

The Committee divided:—Ayes 26; Noes 76: Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 56.)

Question again proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. HEALY said, he thought after what had occurred it was very evident that the Government could put an end to this controversy, which threatened to be so prolonged, if they liked. The former contention of the Government, when they were charged with shifting and shuffling, was that they could not state what the punishment inflicted by Admiral Hewett was, or why it was inflicted. Now, however, hon. Members had extracted from them the fact that, though they knew this Bill was coming on, and that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) intended to bring forward his Amendment, they treated the hon. Member with contempt, and declined to send a 2s. 6d. telegram to Admiral Hewett to ask for the required information. It, therefore, came to this—that, although the Leader of a Party which could muster in that House 40 men, and which, on an occasion like next Monday, would be in request by the Government, had asked for information which the Government could readily obtain, they did not think it worth their while to attempt to get it—and this, notwithstanding that the subject was the one which tore the Liberal Party asunder in 1879. This parsimonious Government did not think it worth its while to go to the expense of sending a telegram in response to the demand made by the Leader of an important Party in the House. Probably they would say it was not the expense they looked at. Was it the trouble? It could not be that, seeing that, after the recent battles, telegrams were sent to and from the Soudan almost hourly concerning the wounds of British soldiers. The sufferings of English soldiers were worth telegrams; but not so the sufferings of Egyptian camel-drivers. British soldiers were wounded in the front—the Blacks were wounded on their backs, and whilst nothing was too much to say about the one set of wounds, nothing was to be said about the other. Royal personages could telegraph "hoping the wounded were well," and so on; but no one asked after the Egyptian and Arab wounded, save the Irish Members. Irish Members "hoped the Egyptian wounded were well," and

asked Questions about them in the House; but their inquiries were treated with contempt. The Government treated the Leader of the Opposition with respect; but they treated the Irish Members with disrespect, because they numbered only 40; but they would treat them with respect when they numbered 90. The Judge Advocate General had said that no Amendment that could be drafted would meet the question; and the noble Marquess had advanced the extraordinary doctrine that there was a perfect safeguard in the fact that an officer would not inflict this barbarous punishment, because the Government would know what to do with him. But if the noble Marquess had his back scored and courbashed it would be a very poor consolation to him to know that the man who had done it would be punished afterwards. He would rather prevent the application of a barbarous punishment of this kind. Wherever British troops had gone they had carried fire and sword and torture with them; and he could not rely upon the honourable British officer. What he could rely upon would be a distinct provision in this Bill against what was clearly illegal. The Government, in this matter, had taken up the Jingo policy of Lord Beaconsfield; and every time they sent an expedition abroad they so stirred up rapine that every British officer might act as he pleased under the laws of the country to which he went. Therefore, the humanity of this country depended not upon morality, but upon geography—not upon whether a man should be flogged or not, but upon the latitude in which he was to be flogged. He protested against this. Every time this bastard Jingo Government, which had not the courage of Lord Beaconsfield to go boldly into a spirited foreign policy—every time they went in for the annexation of some such place as Egypt, they did dirty work. The Irish Members felt very strongly upon this subject. The hon. Member for the City of Cork was a Gentleman who had been pretty successful in opening the minds of the Government. He had been able to open the mind of the Conservative Government when his Party was only seven strong; but now he had a Party of 27, who were young and strong. He begged to move that the Chairman do now leave the Chair,



Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Healy.*)

The Committee *divided*.—Ayes 23; Noes 73: Majority 50.--(*Div. List, No. 57.*)

Question again proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

MR. H. B. SAMUELSON, as one of the Members who had voted in the Divisions against corporal punishment during the late Administration, and had taken part in the debates at that time, and as one who had repeatedly spoken in favour of the abolition of that punishment as far back as 1868, wished to say a few words to clear himself from the accusation of inconsistency. He believed that hon. Members, in bringing forward this question, were actuated by a spirit with which he sympathized; and what he wanted to point out was that the object of the Amendment appeared to be that when foreigners were serving with British troops, and under the command of a British officer, no matter whether he derived his authority from the Potentate of that foreign country or not, he should not be entitled to apply to those foreigners any penalties other than those which the laws of his own country permitted him to apply to British subjects. That was an object with which he entirely sympathized; but this Amendment failed to attain that object; and it was very like a practical bull to ask Members to vote for an Amendment which confessedly failed to attain the object to which it was directed. He would vote for the abolition of corporal punishment in every form, and under all circumstances, in both the Army and the Navy; but he thought the wishes of the supporters of the present proposal would be better met if the Government, before the Report, would promise to look into this matter, and to endeavour to devise some means of dealing with it. He could not vote for the Amendment; and if the Government would promise to look into the matter and try to introduce words making it impossible for a British officer to apply a different form of punishment to foreigners from that which he was empowered to apply to British soldiers, he should advise hon.

Gentlemen opposite for the present to withdraw their Amendment.

MR. PARNELL said, he quite recognized the good feeling and the good faith in which the hon. Member had just spoken, and he believed that the hon. Member was entirely with him and his hon. Friends in desiring to take away this power, which had been abused; but he thought the hon. Member was not accurate in saying that the Amendment would not effect that object. He contended that his Amendment would effect that, and most effectually, and that it went further, and prevented British officers or Civil Governors abroad from inflicting punishment. He had suggested to the Government that they should bring up a clause on Report which would guard against the difficulty they had pointed out. The hon. Member would be safe in voting for the Amendment, because it did meet what he objected to; and as he could not help feeling that the general feeling of the Committee was in favour of what he desired to effect, if that could be done without injurious results to the Service abroad, he would suggest that the Government should consider this matter between now and Report, in order to see whether they could frame a clause which would carry out what he desired, and which, at the same time, would not be open to the objections which the Attorney General had urged against his Amendment.

CAPTAIN MAXWELL-HERON rose to make a suggestion to the Government. At this moment the Egyptian Army was commanded by an English General and by English officers; and he thought it would be in the power of the Government to say that, in an Army officered by Englishmen, no corporal punishment should be administered. He hoped the noble Marquess would consider this suggestion, for he thought that what was inexpedient in one army was inexpedient in another.

MR. LEAMY said, he was sorry that the Government had not adopted the suggestion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). What was asked was that these people should be saved from what every Englishman recognized as a brutal punishment; and the case appeared to him to be not contested by the Treasury Bench. Admiral Hewett had been

spoken of as if he were merely a servant in the hands of the Khedive, and as if he were not fighting the battles of England partly with Egyptian camp-followers and partly with British troops. Though acting under the authority of the Khedive, he would not be allowed to inflict unauthorized punishments on English troops, notwithstanding the Egyptian law. It was unmanly for an English officer to punish Egyptians by a species of punishment he could not inflict on English soldiers. They could not attempt, at that time of day, to draw a distinction between men who were of different colours. The poor Egyptians had been long accustomed to bad laws, and did not feel degrading punishments as much as Englishmen; but if Her Majesty's Government had gone to Egypt on a civilizing mission he could assure them they were not advancing the cause of civilization by allowing these degrading punishments. The Egyptians, it was true, had not tasted the blessings of the British Constitution—of Church Establishment, and so on—but they were human beings, of flesh and blood, made by the same God as Admiral Hewett; and it was a disgraceful thing that they should have been subjected to degrading punishments by British officers. It was a comforting thing to know that there were Gentlemen in the House who, although they were supporters of the Government, would stand up in the House and support appeals on behalf of humanity, such as had been made that night.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON : I have referred again to the statement of Admiral Hewett, which I read to the House the other day, and I think it is extremely doubtful whether the persons the Admiral felt himself obliged to punish were subject to military law at all, and whether their case would be at all affected by anything we could enact in this Bill. The Admiral reported that he had punished the men because they refused to work and to obey orders, and added that he did not think the misconduct amounted to a mutiny, and, therefore, had not reported what had happened to the Lords of the Admiralty. A further telegram affords an explanation why no full Report has been sent home on the subject, for he says he is writing to Cairo for the reduction of an officer to lower rank for

showing a bad example to the men. The affair, therefore, is not completed, and it is possible that his full Report cannot be sent in until he receives the answer he is expecting from Cairo. As to what the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) has said, it is worth considering whether persons who at any future time come under military law should be, whilst they are so subject, at the same time amenable to any other law. But, as has been shown by my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General, the Amendments of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and of the hon. and learned Member for Roscommon (Dr. Commins), will not effect the object for which they are intended. That, I think, is admitted. The question appears to be one of very considerable difficulty; and I could not, on the part of my right hon. and learned Friend the Judge Advocate General, undertake that he will propose clauses which will be satisfactory to ourselves, or which will at all improve the condition of the law. All I can say is that if the hon. Member for the City of Cork is not satisfied with the criticisms which have been passed on the existing law to-night, and will place a more carefully drawn amending clause on the Paper, we will give it fair consideration, with the object of, if possible, effecting the hon. Member's object. I could not undertake that we ourselves shall be prepared to propose any new clause on the matter.

MR. PARNELL said, he would adopt the course suggested by the noble Marquess. He supposed some time would be given to hon. Members to enable them to consider the subject and draw up an amending clause.

MR. HEALY pointed out that unless the Report stage were delayed it would not be possible to get the Amendment on the Paper. It was out of the question to expect that it could be drawn up and handed in that night in time to appear in the next Votes. Then, on Monday, there was to be the final debate on the second reading of the Representation of the People Bill.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON : We will not take the Report stage before Tuesday.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN said, he noticed that the noble Marquess expressed some doubt in the matter, because he



had stated it was not certain that the persons punished by Admiral Hewett were subject to military law. But he (Mr. Sullivan) thought the infliction of flogging ought to be equally objectionable whether the person punished in that way was subject to military law or not.

Clause, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. SEXTON said, this was a very untimely hour—3.10 A.M.—at which to proceed to move an Amendment; but he would endeavour to do it in a very few words. The Amendment he was about to propose had on a previous occasion been voted for by three Members of the present Cabinet and five Members of the Government. It raised no Constitutional question, its object being merely to carry into effect the pledge given by Viscount Cardwell, 10 years ago, that the soldier should be liable for the maintenance of his wife and children to the same extent as if he were a civilian. The law said that the soldier should be liable save when his regiment was ordered on foreign service. The number of calls last year was 840; and he wished to know what number were ordered on foreign service at the time the claims were made? If the Government could allege that the acceptance of his Amendment would impair the efficiency of the Army he would not press it; but he thought that if the Government would get statistics on the question, it would be found that the Regulation would affect an infinitesimally small number of men, and yet effect a great deal of good. The second point was that at present a woman making a claim on a soldier who was not at the time in the town in which she made such claim had to deposit a sum of money to take him to the Court, and back again to his barracks. That was very hard on the woman, especially as in the case of a civilian she was not called upon to pay anything, or leave anything, in the form of a deposit. Supposing a woman was in Kent and had a claim to make on a soldier in Belfast, it was not fair that she should be called upon to pay his expenses to Kent and back. The Judge Advocate General had said, last year, that in such a case as this it was not the man's fault that he was taken to Belfast, and that was perfectly true; but neither was it the woman's fault. The Judge Advo-

cate General seemed to regard the helplessness of the man as a justification for injustice being done to the woman. Supposing the Government paid the expenses of the men, there were only 840 cases last year; and if the expenses in each case amounted to even £2, that would only mean an expenditure of £1,680, a very small consideration when they took into account the fact that it would remove from many poor women a financial obligation which amounted to a total denial of justice.

New Clause—

(Liability of soldier to maintain wife and children.)

"Whereas it is desirable that the liability of a soldier or marine to maintain his wife and children should be real and better defined, and it is expedient to provide for the same, be it therefore enacted as follows: That Section 145 of 'The Army Act, 1881,' shall be construed as though all the words after the words 'commanding officer of such soldier,' in sub-section three were omitted,"—(Mr. Sexton,)

—*brought up*, and read the first time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause be read a second time."

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he thought he had met the hon. Member half way last year by consenting to a proposal taking away from the military authorities all discretionary power as to stopping a portion of the soldier's pay. The Proviso objected to required a woman who made a claim on a soldier to deposit a certain amount of caution money, to answer the cost of bringing the soldier to the place where the summons was heard; but it was necessary to draw a distinction between a wife applying for maintenance and an affiliation case. The cases of this Proviso coming into operation in the case of married women were extremely rare. They did not enlist men if they knew they were married; and, according to present Regulations, if a soldier made a false statement he was punished, and, on the parish charging him with desertion of his wife, he was discharged from the Army. In most cases—in 99 out of 100—the soldier admitted his liability, and the deduction was made from his pay as a matter of course; therefore, in the case of married soldiers, it seldom happened that resort was had to the power to which the hon. Member took exception.

Mr. T. D. Sullivan



In fact, he did not know more than one case in which the provision had been put into operation. In the case of an unmarried woman applying for a maintenance order, the soldier and the civilian stood on a very different footing. But, even in the case of civilians, the inducement given by the law to women to bring trumped-up cases against men was very great. The law was apt to be abused, being very often only used for the purpose of extorting money. The case of the soldier, moreover, was very different to that of the civilian. If the soldier were at a distance——

MR. SEXTON: He is always at a distance.

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (MR. OSBORNE MORGAN) said, he was not necessarily always at a distance. He might be at Aldershot, and the woman might be in the same place; therefore, the proposed clause, if accepted, would not come into operation in that case. But take the case of a soldier stationed in Kent and ordered to Galway. He did not change his residence of his own free will, as a civilian did. There was another objection to the Amendment of the hon. Member. Supposing the money was paid by the public, what would be the result? Why, they would at once open the door to endless collusion between the woman and the soldier.

Question put.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 35; Noes 58: Majority 23.—(Div. List, No. 58.)

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered upon *Tuesday* next, at Two of the clock.

# METROPOLITAN RAILWAY (PARK RAILWAY AND PARLIAMENT STREET IMPROVEMENT) BILL.

NOMINATION OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on nomination of Committee [1st April],

"That Sir James M'Garel-Hogg be a Member of the Select Committee on the Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement) Bill."—(Mr. Shaw Le-  
*fevre*.)

Question again proposed.

Debate resumed.

Question put, and agreed to.

MR. BERNHARD SAMUELSON, MR. SHEIL, SIR HENRY PEEK, and SIR WILLIAM M'ARTHUR were nominated other Members of the Committee.

Ordered, That Three be the quorum.

## CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT (1878) AMENDMENT (No. 2) BILL.

(Mr. James Howard, Mr. Borlase.)

[BILL 82.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(Mr. James Howard.)

MR. COURTNEY said, he hoped the hon. Member would not press the second reading of this Bill at that time of night.

MR. JAMES HOWARD said, the hon. Member had given no reason why the Bill should not now be read a second time. This was a very reasonable Bill, and was supported on both sides of the House; and he should invite the opinion of the House on the Motion for the second reading.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(Mr. Herbert Gladstone.)

The House divided:—Ayes 28; Noes 10: Majority 18.—(Div. List, No. 59.)

Debate adjourned till *Monday* next.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at a quarter before Four o'clock till *Monday* next.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 7th April, 1884.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Leave*—London Government, debate adjourned.

Ordered—*First Reading*—Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) (Bury Saint Edmunds)\*

[170]; Middlesex Registry of Deeds\* [169].

*First Reading*—Intestates Estates\* [168].

*Second Reading*—Representation of the People [119] [Sixth Night].

*Committee*—*Report*—Real Assets Administration [98].

*Third Reading*—Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order\* [142]; Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment\* [155], and passed.

*Withdrawn* — Income Tax Administration Amendment \* [15]; Habitual Criminals Act Amendment \* [160].

## QUESTIONS.

—o—

### SCOTLAND—GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH—REPRESENTATIVE ELDERS—LEGISLATION.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE asked the Lord Advocate, Whether, having regard to questions which have arisen in Scotland as to a legal obligation lying on Town Councils to return Representative Elders to the General Assembly of the Established Church, and to the right which has been assumed by minorities of Town Councils to elect such Representative Elders when the Town Council has by a majority refused to do so, he will take steps to prevent such questions arising in future by bringing in a Bill expressly relieving Town Councils of any obligation of the kind referred to that may now rest on them, and declaring it illegal for a minority to act in the name of a Town Council which has failed to elect or resolved against the election of Representative Elders?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Sir, I have observed from the newspapers that differences in regard to this matter have occasionally arisen in Town Councils; but, until this Question was placed on the Paper, I had not received any representation on the subject, nor is it one to which, so far as I am aware, much importance is attached. A somewhat analogous point was raised in the Courts of Law in 1843; but not, to my knowledge, since that time. It appears to me that there are more urgent and pressing matters demanding the attention of Parliament.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he wished to point out that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had not answered the latter part of the Question—namely, whether, in the absence of a statutory obligation, it was legal for the minority to act for the majority?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have not been able to discover any original statutory obligation on this matter, although I have looked; but there has been in various statutes a recognition of the representatives sent by Town Councils as constituent mem-

bers of the Assembly, although, so far as I have been able to discover, there is no statutory origin for Town Councils sending representatives to the Assembly; but there has been a uniform practice in the matter since the time of the Reformation. Of course, the point that my hon. Friend puts now is one of law, and I rather think that if there is, either from statute or from inveterate usage, a duty grown up on the part of Town Councils to send representative Members, and the majority of the Council refuse to discharge that duty, it could be performed by a minority, and have legal force.

MR. DALRYMPLE, with reference to the point, said, he would ask, Whether reluctance on the part of Town Councils to elect a representative is not of rare occurrence; and, whether, even where there may be indifference on the part of the majority, there is not generally a complete acquiescence in the action of a minority when taking steps on the part of the Town Council to elect a Representative Elder according to custom?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): This Question has already been answered in what I have said, and I do not think I can add anything further on the matter.

### TRAMWAYS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES (IRELAND) ACT, 1883—CLAUSE 10.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in view of the partial failure of "The Tramways Act, 1883," in the poorer districts of Ireland, the Government intend to introduce an amending Bill this Session; and, if so, whether they will propose amendments whereby the liabilities of the ratepayers, under Clause 10, may be further defined and limited, and whereby the Treasury may be enabled to pay their portion of the guarantee direct to the Tramway Company?

MR. BIGGAR: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers the Question, I would like to ask him, Whether, or not, he would consider it his duty to encourage tramways being laid down in places where they would not pay if finished; and, also, if he would sanction schemes where the estimates were much in excess of what the real value would be?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I hope the hon. Member for Cavan sees that the Question is one which he should have put upon the Paper to-day. In answer to my hon. Friend (Mr. Buxton), I can only say that, until these schemes come before the Government, as required by the Act, it is impossible for them to review the working of the measure, or to propose Amendments, should such be required. I should be very glad to give my hon. Friend information upon a subject in which he takes such a personal interest; but regret that I cannot do so.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND—  
PROFESSOR ARMSTRONG'S  
CLASS.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How many students of Professor Armstrong's class, who passed his Sessional Examination in Queen's College, Cork, presented themselves for the honour Examination at the Royal University, in the paper set by him, containing similar questions in both cases, and how many passed?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, in reply to the hon. Member, I may say that I am informed that of four of the students referred to, who presented themselves for the honour examination, one passed. While giving this information, as supplied to me, I wish to say that there are no official records from which it could be gathered, and that I think that Questions of this character, as to the success or failure of individual students, which cannot be answered without personal inquiries among themselves or their acquaintances, are greatly to be deprecated. I think I have already vindicated to the satisfaction of the House the character of Professor Armstrong against the charge here again suggested.

MR. HEALY: The right hon. Gentleman knows very well the point I have referred to.

STATE OF IRELAND—THE RIOTS AT  
LONDONDERRY—TRIAL OF DOHERTY  
—THE JUDGE'S NOTES.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will inquire if Mr. Justice Murphy would have any objection to allow his notes at the trial of Doherty,

in the Derry case, to be laid upon the Table; and, if so, will the Government print them as a Return, as supplementary to the report of Messrs. White and Bewley?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have to say that any question which could be supplied was in the report of the criminal trial before me. I understand that there is no precedent for asking a Judge to supply for publication his notes or any report of a criminal trial heard before him, and that it would not be right to ask Mr. Justice Murphy to do so in this case.

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ENNIS-  
KILLEN PETTY SESSIONS—CAPTAIN  
M'TERNAN—MEETING OF THE MA-  
GISTRATES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been drawn to certain proceedings in the Enniskillen Petty Sessions Court on Monday last, reported in *The Freeman's Journal* of the following day; whether Mr. Charles Irvine, a solicitor practising in the Court, addressing the magistrates present, among whom was the Rev. J. B. Frith, the plaintiff in the recent libel action against Mr. William Trimble, referred to the evidence on that trial of Captain M'Ternan, R.M., a resident magistrate acting in that Court, and present at the moment, as "a foul aspersion" upon the character of others of the magistrates present, and proceeded to read an address, signed by himself and five other solicitors, also practising in that Court, which described the evidence of Captain M'Ternan on the trial in question as "an extraordinary and unfounded charge of partiality and corruption against his brother magistrates," as "a wanton slander," and as "a gross attack," and condemned Captain M'Ternan for having made a groundless statement; whether Captain M'Ternan and Colonel Bouley, the other resident magistrate present, left the Court when Mr. Irvine described the evidence of the former as "a foul aspersion on the character of other magistrates;" whether, of the six solicitors who signed the address, one is the private solicitor of the Rev. J. B. Frith himself, two others appeared for the accused Orangemen on the 28th of January last, when the Rev. Mr. Frith and his colleagues made the decisions



which provoked the strictures of *The Fermanagh Reporter*, and two others have only been admitted to the profession within the last few months, while the sixth lives in another county; whether he is aware that several of the solicitors and most of the magistrates concerned in this affair are members of the Joint Stock Company which owns *The Fermanagh Times*, the local paper opposed in politics to that edited by Mr. William Trimble, the defendant in the libel action brought by the Rev. Mr. Frith; and, what steps will be taken to mark the sense of the Government in regard to what has occurred, and to protect Captain M'Ternan in the discharge of his duty?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have watched this case with great interest from its commencement. Although this Question touches upon more than one matter as to which the Government cannot be expected to have any official information, I may say that I believe the facts to be, for the most part, as stated. The last paragraph only calls for a more definite reply from me. As to that, Captain M'Ternan informs me that he is quite confident that the law is sufficient to enable him to protect himself in the discharge of his duty. With regard to the circumstances connected with the reception of the address, the proceeding appears to have been indiscreet; and at a future time, when the case is disposed of, should any further disposition of the kind be manifested, the Government will be prepared to state what steps they will take with regard to it.

MR. SEXTON said, he would also ask the right hon. Gentleman, If his attention has been drawn to the fact that the Earl of Erne, Lieutenant of the county of Fermanagh, has summoned a meeting of the magistrates of that county, to be held in the Courthouse, Enniskillen, on Thursday next, for the purpose of considering the evidence of Captain M'Ternan, resident magistrate, at the Londonderry Assizes, in the case of Frith v. Trimble; whether the case of Frith v. Trimble is still sub judice, the judge who tried the case having respited execution of the verdict obtained by the defendant until the first day of next sittings, to enable the plaintiff to carry out his declared intention to move for a new trial; whether, considering the

feeling provoked in county Fermanagh by the circumstances of the case of Frith v. Trimble, the Irish Government regard the meeting convened by Lord Erne as coming within the category contemplated by section ten of the Crimes Prevention Act; and, whether, if the meeting be permitted, the Irish Government will send official note-takers to be present and to record the proceedings, and will take into consideration the propriety of prosecuting all such persons as may identify themselves with those proceedings, under section seven of the Crimes Prevention Act, for endeavouring to intimidate a witness in consequence of evidence given in a Court of Justice, and in a case, moreover, at present pending?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am glad, Sir, to be able to inform the hon. Member that the meeting is not going to be held.

#### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, KILKEEL UNION, CO. DOWN—REJECTION OF VOTES.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that the Local Government Board decided that Poor Law votes were correctly rejected in the Kilkeel Union (County Down), because voters signed as marksmen, who, it is alleged, were able to write; if so, upon what is this view of the law founded?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Local Government Board advised the Returning Officer that the votes of the persons who placed a mark upon the papers and who were able to write should be rejected. The General Order regulating the election of Poor Law Guardians is explicit on this point.

MR. HEALY: What is the Statute?

MR. TREVELYAN: It is a General Order made by the Local Government Board under their statutory powers upon the point, and is well known.

MR. HEALY: I beg to give Notice that I shall call attention to the fact that people are deprived of their right to vote, under powers which have not been granted by the Statute.

#### BOARD OF INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION (IRELAND).

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

Whether it is true that in the Intermediate Education Department £2,000 a-year, or six per cent. of the entire income of the Board, is paid to two secretaries; whether the amount paid in 1882 as result fees to all the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in Ireland amounted to less than three times the amount of these two salaries; whether the office of these secretaries is terminable at the pleasure of the Lord Lieutenant; whether he will inquire if the functions now devolving on these two secretaries could not be more efficiently and economically provided for by assigning the secretarial portion of their duties to one official qualified by experience of office work, and by requiring the staff of examiners already employed, or some of them, to perform any educational work now devolving upon the secretaries; is one of the secretaries in the habit of attending the meetings of the Senate of the Royal University and Royal Dublin Society and its committees during official hours, and how does he find time for the purpose; had another of them, at the time of his appointment, served about thirty years in one of the Queen's Colleges, and did his then age, length of service, and state of health mark him out rather for superannuation than for a fresh appointment; and, whether steps will be taken to prevent any portion of the income of the Commission being applied in superannuating Queen's College officials?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, when the Board was created the Lord Lieutenant of the time, acting under the authority expressly given to him by the Statute, appointed two gentlemen as Assistant Commissioners, to act as Secretaries, to hold office during pleasure, at the salary of £1,000 a-year each. It is not the case that the amount paid in result fees in 1882 was less than three times the amount of these two salaries. It was a little over that figure. I am not aware of any sufficient grounds upon which I should ask the Lord Lieutenant to make the inquiries suggested by the hon. Member. It is true that one of the Assistant Commissioners is a member of the Senate of the Royal University, and attends its meetings, which are not frequent, and that he also attends meetings of the Science Committee of the Royal Dublin Society, which are held after his office hours. There does

not appear to be anything incompatible with his official position in his doing so, provided there is no neglect of his official duties, which I have no reason to suppose there is. This gentleman has for 22 years held a Professorship in one of the Queen's Colleges. It is not the case that when appointed to the office of Assistant Commissioner, his age, length of service, and health marked him out for superannuation. The Act does not appear to make any provision for apportioning any part of the funds of the Commission for pensioning these officers.

#### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—PETTY SESSIONS CLERKS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there are any fixed hours during which it is the duty of Petty Sessions Clerks to attend at their offices; whether serious inconvenience to the public results from the irregular attendance of Petty Sessions Clerks in many districts; and, whether he will enforce reasonable attendance where such public inconvenience is shown?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am informed that, in the most important districts, the magistrates arrange the time for the attendance of Petty Sessions Clerks, and record the fact if any officer does not give his services for a reasonable time. Complaints are very rarely made of any inconvenience arising to the public from the non-attendance of the clerks. Where such complaints are made, and if, when investigated, found to be well founded, their attendance would be insisted upon. If the hon. Member knows of any case, I shall be happy to have the matter inquired into.

#### ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—MARRIED CONSTABLES.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is in accordance with the Constabulary regulations that a constable married, and allowed to live out of barracks, should be placed under stoppages for a room in barracks, which, in his absence, is occupied by another constable, who also has to pay for the same room?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, the case as stated would not be consistent with Constabulary regulations.

IRELAND—REGISTRY OF DEEDS  
OFFICE, DUBLIN.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is a fact that all the twenty Third Class Clerks (except one) in the Registry of Deeds Office, Dublin, will be at their maximum salary within the next three months, without any chance of promotion?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the fact appears to be as stated so far as regards the salaries; but, so far as I can learn, there is by no means an absence of chance of promotion.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—SIT-  
TINGS OF THE JUDGES.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether the Order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council, No. 60, dated 18th December 1877, fixes the sittings of the Judges as follows: Michaelmas, 2nd November to 21st December; Hilary, 11th January to 1st April; Easter, 15th April to 18th May; and Trinity, 1st June to 8th August; whether suitors are entitled to have actions placed on the paper for hearing on serving ten days' notice, and to have motions moved on two days' clear notice; whether a notice was inserted in the Legal Diary for the Hilary sittings, directing that no causes or actions, of which notice of trial should have been served later than 1st March, should be placed on the paper for hearing during that sitting, and that the 5th March should be the last day for serving notices of motion for that sitting; whether there is any legal authority for issuing such a notice; whether it is a fact that the Master of the Rolls failed to sit in his Court on the following days in March, 10th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 22nd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 29th, 31st, and on April 1st; whether the Vice Chancellor failed to sit on March 7th, 8th, 14th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 31st, and April 1st; and, whether the attention of the Lord Chancellor will be called to the notice referred to, and the failure in question, and to the injury and delay of justice to suitors in the Chancery Division resulting therefrom?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER), in reply, said, the days fixed for the sittings of Judges by the Judicature Rules were as stated in the Question. A suitor was, *prima facie*, entitled to have his case heard on giving 10 days' notice of trial, and to have a motion disposed of on giving two days' notice. The notice referred to in the Question was issued to prevent the trial of cases being kept back by professional men to the very end of the sitting, and to prevent the accumulation of arrears; and from his own experience he knew it was framed solely in the interest of suitors. But, notwithstanding it, both the Judges referred to have been always ready, in any proper case, to hear any action, and dispose of any motion ready, as soon as arrears are got rid of. The Master of the Rolls, on some of the days referred to, was engaged in hearing cases for the Common Law Divisions during Circuit; and, on the other days on which he did not sit, he had disposed of all cases on his paper, and I may add there is not now in his Court a single case in arrears, and no delay has been caused to any suitor in it. The same observations as to the despatch of business and non-existence of arrears apply to the Court of the Vice Chancellor.

POOR LAW (SCOTLAND)—MAINTEN-  
ANCE OF PAUPER LUNATICS—  
DUMFRIES PAROCHIAL BOARDS.

CAPTAIN MAXWELL-HERON asked the Lord Advocate, Whether his attention has been drawn to certain Resolutions passed at a meeting of representatives of Parochial Boards held in the town of Dumfries, relative to the expenditure of a sum of over £8,000 per annum, for which sum the ratepayers of the counties of Dumfries, Kirkcudbright, and Wigton are assessed for the maintenance of Pauper Lunatics, and stating that the expenditure of that sum is administered by a Board not elected by or in any way representative of such ratepayers, to whom any detailed account of expenditure or access to accounts for supervision was positively refused; and, if so, if he considers that such a state of matters is satisfactory or just to the ratepayers?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (MR. J. B. BALFOUR): Sir, the matter to which this Question relates is a somewhat complex



one; and although I have been making inquiry in regard to it, since Notice was given, I have not yet received such full information as to enable me to answer the Question in detail. I may, however, say that where the money of rate-payers is concerned, it appears to me that it is desirable that the accounts of its appropriation should be as full as possible.

#### TURKEY IN ASIA—AMERICAN SCHOOLS' IN ARMENIA.

MR. BRYCE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is a fact that the Turkish authorities have lately been threatening to close, and have in some cases actually closed, the schools of the American Missionaries in Armenia and Asia Minor, which have been so eminently serviceable to the Christian inhabitants of those countries; and, whether, if such be the fact, Her Majesty's Government have remonstrated, or will remonstrate, with the Turkish Government against such conduct, and endeavour to secure that the schools shall not be interfered with?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, the Foreign Office have no very precise information as to the American Schools; but they are aware from the Reports of Her Majesty's Consuls that an attack was made on the American Missionaries near Bitlis, and that they were prevented from opening a school at Irjesh, and that the Armenian schools in the Vilayet of Van were closed. I may add that Her Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires received the thanks of the United States Government for the assistance which he rendered to the American Minister at Constantinople in connection with the former matters; and Lord Dufferin has taken every favourable opportunity of impressing upon the Porte the necessity of ameliorating the state of affairs in Kurdistan and Eastern Anatolia.

MR. BRYCE: Would the Foreign Office have any objection to make an inquiry on the subject, with a view of ascertaining if the report in the newspapers as to the closing of the American missionary schools is well founded or not?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I shall have no objection to make inquiries.

#### CRIMINAL LAW--BRUTAL ASSAULTS--LEGISLATION.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If his attention has been called to a case tried at the Thames Police Court, in which a man named Joseph Dennis was found guilty of an assault upon a woman named Norah Driscoll, which is described as follows in the newspapers of the 2nd April:—

“For the last three months he had been following her about, and had frequently ill-used her, but she had never prosecuted him. About half-past seven o'clock on the evening of the 17th she was walking along Brunswick Street, when he struck her in the right eye and knocked her down. While on the ground he lifted her head up by the hair and dashed it on the pavement, and kicked her on the left side. She became unconscious, and was discovered in that condition by a policeman. At Poplar Hospital it was found that two of her ribs were bent in. Mr. Saunders fined the prisoner ten shillings and ten shillings compensation;”

and, if he proposes to amend the Law relating to brutal assaults?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, I am not aware that there is any defect in the law. The Judges and magistrates have power to inflict severe sentences in cases of brutal assault; but, of course, they are not compelled to do so, unless they feel themselves called upon to take that course. Of course, when a sentence is passed, I have no power to over-rule their discretion by saying that a magistrate or Judge should inflict higher sentences than he thinks right. I have, however, communicated with Mr. Saunders with reference to this case, and he says that the newspaper report is sensational and inaccurate, and does not at all give a true account of what occurred; and that, under all the facts of the case, he thought the sentence which he passed was sufficient. I cannot, therefore, take any steps in the matter.

MR. MACFARLANE gave Notice that, when the Bill for Cruelty to Animals came to be considered in Committee, he should move that women be included in the Bill.

MR. RITCHIE asked whether numerous complaints had not been made of the lightness of the sentences passed by Mr. Saunders?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is certainly not a Question which ought to be put to me without Notice.

MR. MACFARLANE said, that, as the case appeared in the newspaper report, it amounted to a public scandal; and he, therefore, asked that the magistrate's own version might be made public, so that it might be seen in what respect the reports were inaccurate.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is the case with a great many newspaper reports, I regret to say. I cannot undertake what the hon. Member asks for. I have been in communication with the magistrate, and I do not think this is a case which ought to occupy the time of the House any further.

#### EXCISE—LABOURERS' BREWING LICENCES.

MR. BIDDELL asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, in the event of his not greatly reducing the cost of a labourer's brewing licence, he would allow him to take out a half-yearly licence?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS): Sir, in reply to the hon. Gentleman, I have to say that the Budget will be so soon brought forward, that I am unwilling to answer any Questions about the Revenue until my proposals are before the House. I shall be happy to answer his Question after the Budget, if he thinks fit then to renew it.

#### ELECTRIC LIGHTING—PROVISIONAL ORDERS.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Swan and Edison Electric Lighting Companies, which it is now proposed to amalgamate by a new Provisional Order and Act, have paid the sums which they were bound to pay within six months under the Acts of last year; whether the other Companies which obtained Orders for areas in the Metropolis have paid up; or, if not, whether the Orders are forfeited; and, what is done about the insolvent Brush Company, which sought to be allowed to offer its Orders for sale without having done anything whatever?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, the Provisional Order to which the hon. Member refers does not propose to amalgamate the Edison and Swan Electric Lighting Companies. The amalgamation has already taken place, and the

Order proposes to transfer to the amalgamated Company the Orders granted last year to the two Companies. These Orders provide that if the promoters fail to deposit certain sums of money to the satisfaction of the Board of Trade within six months (which period may be extended by the Board of Trade), the Orders may be revoked. After communicating with the local authorities, the Board of Trade have approved an extension of time to the 15th of October next in the case of the Orders of the two Companies, except as regards the South Kensington Order, where the local authority objected. As regards the Orders of the Metropolitan Brush Company, the Board of Trade have refused to grant any extension of time. The only other Orders affecting the Metropolis are the Hampstead Order of the Hampstead Electric Light Company, and the St. Giles's Order of the Pilsen Joel Company. In the former case, an extension of time has been approved with the concurrence of the local authority. The Board of Trade have taken no steps to revoke any of the Orders.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD (SCOTLAND) BILL—A MINISTER FOR SCOTLAND.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he will introduce the Bill for a Scotch Minister before Easter, in order that it may be considered during the holidays by Scotch Members and their constituents?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, I am afraid that the Bill cannot be introduced before Easter; but I hope it will be brought in as soon as possible after the Recess.

#### THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION—MR. JOHN E. VERNON.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. John E. Vernon, one of the Irish Land Commissioners, was, up till the time of his appointment, agent for several properties in county Cavan; whether he did, on his appointment, transfer the nominal agency to his son, continuing to be himself the real manager of the properties; whether the Sub-Commission, presided over by Mr. Bomford, has been again sent to Cavan, al-

though it was some time ago removed on the representation by Mr. Bomford and others that he had close personal relations with several landlords in the county; whether, at the recent Court held in Cavan, only four days' notice was given of the intention to hold such Court, twenty-one days being usual notice; whether it was, by the action of Mr. Vernon, that the Bomford, Hodder, and Weir Sub-Commission was sent to County Cavan; and, whether he will endeavour to have causes of complaint removed?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the Land Commissioners have favoured me with observations on this Question to the following effect:—Mr. Vernon, up to the time of his appointment, was agent for several properties in the county of Cavan. On his appointment as Commissioner, he resigned every one of those agencies into the hands of his principals. To some of them Mr. Vernon's son was appointed by the owners of the respective properties. Mr. Vernon has not since his appointment as a Land Commissioner, directly or indirectly, taken any part in the management of the estates referred to. The county of Cavan has been added to the district of Down and Antrim, and committed to a Sub-Commission of five gentlemen, of whom Mr. Bomford is one. The Commissioners have been informed by Mr. Bomford that he has not had any business relations with any landlord in Cavan from whose estate cases are listed for hearing before the Cavan Sub-Commission. There are two cases on the list in which the landlord is a relative of Mr. Bomford, and in those cases Mr. Bomford will take no part whatever. It is true that a very short notice was unavoidably given of the sitting at the first town on the present Circuit; but the Sub-Commissioners had instructions not to press on any case where a *bond fide* objection was raised on the ground of shortness of notice. It is absolutely untrue that this Sub-Commission was sent to Cavan by the personal action, or at the special suggestion, of Mr. Vernon.

#### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE CORONERSHIP OF WESTMEATH.

MR. T. D. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the cause of the delay in filling up the vacant coronership for the county of Westmeath, two coroners having always been appointed until

the last seven or eight years, when one died, since which time the second appointment has not been filled up?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, prior to 1874 there had been two coroners for the county of Westmeath. In that year one of them died, and the vacancy was not filled up. In 1878 the matter was brought under the attention of the late Government, and inquiries were made into the matter, which led to the presentation of a Memorial signed by five Justices pursuant to the Statute 9 & 10 *Vict.* c. 37, praying to have the county constituted one division for one coroner. In pursuance of that Memorial a special Sessions was held and a resolution was unanimously passed on October 31, 1878, that the two divisions of the county should form one district, and the existing coroner was elected to discharge, and has since discharged, the duties of the entire county. All this was done under the advice of the Law Officer of the late Government.

#### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ELIGIBILITY OF POOR LAW MEDICAL OFFICERS—DR. FLANNERY, TUBBERCURRY, CO. SLIGO.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with reference to the intimation given as to the eligibility of Dr. Flannery, of Tubbercurry, county Sligo, being a dispensary medical officer, to act in the Commission of the Peace, Whether it is accurately set forth in the Irish Medical Directory for the present year, that Dr. Richard Barrett, medical officer of the Inchegeala Dispensary, Macroom Union, is a justice of the peace for the county of Cork; that Dr. John W. Busted, medical officer of the Castle Gregory Dispensary, Dingle Union, is a justice of the peace for the county of Kerry; that Dr. John I. Donovan, workhouse and dispensary medical officer, Skibbereen, is a justice of the peace for the county of Cork; that Dr. Robert S. Hayes, medical officer of Rathmore and Kill Dispensary, Naas Union, is a justice of the peace for the county of Kildare; that Dr. David Jacob, medical officer of the Maryborough Dispensary, is a justice of the peace for Queen's County; and that numerous other dispensary and workhouse medical officers in Ireland hold the Commission of the Peace; whether provision is made in the Poor



Laws, or in the Articles of the Local Government Board, to prevent the performance of the functions of an ex-officio guardian by any Poor Law medical officer appointed to be a justice; and, whether, the Lord Chancellor will reconsider the recommendation of Dr. Flannery's name?

COLONEL KING-HARMAN: I beg to ask, whether Dr. George Plunkett, of Farrell, resident in the district, was asked to act as Justice of the Peace?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, it is a fact that several dispensary doctors hold the Commission of the Peace; because, although it was considered advisable to make no law upon such point, it was thought inadvisable that, in future, medical men should be appointed, except where it was absolutely unavoidable. A difficulty was found in removing medical gentlemen who were appointed to the Commission of the Peace before the rule was made in 1872. I am informed, however, that arrangements were made to avoid such appointments in future; and any violation of the rule which has taken place since then must have been through oversight. The Lord Chancellor has, during his term of office, invariably opposed the appointment of medical men. I may say, in reply to the hon. and gallant Member for Dublin County (Colonel King-Harman) that several strong cases have been cited previous to the prohibition which has been referred to. From the full information now before me, I find that the rule was not made without consultation, and was upon general consideration of their unsuitability.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to give Notice that I shall call attention to the extreme lameness and want of satisfaction in the reply made by the right hon. Gentleman, and also to the incongruity of the rule made by the Lord Chancellor.

MR. HEALY: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman, if he is aware that Dr. Naish is not only a medical officer, and I think a pensioner, but also an *ex officio* Guardian?

[No reply.]

POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BOARD OF GUARDIANS, TUBBERCURRY, CO. SLIGO—ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN, DEPUTY, AND VICE-DEPUTY CHAIRMAN.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

Whether the election, on Monday last, of the Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Deputy Vice-Chairman of the Tubbercurry (county Sligo) Board of Guardians for the ensuing year was a valid election; whether, before the election began, Mr. N. H. Devine, an elected guardian, drew the attention of the clerk to the fact that none of the elected guardians had received the Notice (Form A) of the date of election of Chairman, prescribed by Article 3 of the General Order of the Local Government Board of the 18th December, 1882; whether the clerk admitted he had not sent out the Notice (Form A), but nevertheless proceeded immediately to hold, and did hold, the election of Chairman, in contravention of the General Order; and, whether the Local Government Board will direct the clerk to duly perform the function assigned to him in Article 3, by forthwith furnishing to each guardian of the Union that Notice (Form A), and thereafter, in due course, proceeding to a valid election of a Chairman, Vice-Chairman, and Deputy Vice-Chairman for the coming year?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, it is not a fact that the election took place in the evening, or that attention was called to the fact that notice had not yet been sent out. The clerk of the Union admitted that there had been some elements of oversight with regard to the election, which he regrets. As regards the latter part of the Question, I am informed that it is not valid owing to the right forms not having been used, and it is therefore intended to proceed to a fresh election.

ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE 18TH (LIVERPOOL) RIFLE VOLUNTEERS—CHURCH PARADES.

DR. COMMINS asked the Under Secretary of State for War, Whether the usual Church parade of the Irish Volunteers (the 18th Liverpool Rifle Volunteers) at Liverpool on the 16th of March ult. was prohibited by an order direct from himself or from the War Office; whether the privilege of having a Church parade has been allowed them, and practised uninterruptedly, for twenty-three years without offence and without complaint, and is the usual and regular privilege of all Volunteer Corps willing to avail themselves of it; and, whether any order was issued by the War Office prohibiting any other Corps of Volun-

teers from holding a Church parade on the 16th of March last; and, if not, why was such an order issued to the Irish Volunteers of Liverpool?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, it has in former years been the practice of the 18th Liverpool Rifle Volunteers (an Irish corps) to have a church parade on the Sunday preceding St. Patrick's Day, and to march to a Roman Catholic Church with their band playing. The parade has, however, resulted on previous occasions in serious disturbance of the peace, in which person and property have suffered. The local authorities having represented the danger of these riots being repeated, I considered it best that a parade which tended to impair the reputation of the Volunteer Force should be prohibited altogether. I may add that I have been informed that the officer who commanded the regiment last year had expressed his intention to have no more of such parades. The church parades which other regiments may hold have not been stopped, because no representation has been made of inconvenience resulting from them.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—THE NEW CODE.

MR. FINCH-HATTON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether examination in public elementary schools will be conducted under the New Code immediately after it becomes law; or, if not, from what date?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, all public elementary schools examined on and after the 1st of May will be treated under the regulations of the New Code.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—INSTRUCTIONS OF 9TH AUGUST, 1882—EXAMINATION OF INFANTS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether the provisions are still in force contained in "Instructions to Her Majesty's Inspectors" (Circular 212), paragraph 6, issued 9th August 1882, which include amongst other things the following words with reference to infant schools:—

"Where not less than three-fourths (of the infants) pass the individual examination well . . . the mark good should be awarded;"

and, if they are no longer in force at what date they were superseded?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, the instructions of the 9th of August, 1882, are still in force, although it is intended shortly to issue fresh instructions, which will embody all that is needed for the guidance of Inspectors under the New Code. The words quoted are accurately quoted; but the meaning apparently attached to them by the hon. Member is erroneous. The instructions do not say that all the infants are to be individually examined. Individual examination of the whole is distinctly confined to those above six (and I now observe that even this is to be modified); but it is required that—

"A sufficient number of the others are examined to satisfy Her Majesty's Inspector that the elements of reading, &c., are properly taught."

It is obvious, therefore, that the three-fourths does not refer to all the infants, but only to those who are examined, which should form only a fraction of the whole number.

#### THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS—THE RAJAH OF TENOM—CREW OF THE "NISERO."

MR. C. M. PALMER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can give any further information as to the state and prospect of release of the crew of the *Nisero*?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sir, I regret to say that the mission of the agent, whom I informed the House on a previous occasion had been sent by the Governor of the Straits Settlements to endeavour to obtain the release of the crew of the *Nisero*, has failed owing to the Rajah of Tenom having raised his claims, to which the Netherlands authorities declined to accede. A telegram to this effect has been received from the captain of Her Majesty's ship *Pegasus*, who accompanied the agent, Mr. Maxwell. Immediately on receipt of this information on the 18th ultimo, Her Majesty's Government entered into further communication with the Netherlands Government with a view to further measures being taken.

In reply to a further Question by Mr. C. M. PALMER,

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that communications were taking place with a view to some plan which might bring about the deliverance of



the crew. But it would not conduce to the attainment of the object in view to enter into details.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)  
ACTS—DISINFECTION OF MARKET  
PLACES, &c.

Mr. HICKS asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether the Privy Council, in view of the increased movement of cattle about to take place, will consider the propriety of taking steps to secure the thorough cleansing and disinfecting of all market places and auction yards after each market day or day of sale?

Mr. DODSON: Sir, local authorities have power to order and make regulations for the disinfection of markets, fairs, sale yards, lairs, &c. The travelling Inspectors of the Privy Council are constantly visiting the markets, lairs, and sale yards about the country; and where disinfection is not properly carried out, the attention of the local authorities is drawn to the fact. In some instances the markets have been closed, in consequence of the owners having failed to carry out the injunctions of the local authorities.

EGYPT—THE KHEDIVE—PLEDGES OF  
THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether there exists, in the archives of the Foreign Office, any document or diplomatic instrument establishing any covenant pledging Her Majesty's Government earnestly to support the Government of the Khedive; and, if so, whether he will lay it upon the Table of the House?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he would also ask the right hon. Gentleman, If he can name any covenant or official document pledging this Country earnestly to support the Government of the Khedive other than the Joint Note presented in January 1882, by the representatives of France and England, to the Government of Egypt, and which is described by the late Monsieur Gambetta, its originator, as an official assurance (to the Khedive) of the support of their two Governments against all the difficulties which result from the present situation in the Country (page 34, Egypt No. 5, 1882), and which was accepted

by Her Majesty's present advisers, with this reservation alone—

"That they must not be considered as committing themselves thereby to any particular mode of action, if action should be found necessary (page 35, Egypt No. 5, 1882)."

MR. GLADSTONE: Undoubtedly, Sir, there is evidence in the Foreign Office which, I think, would sustain the allegation which the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) has adduced. The Government have no objection whatever to the production of it; but there are other two parties to be considered. The one is the Members of the late Government; and it would also be necessary, by usage, to ascertain that there are no parts of the document or documents to the production of which the French Government would object. Subject to those reservations, there is no objection whatever. If I am informed that the late Government do not object, that will dispose of one part of the case, and we can immediately proceed to ascertain how matters stand as to the French Government. I think the noble Lord is perfectly justified in asking the Question.

MR. BOURKE: On the part of the late Government, I have to state that there is no objection whatever to the production of the documents alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. GLADSTONE: I would suggest that it would be convenient if the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Bourke) would communicate with my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) as to the particular Papers; and, in that case, perhaps he would like to put down a Motion on the Paper, and afterwards we would proceed to ascertain the opinion of the French Government. The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) will, perhaps, have gathered from what I have said that his Question is substantially answered.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that there are documents which can be produced to substantiate his allegation—

"That it cannot be too clearly understood that the covenants under which this country has been acting in Egypt were not made by the present Government."

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes.



MR. BOURKE: I hope, therefore, it is clearly understood that these documents will be produced, if there is no objection on the part of the French Government.

EGYPT (POLITICAL AFFAIRS)—NUBAR PASHA.

SIR STAFFORD NORTH COTE asked, Whether the Government had any information as to the truth of the statement that Nubar Pasha had resigned?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, the Government have no information at all in corroboration of this statement.

CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS)  
ACTS—IMPORTATION OF CATTLE  
FROM IRELAND.

MR. KENNY asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If his attention has been called to the Report of the Richmond Committee on the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill, published in 1878, according to which (see paragraphs 1202, 1203, and 1204) such cases as the "Silloth case" and the "Manchester case" could not re-occur; whether, notwithstanding such assurance from the then Lord President of the Council, Irish cattle have been excluded from English and Scotch ports, and from English and Scotch markets, by local authorities; and, if the Government propose to take any steps to prevent local authorities acting in such a manner?

MR. DODSON: Sir, the assurance referred to as given by the Duke of Richmond was that the Silloth and Manchester cases—namely, the detention of healthy animals in transit, in consequence of the appearance of disease in one or more of the number, should not recur. No such case has occurred, and the Regulations of the Privy Council render its recurrence illegal. No assurance was given that a local authority should not exercise the power of excluding from its district animals (other than animals in transit) from the district of any other local authority or local authorities in the United Kingdom. No exceptional powers are given against Ireland.

MR. JAMES HOWARD asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Whether the Privy Council, in view of

the increased movement of cattle about to take place, and the consequent risk of disease again spreading and becoming unmanageable, and the fact that the Returns on the 29th ultimo showed that there were only 740 diseased animals in the United Kingdom, and that the loss from the slaughtering of such animals would not amount to more than five thousand pounds, the Department will consider the desirability of simultaneous action throughout the Country for stamping out foot-and-mouth disease by the issue of an Order in Council directing the slaughter of all animals at present affected with the disease, in accordance with the powers vested in the Privy Council by section 29 of the Act of 1878, and also directing, for a prescribed period, the establishment of an efficient cordon around each infected farm or place, under the powers vested in the Privy Council by section 32 of the same Act?

MR. DODSON: Sir, my hon. Friend put the same Question to me only on Friday last. The Privy Council have not changed their views, and I can only refer him to the answer I then gave. I am glad to be able to add that the Returns for the week ending April 5, which, however, are not complete, show that the number of animals in Great Britain affected with foot-and-mouth disease, which for the week ending March 29 amounted to 740, was reduced to less than 500.

LONDON GOVERNMENT BILL.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Bill which he proposes to introduce on Tuesday, for a new Municipality of London, will be in the hands of Members on Wednesday morning?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that the Government were extremely anxious that the Bill should be circulated as soon as possible. The right hon. Gentleman knew, however, that it could not be printed until the Order of the House was made, and he was afraid it would not be ready for general delivery until Thursday next. But he had given directions that every effort should be made to have it distributed as soon as possible.

THE NEW FOREST (WOODS AND PLANTATIONS)—REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If there is any account of the expenditure on the woods and plantations in the New Forest during the last fifty years, and of the revenue actually realized from the sale of timber and trees during that period?

MR. COURTNEY: Sir, the right hon. Gentleman is well aware how complicated a state of things exists in the New Forest. Efforts have, however, been made to discriminate the receipts and expenditure properly attributable to the woods and plantations there from those belonging to other matters. It is very difficult, if not impossible, to do this for the years before 1853; but the Commissioners of Woods inform me that in the last 30 years the Crown may roughly be said to have realized a profit of between £4,000 and £5,000 annually from the 24,000 acres of the New Forest which are under timber, or less than 5s. an acre. The greater portion of this profit arose in the earlier years of the period.

ARMY (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—STEEL FORGINGS FOR GUNS.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, Whether there is any truth in the report that the Government intend to supersede, by an extension of the Government factories at Woolwich or otherwise, the private firms now engaged in supplying the Government with heavy steel forgings for guns; and, if so, under what Vote in the Estimates the increased charge for such works will appear?

MR. BRAND, in reply, said, that he had already informed the manufacturers of Sheffield, through his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), of the state of the case. There was no plant in the Royal Arsenal for the manufacture of steel forgings of a size larger than was required for six-inch tube and eight-inch breech pieces. There was no intention of setting up plant for the manufacture of heavy steel forgings.

ARMY (ORDNANCE DEPARTMENT)—RAPID FIRING GUNS.

LORD HENRY LENNOX asked the Surveyor General of Ordnance, Whether there would be any objection to lay upon the Table of the House the Report of the Ordnance Committee as to the merits of the six pound rapid firing shell guns; and, whether he can give the name of the firm that has received the order to supply the 200 guns of this kind which are to be supplied to the Royal Navy?

MR. BRAND, in reply, said, that it was not in his power to lay upon the Table of the House the Report referred to. The Ordnance Committee was appointed to advise the Secretary of State for War upon important questions having reference to warlike *matériel*, and it was desirable to consider their Reports as confidential. No order had as yet been given for the manufacture of the guns.

PORTUGAL—THE CONGO RIVER TREATY.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can inform the House what portion of the territory, the sovereignty of which by Portugal is proposed to be recognised by Article 1. of the Congo Treaty, is at present in the occupation of the Portuguese Government or under its rule?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: As I have already explained to the House on former occasions, owing to the orders issued to Her Majesty's Naval authorities forcibly to oppose any attempt of the Portuguese to extend their occupation beyond Ambriz, no portion of the territory referred to by my right hon. Friend is in the occupation of Portugal or under her rule.

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—PRISONERS AWAITING TRIAL.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he would state how many of the prisoners at present in Galway awaiting trial have been confined for a period of twelve months; and, whether, seeing that the policeman Muldooney, Patrick Finigan, and others, charged with murder or conspiracy to murder, and awaiting trial during the past fifteen months,

have had their trial further postponed at the late assizes, he will hold out any hope that the Crown will not oppose a motion for bail made in behalf of any or all the prisoners?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am informed that there is no prisoner in custody in Galway Gaol for a period of 12 months awaiting trial; but the Question is, I suppose, intended to refer to the prisoners from Galway now at Sligo, of whom there are, I believe, six. As regards the application for the postponement of the trial mentioned, it was not at the instance of the Crown, but at the instance of the prisoner Muldooney, on the ground of the absence of a material witness. That being so, and the charge being one of murder, I am advised that the Crown could not consent to the prisoners being admitted to bail.

#### SEA AND COAST FISHERIES (IRELAND)

##### —THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES—ACCOUNTS FOR 1882-83.

MR. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the accounts of the Trustees to Aid Coast Fisheries in Ireland have had their accounts for the years 1882 and 1883 audited, and a copy of each such account furnished to the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests, as directed by the 12th Clause of the Scheme approved by the Master of the Rolls in 1881; and, if so, whether he will cause Copies of these accounts to be laid upon the Table?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am informed that the regulations have been fully complied with as regards the accounts for 1882, and will in due course be complied with as regards the accounts for 1883.

#### PRISONS (IRELAND)—DEATHS IN WATERFORD GAOL.

MR. LEAMY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the inquiry as to the death of James Commins in Waterford Gaol will be a public inquiry; and, whether it is the fact that a man named Connors, who was subjected to treatment similar to that to which Commins was subjected, died in the same gaol some time ago?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the inquiry in connection with the death of James Commins in Waterford Prison was not a public one. ["Oh!"] It was con-

ducted on the 1st of this month by the Inspector of the present Board in the usual manner in which inquiries into matters occurring within prisons are held, and the Inspector's Report is at present under the consideration of the Government in Dublin, and that consideration will be most careful. A man named Connors was confined in Waterford Prison; but it is not the case that he died there. He was discharged in his usual health on the 27th of November last.

MR. LEAMY inquired, whether two men had not died within a recent period in Waterford Prison because of their treatment?

MR. SEXTON: Will the Report of the evidence be laid on the Table?

MR. TREVELYAN: I cannot answer that without seeing what has been done in former cases.

#### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—ENNISKILLEN PETTY SESSIONS—CAPTAIN M'TERNAN.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If, in the late trial of Frith v. Trimble, at the Londonderry Assizes, Captain M'Ternan, R.M., of Enniskillen, directly charged the Rev. Mr. Frith, plaintiff in the action, with acting corruptly in his capacity of Chairman of the Enniskillen Bench of Magistrates; whether he is aware that the presiding judge, in his charge to the jury, is reported to have commented on Captain M'Ternan's evidence in the following terms:—

"Captain M'Ternan appeared to be of a rather sweeping tendency, and everybody who came before him he seemed inclined to send to gaol for a month. It was possible that the other magistrates differed with him, and fairly and reasonably differed with him. He (Captain M'Ternan) had thought fit to present himself before them, and, not content with saying 'I differed with this gentleman,' he took upon himself to say he believed Mr. Frith, on that occasion, acted corruptly, and went further to say that his conduct was a pollution of the justice seat. He did not intend to say anything more about this, except that he was never more surprised, never more grieved, than when he heard one magistrate say such a thing towards another;"

whether Captain M'Ternan also charged three other magistrates, who were on the Bench with Mr. Frith and himself on the occasion, with partiality, ignorance, or corruption; whether, after the



verdict was given, the judge acceded to an application on behalf of the plaintiff to stay execution, with a view to a new trial, on the ground that the verdict was contrary to the evidence; and, if, pending the final decision of the case, he will make such arrangements that these four gentlemen shall not be obliged to sit on the Bench with a Government official who has directly charged them with ignorance, partiality, and corruption?

MR. SEXTON: Upon this Question, I beg to ask, Whether it is not the fact that Captain M'Ternan was subpoenaed to attend the trial by Rev. Mr. Frith himself, and that it was in reply to questions from him that he spoke; whether the presiding Judge was not the same Judge who, in a remarkable trial in Dublin in 1880, expressed himself in such a manner upon a case pending that he had to retire from the Bench?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I am not sure whether Captain M'Ternan was subpoenaed on behalf of the Rev. Mr. Frith. He was examined as a witness, and gave evidence as to partiality of the Enniskillen Bench of Magistrates; but the charge referred to in the preliminary part of this Question occurred in reply to questions which he was compelled to answer on cross-examination by plaintiff's counsel, and for protection against which he earnestly and frequently, and, I may say, pathetically, appealed to the Court. The Lord Chief Justice is represented by the newspaper reports to have stated what the Question embraces; but it is not for me to say whether that language was rightly or wrongly used. As to the other three magistrates, it would appear, from the newspaper reports, that Captain M'Ternan, having the words put into his mouth by the Rev. Mr. Frith's counsel, stated that, in his opinion, they acted from ignorance rather than corruption. Strong as are the opinions expressed by Captain M'Ternan, if he honestly entertained them on sufficient grounds, he, as a witness, was bound to state them. I have already stated that this case being *sub judice*, I will reserve my action about it, and the Government will make no such arrangement as is referred to in the Question. Should any embarrassment arise in the administration of the

law, the Government will be prepared to take effectual steps to remove it.

MR. SEXTON said, that the right hon. Gentleman had not answered his Question as to whether the presiding Judge had not, on a previous occasion, to retire from the Bench because of unjudicial language?

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Are the newspaper reports correct in stating that Lord Chief Justice May wept in the course of his charge to the jury?

MR. TREVELYAN: I hardly know whether I am bound to answer these Questions, seeing that they are presumably asked for a notorious purpose.

#### SEA AND COAST FISHERIES (IRELAND) —ENCROACHMENT OF FRENCH FISHERMEN.

MR. O'SHEA asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that the large French boats fishing off the coast of Clare are in the habit of encroaching within the prohibited limit of three miles, and that when "driving" for mackerel their nets, which are of great length and weight, bear down and injure the small light nets with which the native fishermen fish from their canoes; and, if so, whether he will consider whether a cruiser might not advantageously be sent to the neighbourhood to enforce observance of the law?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN, in reply, said, the Government had no information, and therefore it was not thought necessary to send a cruiser to enforce observance of the law. There would be no objection to a gunboat occasionally cruising off that part of the coast.

MR. KENNY asked if there was not a man-of-war stationed in the Shannon, and whether it could not be sent?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he could only repeat that the Government had no information of the alleged proceedings.

#### ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—COLONEL DIGBY, J.P.

MR. HARRINGTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What action the Government propose to take with regard to the charge against Colonel Digby, J.P. for having, by false representations, sought fraudulently to obtain from the Irish Land

Commission certain sums of money for arrears of rent which were not due; whether, of the two landlord magistrates who refused informations in the case, one had not attended that Petty Sessions Court for some years previously; whether it was competent for the Resident Magistrate alone to take informations without the concurrence of the other magistrates; and, if so, why this course was not pursued; and, what course the Government intend to take with regard to Colonel Digby?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, the question of further proceedings will be considered by the Law Officer, as I have already stated. The Official Return made by the clerk of Petty Sessions shows that it is not the case that one of the local magistrates had not previously attended for some years, but one had attended much more frequently than the other. The application for informations was made to the magistrates in Petty Sessions, which is the usual practice; and, this being so, I am advised that it was not competent for the Resident Magistrate to comply with the application when the majority of the Bench dissented.

MR. HARRINGTON: Might I ask whether it is not the fact that there were three other cases similar to that in which the application was made, and that no ruling has yet been made upon these cases; and, whether, on that ground, it is not competent for the authorities to get information taken before the Resident Magistrate?

MR. TREVELYAN: Yes, I do believe it is quite possible for them to do so; and it is with the view of their exercising, or not exercising, the powers that the matter has been referred to the Law Officer.

#### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, LOUGHREA UNION—COLLECTION OF VOTING PAPERS.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If, in the East Athenry Electoral Division of the Loughrea Union, voting papers were left for Mr. Evans by the collecting officer, Constable Maloney, on the 18th March; if these papers were not collected by the constable until the night of the 21st March, and if such a delay is legal; if the nomination of the candidate opposed to the gentleman for

whom Mr. Evans voted, requested that the late papers on his side might be similarly collected; if the head constable refused to collect the late papers on that side saying that his power in such matters was discretionary; and, if the election was decided by the late paper so collected; and, if so, will the Local Government Board permit the election to stand?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, he was informed that the voting papers referred to were left to be served on the 18th, and that when the collector called he was told they had been sent by post to Mr. Evans, who lived in another county, and that they could not be received back before next day. The rule was that voting papers should not be in the hands of the voter for more than one day; and in going for the papers a second time, the collector was of opinion that as the voter lived at a distance, the paper would not have been more than one clear day in his possession. There were no similar cases on the other side, but there was a case in which the collector was asked to visit the house of the voter the second time; but this he refused to do. The number of votes recorded for each candidate was equal, and the Local Government Board would order a new election.

#### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BOARDS OF GUARDIANS—ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will quote the statute which prescribes that three days must elapse between the election of guardians and the choice of chairman; and, if the rule simply depends on an order of the Local Government Board; and, if so, when was such order made and on what grounds?

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, section 3 of the Irish Poor Relief Act empowers the Local Government Board to make Orders, amongst other things, for the guidance and control of Poor Law Guardians; and, in the exercise of this power, the Local Government Board made a General Order on the 18th of December, 1882, for regulating the meetings and proceedings of Boards of Guardians, which Order is the rule referred to by the hon. Member. The rule made was in order that sufficient time should



be afforded for making known to each guardian the day on which the election of chairman should take place.

again be permitted; and they will be informed that, should it recur, it will not be again overlooked.

#### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT— FLOGGING AT SPELDHURST NATIONAL SCHOOL.

MR. SAMUEL MORLEY asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education, If he has investigated the statement that two boys named Haffenden, scholars in the national school at Speldhurst, near Tunbridge Wells, were flogged, in the presence of the entire school, by the master, for having on the previous Sunday, the 2nd March, attended a service in a dissenting chapel in the village; and, if he will report the result to the House?

MR. MUNDELLA: Sir, a formal inquiry into the facts of this case was held on Saturday last by an experienced officer of the Department, when all the parties appeared before him and gave evidence. It was admitted that, in the presence of the clergyman and of his sister-in-law, two boys were beaten before the whole school for having attended a Dissenting chapel. It was also admitted that, after the beating, the clergyman called upon any other boys who had attended the chapel to hold up their hands, and subsequently did the same in the girls' school. He further inquired of each child in turn whether he had attended chapel with the parents' approval, and admonished them, as he says, "to stick to one thing or the other." The two boys who were punished were the sons of the schoolmaster, and were employed in the school as monitors. It is pleaded that the schoolmaster was justified in punishing his own sons for disobeying his orders not to attend chapel. I have no doubt that the whole of this proceeding was improper and inconsistent with the conditions under which a public elementary school ought to be conducted. The clergyman and his sister-in-law admit their error; and, in justice to the other managers, I must add that what occurred was without their authority or approval. I think the inquiry will have had a beneficial effect and prevent a repetition of such deplorable intolerance. The Department will require from the managers an undertaking that no such interference with the management of the school will

#### GIBRALTAR SANITARY COMMISSIONERS.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether Government has received a Memorial from the late Sanitary Commissioners at Gibraltar, complaining of the statement made by him on the 8th February, and asking for a public inquiry; whether such inquiry is to be granted; whether that Sir John Adye has only been able to find one gentleman to act upon the Sanitary Commission although there ought to be eight; whether payment of rates is being refused on the ground that the assessing body is no longer legally constituted; and, whether Government mean to continue attempting to levy rates through the official minority, or if they mean in the old or in some new way to give the people some voice in the levying and spending of taxation?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the complaint arose from a misapprehension of what I said, which was understood to convey personal blame to the Commissioners, whereas the system and procedure of the Commission were alone pointed at. This has been explained in a despatch from the Secretary of State, which will, no doubt, be quite satisfactory. It is true that only one gentleman out of the eight unofficial members takes any part at present in the deliberations of the Commission. We have not heard of any refusal to pay the rates. The old way is still open for the voice of the people in the matter of taxation; and Her Majesty's Government—in the words of Lord Derby's despatch to which I have already referred—

"Are sensible of the good service rendered to the community of Gibraltar by the unofficial members of the Sanitary Commission, and have no other desire than that their valuable co-operation should continue to be given as heretofore."

MR. ANDERSON: Has the hon. Gentleman seen a Petition which was presented a few days ago by the hon. Member for Colchester?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No, Sir; I have not.

*Mr. Trevelyan*



POST OFFICE (CONTRACTS)—THE  
WEST INDIA MAIL SERVICE.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, if it is true that Her Majesty's Government are now entertaining a tender of the Royal Mail Company for £95,500 per annum for the conveyance of the West India Mails; whether that sum is £15,000 in excess of the subsidy now paid; whether other tenders had been received under which the service would be performed with equal celerity at a saving of nearly £30,000 per annum; and, whether all the Correspondence connected with the tenders will be presented to the House before the contract becomes binding?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Sir, the statements and figures in the noble Lord's Question are substantially correct; but as, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, all the tenders will be reconsidered by the Departments interested, the Correspondence cannot at present be laid on the Table.

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—  
KHARTOUM.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked, Whether it was true that the Governor of Berber had telegraphed that all the roads beyond that place were blocked, and that it was impossible to forward telegrams from Khartoum because the tribes between Berber and Khartoum were in open rebellion?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I really cannot answer all the details of this Question without Notice.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he did not wish the noble Lord to answer all the details. He simply asked, whether it was true that the Governor of Berber had sent this important information which implied that Khartoum was entirely cut off?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he must ask for Notice of the Question.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he would repeat the Question to-morrow.

PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE  
HOUSE—THE EASTER RECESS.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he would ask leave to make a statement with respect to the Easter Recess. The House was aware that the Government had appro-

priated the Sitting to-morrow morning for the purpose of introducing the London Government Bill. It would be impossible, under those circumstances, to undertake at that time to move the Adjournment of the House for the Recess. There were two other courses which might be taken, one of which was to put down the Motion of Adjournment for the Evening Sitting. The other was a course which he did not suppose the House would be ready to entertain—namely, to meet on Wednesday for the purpose of dealing with the Motion. What had been done, therefore, was that the Government put down the Notice for Adjournment at the Evening Sitting on Tuesday. He observed that there were three Motions on the Paper for that evening. One of these had reference to the disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales. He hoped that, with regard to that Motion, the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) would, under the circumstances, courteously give way. The hon. and learned Gentleman in whose name the second Motion stood (Mr. Serjeant Simon) was, unfortunately, owing to the state of his health, precluded from making that Motion. With regard to the Motion of the hon. Member for Middlesex (Mr. Coope), he (Mr. Gladstone) would admit that the question with respect to the evening opening of our national collections was one of importance, and well deserving discussion in that House. Still, he would confidently venture to make an appeal to the hon. Member to be so good as to give way, in order to enable the Motion for the Adjournment of the House to take precedence of the other Motions.

MR. COOPE said, he had endeavoured several times to obtain an opportunity of bringing his Resolution before the House. After the appeal of the Prime Minister, however, and considering the convenience of the House, as well as trusting to find another occasion to bring forward the Motion after the Recess, he was quite willing to yield.

MR. DILLWYN said, that if he thought he could bring forward his Motion with any chance of success he would do so; but as he could not, he would trust to the chance of the ballot to secure another evening.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE said, he thought the House would be obliged

to the hon. Members for their courtesy, and especially to the hon. Member for Middlesex, who had the first place on the Paper. He would ask the Prime Minister to state how long the holidays would continue?

MR. GLADSTONE: Until Monday week.

MR. PARNELL, as a point of Order, asked the Speaker, Whether the New Rules would preclude, on the Motion for Adjournment, the discussions which formerly took place, or whether they would be limited to the immediate Question?

MR. SPEAKER: There will be no change made in that respect by the New Rules.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

—o—

#### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—[BILL 119.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.*)

#### SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

[SIXTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [24th March], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House declines to proceed further with a measure, having for its object the addition of two million voters to the electoral body of the United Kingdom, until it has before it the entire scheme contemplated by the Government for the amendment of the Representation of the People,"—(*Lord John Manners*),

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate resumed.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: Sir, happily or unhappily for me, it is my lot to stand between the desires of the House and the sumptuous fare to which it is looking forward in the speech of the Prime Minister. Bearing that in mind, I will proceed to the speedy execution of the duty which I have to discharge on behalf of the constituency which I have the honour to represent. I admit that the agricultural labourer is

entitled to fuller representation; but I deny that he can be said to have had hitherto none. Since 1867 he had, though not fully represented, been represented, so to speak, by sample, and this not only is the case of what are called the district boroughs, such as Aylesbury and Wenlock. Hon. Members may be amused to hear, but they cannot deny, that the agricultural labourers are the class from whom are drawn the great bulk of those who return to this House the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), and the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett). How, then, have the agricultural labourers availed themselves of the means thus in the hands of some of them for making known to this House the intolerable grievances which it suits hon. Gentlemen opposite to say that they suffer? What measures have they taken to press upon the House their ardent desire that the bulk, instead of these mere samples of their class, should be represented in Parliament? To answer that question we must go back and inquire what were the agricultural champions, in the persons of the Liberals who sat for East Retford, Aylesbury, and Much Wenlock in the Parliament of 1868, doing when that Parliament was committing all those thefts and injuries which the implacable partizanship of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade has imagined? If it be true that these Liberal Representatives were consenting to the doing of the evil deeds which the right hon. Gentleman says were being done here, how was it that all three of them successfully sought re-election, both in 1874 and 1880, by the votes of the wronged and plundered peasant? With these facts before us, it really seems useless to inquire whether the President of the Board of Trade's ignorance of the Common Law relating to the inclosure of waste lands is real or feigned. But if such has been the attitude of the agricultural labourer towards his Representatives in the past, let us come to newer times and newer men, and let us inquire what was my hon. Friend and contemporary, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board (Mr. George Russell), doing when he was known only as the junior Member for Aylesbury—what has he done in this Parliament to give voice to the grievances of the agricultural labourers who

*Sir Stafford Northcote*



are his constituents? Is he wanting in the faculty of persuasive speech? Did he never, as an independent Member, give exercise to those faculties on the floor of the House? Of course he did, to the delight of the House; but to what extent to the relief or benefit of the agricultural labourers who were his constituents? Why, one of his earliest and most brilliant utterances was a speech directly aimed at maintaining, if not of amplifying, the domination over the agricultural labourer of his natural enemy the parson. Another brilliant speech of the hon. Member was devoted to an entreaty to the Government to stand by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General in his Catonic severity towards corrupt practices; but, unfortunately, that speech, if it went to prove anything, went to prove that the working men in boroughs, who have generally been supposed to be more fit for the franchise than the agricultural labourer, were themselves scarcely to be trusted with political privileges at all. And what more has the hon. Member done for the labourers in the amusing, but not too heavily ballasted, speech with which he favoured us in the present debate? What was the worst and most flagrant instance of squirearchical or parsonic oppression that he could produce? Merely that one of his constituents, a labourer, had thought—the hon. Member does not attempt to say rightly or justifiably thought—that if he were not to behave himself as a guest should at a meeting to which he was admittedly taken as a guest, he might possibly lose the benefit of a lift home from the parson by whose gratuitous kindness he had been carried to the meeting. Well, if this is the worst that is ever done to the labourers of Aylesbury, we need not wonder that the hon. Member had such ample leisure, while still in a state of independence, for literary pursuits and the study of the curiosities of theology. To-day, however, he finds it necessary to be eloquent about the wrongs which, for some mysterious reason, he had never told us of before. He is full of black indignation at the malignity of parsons; and now that he has joined a Government that owes its existence to the political side of Nonconformity, I suppose his theological views have come to consist of an admiration of the sweet reasonableness of the

ecclesiastics of all other persuasions than that of the country parson and non-resident Masters of Arts, whom now he would apparently like to unfrock and to disfranchise altogether. I only mention these things, Sir, as some of the proofs by which it might be shown that though the agricultural labourer has hitherto suffered from the theoretical grievance of being under-represented in this House, he has apparently not suffered any great practical injustice in consequence. I am not, however, concerned to prove that myself, because I do not dispute the justice of some such Bill as that now before the House. Even if the rural labourers had not been promised the franchise, it is pretty clear that, whatever Party may be in power, we shall see some considerable increase in the number of working men entitled to vote, if only on the mere ground of the anomalies created by the present borough boundaries; and, in that case, I am by no means disposed to consent that the artisan and the miner should monopolize that increased representation. I hold that not to admit the agricultural labourer to balance the vote of the artisan and the miner would be not only inequitable but unsafe; so that I am at least as much in favour of the central principle of this Bill as hon. Gentlemen opposite. I say “at least as much,” because I mean that the evidence that they desire it themselves is to be found mainly in their own profession and protestation of desire, and scarcely anywhere else. We are told by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Local Government Board that this Parliament was elected for the purpose, before any other, of making this extension of the franchise. Then, why did it not set its hand to this work before any other? Who gave them leave to put it off for four Sessions? The Reformers of 1831 did not take “French leave” to put off Reform. Nor did the Reformers of 1866, though they had been elected only a year before, and that with scarcely any visible mandate for Reform. If the wrongs of the agricultural labourers are so great, why have their self-constituted advocates so long put off redress? If the under-represented state of the labourers is a scandal, why have four years of bye-elections been allowed to recur, and not only to recur, but to have the disastrous effect of replacing Liberals, and so-called



friends of Reform, by Conservatives—friends of the parson and the squire—Conservatives who delight to rob and to bully the down-trodden tiller of the soil? And why has this Parliament been all the while suffered to arrogate to itself the task of legislating on matters deeply affecting the welfare of the agricultural labourer, when, all the time, this Parliament has been admittedly incompetent for the task, because itself unrepresentative of the peasantry? Gentlemen opposite have seen all this going on with the most unaccountable equanimity; and now they have the face to wish us to believe that they have been all the while yearning for Reform. I say, that the hour is suspiciously late in which the Government are seeking to redeem their pledge, and there is much significance in not only the lateness of the hour, but also in the tactics with which they set about it. They have clearly got to abandon the other shifting alternatives by which they have been used to interpret the mandate of 1880. Sometimes it has suited them to represent that mandate as being, before all things, for a reversal of our foreign policy, and for a policy of peace. That mandate, if, indeed, it was ever given, has been fulfilled in a strange way, and the attention of the public has now to be diverted from the inconvenient subject of peace. The same thing may be said of the supposed mandate for retrenchment. Instead of retrenchment, we have the thing which is called Liberal finance. Naturally, the Liberal Party, in the extremity of their discredited condition, feel constrained, rather late than never, to try, at all events, to give the Reform which they promised so long ago, but have since neglected and refused to give. Does all this look as if the redemption of that pledge would, apart from Party objects, be very much to their liking? In any case, all this entitles us on this side to be very suspicious indeed, not only of the motives of the Government in bringing in this Bill, but also of their intention as regards its effects, and the effects of the redistribution which must follow. As the Amendment of my noble Friend (Lord John Manners) condemns the non-disclosure of those intentions, I shall vote for it. The Party character of the Bill, as judged by the necessary effect it must have, has been well exposed by previous speakers, notably by my noble

Friend the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton). It is brought in under circumstances which make redistribution in the present Parliament almost impossible. It comes before us tainted with Party motives, and visibly aimed at Party objects. By keeping back the redistribution scheme, those Party objects are further promoted, and most especially so by the scanty nature of the Prime Minister's declaration on the subject. It mattered little to the right hon. Gentleman that that was not a binding declaration, provided that what it revealed was just so much of his scheme as should attract support from the constituencies controlled by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and that what it concealed was just so much as, if revealed, would alienate the support of the Southern English constituencies. The supposed intention to maintain the present representation of Ireland can be nothing but a bid for Irish support. It is itself a departure from the loudly expressed principles upon which this Bill is said to be based. It conflicts as flatly with the principle of justice to Ireland as it does with the doctrine that every vote should have an equal value. Justice means a man's due—not more than his due, nor less than his due. Justice to Ireland ought not to give either more or less than that to Ireland. If Ireland is to be treated on an equality with England, let her have applied to her the same principle that is applied to England and Scotland—that the number of Representatives is to be assigned with reference to population and taxation. To treat her otherwise is to meet her on principles not of equality, but of expediency. Who can wonder that, in defence of this proposal, the Government are driven to such an argument as that geographical distance is likely to impede in the future, any more than it has in the past, the Parliamentary importunities of hon. Gentlemen from Ireland who ask perhaps two-thirds of the Questions, and deliver perhaps two-thirds of the speeches in a House of which they number less than a sixth part? Under all these circumstances, I feel bound to vote for an Amendment which condemns the unconscientious position from which these proposals are made, and the policy of concealment by which it is sought to push them forward.

MR. BARRAN said that, in his opinion, the agricultural labourers had no great reason to be proud of their advocate, the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Stuart-Wortley), that night, when he called upon them to be satisfied with such representation as that afforded by some of the small boroughs of the country. He (Mr. Barran) represented one of the greatest constituencies in the Kingdom; a constituency which had always taken an interest in this question, and had warmly extended its sympathy to the 600,000 or 700,000 agricultural labourers who were still unenfranchised. He thought it hardly likely that the agricultural labourers would be satisfied with the cold comfort offered to them by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield, that they should be satisfied with being represented by the hon. Gentleman opposite the Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) and the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). The right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) questioned the qualification, as regarded capacity, of the men whom the Bill would enfranchise to exercise reasonably the duties and rights which would be conferred upon them as a trust; but, in answer to that, he (Mr. Barran) would point out that agricultural labourers, and working men generally, had shown themselves qualified to act in their own interest in connection with large commercial enterprises — enterprises which had done credit to the working men of this country. He referred to Co-operative Societies and Friendly Societies; and maintained that the working classes, wherever the franchise, either municipal or Parliamentary, had been enjoyed by them, had always exhibited great capacity for the exercise of their rights. That being so, they must surely be qualified to exercise the full rights of citizenship. In all those cases they had developed a competency to make good use of it. They took great interest in questions affecting the welfare of the people—sanitary and economic questions, for example—and the result of their possessing municipal rights and privileges was that in many large towns the management of local and benevolent institutions had vastly improved. They had been told that population in the towns ought to be represented, and, perhaps, property in the counties; but

wherever population was found there would be property. He held that the franchise, although a very responsible privilege, was not a trust. What right had any man to judge of any other whether he should have the franchise? Agricultural labourers and artisans were responsible to the laws of the country, and they had, therefore, a right to a voice in the making of those laws. Hon. Gentlemen opposite expressed a fear of being overridden by numbers; but when they passed the Bill of 1867, did the Conservatives ask the merchants and manufacturers in large towns whether they were willing to be overridden by the larger numbers then enfranchised? He supported the Bill, not on the ground of its representation of any particular section of the people, or of any particular industry; not only because it extended the franchise to the agricultural labourers, but because he looked upon it as a measure of justice, and an instalment of legislation designed for the purpose of giving the people a voice in the selection of those who were to represent them in the House of Commons. The agricultural labourers were not the only class who were not enfranchised. More than 1,000,000 people who lived in large urban districts, 150 in number, had no representation. Were they to continue to want the franchise simply because, in the opinion of some politicians, there might be a danger that, if it were conferred upon them, one particular Party in the State would be overborne by numbers? If hon. Gentlemen opposite would tell the country openly that they disliked the Bill, and did not want it, because it would place power in the hands of the working classes, they would do honour to themselves, and he could understand it; but to avoid making that declaration, by means of the device which was embodied in the Amendment of the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners), was a way out of the difficulty which was neither honourable to those who were supporting it, nor creditable to the Conservative Party—that great body which professed in all cases to represent the working men. He would, therefore, appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite to make a clean breast of it, and say at once that they did not wish to have an extension of the franchise. If they would tell the country they did not wish to have it, the



country would know exactly what they wanted; but if they tried to shelter themselves under the Amendment, and sought to postpone the accomplishment of this object by such means, they would suffer in their character and in the position of their Party. He would say just one word in reference to Ireland. Statistics had been very carefully drawn up, estimates had been made, and opinions expressed as to what would be the effect if the Prime Minister's suggestion to retain the same amount of representation for Ireland as it had at present were carried out, and therefore he would not venture to go into the details of that question. That country had been, and might be, a great difficulty in connection with the passing of the Bill; but if Ireland was to be used as a means of rejecting this Bill, hon. Gentlemen opposite would before long have reason to regret that they had used it as a Party shuttlecock, for purposes for which it ought not to be used. Ireland had been made a means of Party warfare in the past, and she might be made such a means in the future. She was smarting now from the conduct of the past administration of her affairs; and if they had, at the present time, reason to regret that the condition of that country was not what it should be, they ought not to shut their eyes to the fact that very largely the dissatisfaction and discontent which existed there was the offspring of the injustice which had been done to her for centuries past. If to-day they had an opportunity of doing justice to Ireland, let them do it; but if, on the other hand, they thought they could do even more than justice, he would appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite, and ask them whether it would not be wise to remove every ground of objection and discontent as regarded the equality of the two nations whilst passing this great measure? He had no sympathy with disturbance and riot in Ireland; but he had sympathy with those who were asking that justice should be done. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had appealed to the House on behalf of the loyal portion of Ireland; but he would appeal to the House to increase the numbers of that loyal Party in Ireland. He would say to hon. Gentlemen—"If you intend to have loyalty, you must do justice; and if you do justice and have loyalty, you can insist on enforcing the law." He

thanked the House for having listened to him. He had expressed his feelings in regard to Ireland as strongly as he knew how; and he was sure that if they gave to that country the justice she was entitled to, we should strengthen our hands in the administration of the country, and do honour to Ireland and to ourselves.

MR. GRANTHAM said that, in his opinion, if anything were wanting as a justification for the Amendment of his noble Friend the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) they had only to look at the speeches delivered by hon. Members opposite. The question nominally before the House was the representation of the people; but in all the speeches delivered by the leading Members on the other side of the House nothing was discussed but the question of redistribution. Whether or not the scheme sketched by the Prime Minister was, in the first place, just, and, in the second place, right, they had had it conclusively proved by Liberal speeches that the redistribution scheme, as sketched by him, would not be passed by this House of Commons. That being so, it was as clear as could be that, if this Bill became law, there must be a Dissolution without a Redistribution Bill, and they would consequently bring about that which Her Majesty's Government themselves had stated ought not to be tolerated—namely, dealing with the reduction of the franchise by one House of Commons and dealing with redistribution by another. It had been admitted by the Government, in their speeches in the country and in the House, that it was desirable, if not necessary, that the question as a whole should be settled by the same House of Commons, and they had excused themselves for breaking it up into three distinct measures—the reduction of the franchise, registration, and redistribution. But the debates in the House during the last fortnight had shown that it was perfectly impossible that two, at all events, of those three questions could be settled by the present House of Commons, as almost all the leading Members opposite who had spoken had condemned the redistribution scheme of the Prime Minister. What justification then, he would ask, had the Government for forcing this part of their measure on the



country, when they knew very well that they could not by any possibility pass a redistribution scheme, which they said was to be the basis of the reduction of the franchise? How was it, then, that they found Liberal Members still saying that they intended to vote for this Bill? It was because it was known and understood that, if it passed through the House of Commons, it would be thrown out in the Lords. The fact was that those Liberal Members who, by their speeches, had shown that this Bill ought not to become law, and who were afraid to give expression to their own feelings and opinions in the House of Commons, were relying on the House of Lords to cover their departure from right principles in dealing with this important question. He had often heard the expression emanating from Conservative lips—"Thank God that they had a House of Lords;" but the sentiment was really being uttered by Liberal Members, for they were trusting that the House of Lords would throw out the Bill, as they themselves had not the courage to do it. He was one of those who took a different view of it to many other hon. Members upon his side of the House. In 1832 and in 1867 the freeholders in boroughs were not abolished. They had, in effect, two votes—one as occupier, and the other as freeholder; and he contended that in the counties they should have the same privilege, and thus preserve the balance of power. As to the great question of the reduction of the franchise, the two principles involved had been best exemplified by the speeches of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) and the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler), one of whom said he considered the working man had a right to his vote, and the other that they had to consider the balance of power. He (Mr. Grantham) thought that they were both right, and that the occupier and householder in the counties, if he had not the vote, had a right to claim one. It was said that this Bill gave equality for the first time in the representation. So far from giving equality, it placed the county voter, at any rate, in a position of greater inequality than before as compared with the borough voters. Although the county freeholder had a freehold in the borough, he had no right to vote there at all, having one vote only; whilst the

freeholder in the borough had not only his vote in the borough, but also a vote in the county. This Bill took away the right and privilege which the county freeholder had before, of being in an electoral district in which property was the basis of the representation, and gave him nothing instead, consequently giving the borough freeholder a considerable advantage over him. He did not object to the representation of numbers; but he did object to numbers being made supreme. Labourers in counties had, perhaps, a right to say that, as labourers in towns possessed voting powers which they in counties did not enjoy, the system of representation ought to be so altered as to put them upon an equality; but the object of all alterations in the franchise ought to be to secure good government and stability in the representation; and it was necessary to look and ascertain, with reference to the electors in the country, whether there could not be found that equivalent which would give this stability, at the same time that they extended the franchise to the labourer. It was desirable that, whereas this Bill would place the county freeholder in a false position, there should be given to the owner of every freehold, however humble, the right to vote both as a freeholder and as an occupier. That would tend to give that stability to representation and good government which ought to be desired by everyone who took any part in legislating upon such an important question as this. If, however, the Bill before the House was not likely to secure that object it ought not to pass into law. By this Bill the freeholder in a county stood in an anomalous position as compared with the freeholder in a borough; and as the Bill would continue that anomalous and unequal distinction between them, he contended that it ought not to be sanctioned by Parliament.

MR. GLADSTONE: Mr. Speaker—Sir, under the circumstances of the moment, I ask to be allowed, by the indulgence of the House, to address them on this subject at an earlier period of the evening than would, under ordinary circumstances, be the proper course for the person holding the Office that I have the honour to hold; and, while I am confident that indulgence will be granted to me, I hope I may also say that I trust I shall have no occasion to trespass on

the time of the House at anything like the length to which I was obliged to go on the occasion when I laid this Bill before the House on asking for leave to introduce it. But I wish, Sir, to take notice of several complaints, which appear to me to constitute the substance of the opposition to this Bill, so far as speeches in this House are concerned. It has been complained that there has been a want of positive arguments for the Bill; it has been complained, and is complained, that the Government do not unite a plan of redistribution with the Bill; then complaint is made of the outline of a scheme of redistribution which, on my own behalf, I ventured to submit to the House; and finally—and this is, perhaps, the most serious complaint—it has been complained that this Bill has been framed, not with the patriotic object of enlarging the number of the enfranchised population, but for the purpose of securing perpetuity, or, at any rate, prolongation of Office to the present Government and the Liberal Party. Now, Sir, with respect to the production of no arguments for the Bill. When I observe the care and caution with which a great number of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite avoid any declarations against the principles of the Bill, it would be an abuse of the time of the House to dwell in lengthened detail on the arguments for its introduction; but I may say that they have not been so entirely neglected, even by myself, as appears to be supposed. Does anyone contest the principle upon which I founded myself in my introductory statement—that it is good for the State that the largest possible number of capable citizens should be invested with the Parliamentary franchise? If that is denied, let us hear the denial in plain terms; but if it is not denied, then I say the whole argument is at an end. Because with respect to the very classes whom it is now proposed to enfranchise in the counties, the law has already declared, and experience has confirmed the declarations of the law, that the very same classes are already possessed of the franchise—the artisans in the towns and the peasantry in the smaller boroughs, not inconsiderable in number—and, consequently, their capability is no longer to be disputed. I must say I do not think it is easy to dispute the enormous value of the Parliamentary vote as an

educating power. By conferring the vote—I put out of view those cases where it is conferred on narrow and sectional principles as a privilege to individuals, or the view which is apt to give it the character, or too much the character, of a supposed property disposable at the will of the possessor—where the franchise is liberally extended, the Parliamentary vote is a great educating power, and the man who was a good citizen before he had it will be a better citizen after he has received it. Well, then, it is hardly denied, I think, that the representation of classes will be far more equal when a Bill of this kind is passed than it is at present. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Stuart-Wortley) contended to-night that the Bill was not necessary, because, as he said, the peasant was already represented in some of the smaller boroughs of the country.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: That was not my contention. I was only describing the state of things that has existed up to now. I did not contend that he was sufficiently represented.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am glad to hear that the hon. and learned Member says he does not contend that the peasant is sufficiently represented, for that is an argument which, if it had been good at all, would have been good in a great degree against the original Reform Act; because, through the extraordinary diversities of the franchise that prevailed under that old Parliamentary system, it was undeniable that in some boroughs or counties all classes of the community were, though insufficiently, yet were more or less, represented. Then, Sir, if the representation of classes can be made more perfect, what does that mean but the improvement of the constitution of this House? Has the constitution of this House been improved or not by the Reform Bills which have already been enacted? [*Cries of "No, no!"*] Perhaps, then, you hon. Members who say "No" will bring in a Bill to repeal these Acts accordingly. But do not let it be supposed that I am going to institute a personal comparison to discuss merely the composition of this House and compare, man for man, those who sit here now and the men who sat here 60 or 70 years ago. What I am going to affirm, and with great confidence, is this—that when



we speak of the improvement of the House of Commons, we do not mean the bringing here of a finer set of private Gentlemen—we do not mean the bringing here even of a set of more highly-educated men. What we do mean is, that we bring here an Assembly better qualified to comprehend the wants of the country, more disposed to deal with those wants in the whole of their extended circumference. Now, in that point of view I do not think that any Gentleman will say “No,” when I affirm that the House of Commons has been improved and has shown a capacity for dealing with the legislative exigencies of the nation such as unquestionably, under its former composition, it could not and would not have shown. It appears to me that, under these circumstances, there is no difficulty and no occasion for dilating upon arguments for the Bill. There is, indeed, one statement made by my right hon. Friend the Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel), and I think by some other Gentlemen—namely, a complaint that there is no sufficiently vehement or audible knocking at the door of Parliament for the granting of the franchise. What does my right hon. Friend want? Does he remember what happened in 1866? Certainly, at that time I do not think that anyone will say there was a greater desire among the unenfranchised for enfranchisement than there is at this moment among the unenfranchised. At that time it was the staple argument of the opponents of the Bill that there was no demand for it. And there was another and greater difference at that time. I am thankful to say that this Bill has been submitted to a Parliament which is in earnest upon its work as regards this question; but the Parliament of 1866, I may say without offence, was not in earnest. Yet, Sir, although that Parliament was not in earnest, although the reproach of indifference then was constantly addressed to the people, it required only the disappearance of a few railings in Hyde Park to dispose of the whole of these objections; and after having gained what was the real object in view—the displacement of the Liberal Government of the day—the Tory Government, before it was in Office six months, came down itself with a Reform Bill giving a far larger measure—I do not say it was so at the beginning—but

it ended in giving a far larger measure than that which had been submitted by the Liberal Government. Does my right hon. Friend wish that that game should be played over again? I think, hardly; and, if not, I submit it is better not to dwell too much on the absence of vehement demands for Reform. I believe, myself, it is true, as has been well said, that there is a general desire among those who are to be enfranchised by this Bill for the possession of the franchise; and, further, that those who have the franchise already are in strong sympathy with those who have it not. The artisans of the towns are earnestly desirous and determined that measures of this kind, so far as depend on them, will be passed; and I do not think my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Sheffield will contradict me now when I say that he himself has had a lesson from Sheffield on the subject, and that in that town, so much divided into Parties and so much given to openness of discussion, at a vast meeting, truly representative of the whole population of the town—the general sentiments of the population—has given its enthusiastic support to the measure now before the House. So much for the complaint of want of argument for the Bill, which, I hope, will be reduced simply to a want of needless and wearisome details where propositions are broad and general, and perfectly undeniable. Then comes the severance of redistribution from the extension of the franchise. I see very plainly why it is that severance is made a matter of complaint on the opposite side. Because if only we had, in our plan, introduced redistribution, with a vast amount of detail, which it must necessarily have involved, unquestionably Gentlemen opposite would have laboured under no such difficulty as now afflicts them in finding grounds for criticism and opposition. But they say—“What have you to say?” Well, I have this to say—in the first place, had we introduced a Bill, a Franchise and a Redistribution Bill, every other important measure would have become impossible during this Session. It would have been idle for us to pretend that we held the whole question of local government to be one of prime urgency when we had supplied Parliament with an organic measure so large in its scope as necessarily to demand the whole time of the Session



available for legislation of the first class. But it ought to be borne in mind, as I have always said, that there never has been a time when these two subjects were combined in a single Reform Bill. There never has been any attempt to combine in a single Bill the whole question of Parliamentary Reform. [Mr. STUART-WORTLEY: The Bill of 1832.] [An hon. MEMBER: 1866.] Never, never; because that was a Bill for England only. Scotland and Ireland, which in 1832, comprised two-fifths of the population, formed no part of that Bill; and therefore it was incomplete with respect to an enormous portion of the people. But was there any reason why we should make our Bill more comprehensive and complete on this occasion than was ever the case before? Certainly there was, because we had in view the possibility of a most formidable controversy if we had introduced an English Bill and a Scotch Bill, and left an Irish Bill drifting behind to take its chance. Being determined to do justice to Ireland in this matter, we took that which was the only way to secure justice—namely, incorporating and identifying the provisions relating to Ireland with the provisions relating to Great Britain, so as to show to the people of the three countries that we, the Government of the Queen, hold ourselves equally bound to them all. What says the hon. and learned Member who has just sat down (Mr. Grantham)? He makes it his main argument against this Bill. He says it is absolutely essential that the two questions should be dealt with by the same Parliament; and that it is now impossible they can be so dealt with. In regard to its being “absolutely essential,” I do not admit it; but I go so far as this to meet the hon. and learned Gentleman—I may say it is important, it is desirable, and it is entirely within the intentions of the present Administration, that the question should be dealt with by the same Parliament. Then, he says, it is now impossible that it should be so dealt with. That is a broad proposition. Why is it impossible? “Because,” he says, “you have proposed a plan of redistribution, and your plan has been universally condemned.” I have not heard that the plan of redistribution has been generally discussed, and I entirely deny that it is universally condemned. I have heard no serious

discussion of a critical character with regard to that plan of redistribution, except upon the certain point of the number of Members to be allotted to Ireland. Well, Sir, the number of Members to be allotted to Ireland is an important point in a Redistribution Bill; but it is not the plan of redistribution as I ventured to sketch it out—it is not worthy to receive that name, because it is but a faintly-traced outline of a plan—that plan contained a number of propositions of principle—propositions which, I thought, would show persons of friendly disposition—though I did not expect to take any benefit or advantage whatever from those who are unfriendly—that our desire, in dealing with the subject of redistribution, would be, so far as I was able to make myself a prophet as to the final decision of Parliament, to gain the essential objects which redistribution had in view with as small disturbance of existing relations as possible. I, therefore, meet the hon. and learned Member with what I call a plump denial of his proposition which he has brought out for the purpose of sustaining the argument that he wanted to make. But I will go further—I will say this, as was well said by my right hon. Friend behind me the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster)—that the effect of combining redistribution in the same measure with the franchise is to cause an Imperial question to be settled upon local, sectional, partial, and selfish considerations. The effect of producing a plan of redistribution which must necessarily, in its details, ostensibly be disagreeable to some, is to place all these local and small interests in direct antagonism to what is broadly and nationally beneficial; and, therefore, we hold that this combination is a combination which is not desirable for the purpose which legislation of this kind ought to have in view. We have also pointed out that a knowledge of the manner in which the new franchises will distribute themselves is almost essential to determining prudently the details of the plan of redistribution. We cannot tell—it is impossible to tell—in what particular spots particular franchises will be found to work so as to yield a larger or smaller amount of voters to the constituencies; and it is only when a Franchise Bill has been passed that you can be in a position to

deal justly and finally with the subject of redistribution. Well, Sir, in our opinion, it is quite wrong and irrational to say that any hardship or anomaly is aggravated by this Bill. There are grievances—there are admitted grievances. It is a grievance pleaded on behalf of counties that they are not sufficiently represented; and that is perfectly true. They are not sufficiently represented; but they never can be more adequately represented until you have a larger enfranchisement of their population; and when you have a larger enfranchisement of their population, the counties will take very good care that the question of redistribution shall not be paltered with or postponed. The establishment of a wide franchise, to emancipate these men and bring them within the sphere of political power and privilege, is, as is well known opposite, an absolute security for making the question of redistribution certain, for making it urgent, for making it, in the absence of any extraordinary circumstance, not only certain and urgent, but immediate. So much for this question of severance of redistribution from the Franchise Bill, with regard to which I have stated that it is not difficult at all to read between the lines the real motives which have led to its being put forward as the main ground of objection to the present Bill. With regard to my own outline of redistribution, I have said all along that I did not suppose, for a moment, it would conciliate a single opponent—opponents are not at all to be conciliated in that way. What they are looking for are grounds for objection, and not reasons for assent. That is my experience in Party debate and discussion. But I am glad to be able to say this—that, so far as I know, nearly the whole of the propositions that I laid down have been received in a favourable manner, and have not been made the objects of adverse criticism. All the adverse criticism, as I have said, has been concentrated upon a single opinion which I expressed—that, so far as I was able to judge, it would not be wise to reduce the number of Members from Ireland, which stands at 103. I do not at all wonder that that observation of mine should have been made the subject of comment. The objection was taken, I think, upon two grounds. First of all, it was said—Why mention this subject

at all? Why introduce the question of the proportion of Members which Ireland ought to have in the scheme of Parliamentary Reform under your Franchise Bill? The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) was extremely—I do not say angry—he does not lose his temper in these matters—but he was evidently excited, because, as he said, I delivered this proposition about Ireland, looking to the Irish Members below the Gangway. The right hon. and learned Gentleman seems to me to be like a proud beauty who will not allow you to look at any beauty but herself. I have opportunities of observing the physiognomy of the right hon. and learned Gentleman and the physiognomies in his neighbourhood—opportunities so agreeable to me—and I feel and believe I am as straightforward a man in the glances I direct across this House as anybody who speaks in it. I do not think I am at all liable to censure for looking constantly, or even too frequently, into the Irish quarter. The fact is, that if I were to look back upon the votes given in the present House of Commons during the last four years and compare the amount of benefit that we, on this side of the House, have derived from the Irish vote on important occasions, with the amount of benefit which the right hon. and learned Gentleman and his Friends have derived, I think, in the first place, it would be but a barren and unprofitable business for me to be continually looking among the Irish Gentlemen who sit below the Gangway opposite; and, in the second place, I cannot at all wonder at the jealousy shown by the right hon. and learned Gentleman, and his fear lest we should be found endeavouring to poach on the preserves of so valuable a manor. But, Sir, the reason why I mentioned Ireland was this—that I knew perfectly well it was impossible for us to take a single step in this matter without the putting of—nay, pressing of—some questions with regard to the relative representation of the different parts of the United Kingdom. In 1831 that was found the first and most convenient point for the opposition to that Reform Bill to raise; and, upon this occasion, the right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Wigtown (Sir John Hay) had given me notice, by an obstructive Amendment,

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that he would not allow even the Motion for the introduction of the Bill to be put until I had made some declaration with respect to the increase of the Scotch representation. How was it possible to suppose that a demand of that kind could be made with respect to Scotland and nothing said about Ireland? So much, Sir, for the sin of having mentioned the question of the Irish proportion of representation. But now, why should I have presumed to recommend, or to intimate a leaning to the opinion—which is certainly the true leaning, in my opinion—that it would be well that the present number of Irish Representatives should be retained for Ireland? I beg to refer, in the first place, to what was most justly stated on a former evening in the present debate by my noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington)—namely, that that opinion of mine was associated with opinions which I also expressed on two other points. One of them was that, in my judgment, the question of relative distance from Westminster was one that in adjusting the proportion of Representatives should not be wholly overlooked. My right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford said, in the fairest and frankest manner, that he wished, by a distinct declaration, to exempt himself from being bound, constructively or otherwise, by anything I have said on that point. Nothing could be fairer than that; and if my right hon. Friend had not spoken, he would not have been bound, for nobody would have supposed that he or anyone else was bound by the tolerance which was allowed to me. But on this question of distance my right hon. Friend was certainly frank to the last degree, because he did not scruple or hesitate for a moment to grapple with the whole breadth of the proposition, and he stated that, in his opinion, the population of London ought to be represented up to its fair numerical strength. That is a very important question, but one on which it is impossible for me to forecast the judgment of the House. It is not my opinion, however. I cannot pretend to say that that subject, which has been swollen into so enormous and extraordinary magnitude, is one of those which appear to me to constitute the *articulus* of a good or bad Reform Bill. That is the impression I entertain, and it is in connection with that impression—which I should apply

in some degree to Scotland also—that I gave my opinion with respect to the number of Representatives for Ireland. Further, it indicated a leaning in my own mind to the belief that, considering the vast increase of work to be done in this House, and hoping, as I do, that much more effective arrangements will, before many years are over, be made for the distribution of that work, some small increase in the number of its Members might be fairly considered. That may, or may not, be adopted; I will not enter into any argument now. The right hon. Gentleman the late First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. W. H. Smith) made an objection which, I think, ought to be considered. He said we have too many Members already, as shown by the great number of speakers, and that we ought to keep them down. I am rather disposed to think it is the great number of speeches made by particular Members, rather than the number of Members who enter into our discussions, which constitutes the great part of our difficulties. I will say two other things with regard to the representation of Ireland. I will not look to the quarter of the Irish Members, and I trust that they will not be construed to mean more than they usually do mean. There are, as I think, elements of the case which fair-minded men and far-seeing men may well take into consideration. They are these—I fully admit that at the present moment Ireland has but one-seventh of the population; that upon that basis of one-seventh of the population, instead of 103 Members, Ireland is entitled only to 93 Members. That is not a very great breadth of margin. What I hope is this. In the first place, in my own mind, I am not willing to assume that this continual decline of Irish population is a permanent and a normal factor. It may be that there are cases where a great reduction of population is a necessary road to a people's well-being. It may be that Ireland is one of these cases; but it is a most painful thing, and that depletion in itself is a subject for regretful recollection, while the consequences produced by the dissemination of a population over the globe who carry away with them the idea that they have been driven from their homes are consequences painful enough for us all to bear in mind. I do not, however, abandon the hope that Ireland may recover



some of the ground that she has lost. I would not—considering that it is but once in 50 years that a question like this has been entertained—I would certainly not assume the permanency of this continual descent in the numbers of the people of Ireland; further, Sir, I would say this—that those who have been niggardly and unjust in former times must be very cautious when they come to plead on their own behalf for the strictest application of laws of which they might, indeed, have claimed the strictest application had they never deviated from them themselves. I do not seek to bind the House in the slightest degree on this question. I do not think it is possible to state the question more temperately or fairly than it has been stated by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell). It is not a very large question, whichever way you take it. Look back to the year 1832, and see how we dealt with Ireland on that occasion. I think I am right in saying Ireland had, at that time, three-tenths of the population of the United Kingdom, and to them we gave considerably less than one-sixth of the representation. I do not think that, looking back to that proceeding, we should say now that it was a very handsome treatment; and I cannot entirely dismiss that fact from my recollection in coming to consider the Irish question, when we deal with the redistribution of seats in prosecution of the plan contemplated by the present Government. I commit no one; I do not wish to commit anyone, or to stand committed myself; but I say it is not a desirable position for a great country to occupy, to claim the most rigid application of numerical laws when they tell in her favour, and, on the other hand, to apply a very lax view of them indeed when they tell against her. I do not argue the point, because I am rather proceeding on the assumption that it will be allowed that 103 Members was not a liberal allotment to Ireland in 1832. If Ireland had been treated according to her numbers—the number of them I am almost afraid to present to the imagination—her Members would have been nearer 200 than 100. However, having stated what appears to meet the case with reference to this subject, I must claim for myself that the view of the proposition I threw out should be taken, as my noble Friend

near me most justly said, in conjunction with other propositions which I was inclined to submit to the favourable consideration of the House, and that there should be no haste, at all events, to run, like the hon. and learned Member who has just sat down (Mr. Grantham), to the extreme conclusion that criticisms equitably taken to the particular point in the outline I endeavoured to draw either amount to, or in the slightest degree partake of, a general condemnation of the ideas with respect to redistribution which I have ventured to throw out. I now come to the last of the complaints that are made, and it is this—that this is a Bill which has been conceived or introduced and has been framed for Party purposes. [“Hear, hear!”] Let me, in the first place, respectfully and cordially thank hon. Gentlemen who have made that charge and who have uttered that cheer for the high-flown and extravagant compliment which they are paying to the Liberal Party. When the Liberal Party proposes to raise the constituency from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000, and to bring in 2,000,000 more of British citizens to enjoy the privilege of which they have not yet been sharers, a complaint is made that it is a Party measure. It is impossible, Sir, to pay a greater compliment to us than to say that we know that when we let in 2,000,000 of citizens to the franchise we are letting in a large majority of those who are favourable to our views. But I must say that it appears to me—passing by that agreeable subject of the complimentary character of the reproach—it appears to me that hon. Gentlemen ought a little to consider, even in their political charges, I will not say justice, I will not say even plausibility, but some kind of colour of what is probable or possible, in order to sustain the accusations they make. Now I affirm, and I challenge contradiction, that upon every point connected with the construction and consideration of the present Bill the facts confute the charge which some have been rash enough to make. Why, Sir, which is the largest and most numerous of the classes to be introduced to the possession of the franchise by the action of the present Bill? I apprehend there is no doubt that it is the rural population, properly so called.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE: No.

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MR. GLADSTONE: No! What are the most numerous class then? I believe they are. Does the hon. and learned Gentleman mean to tell me that he thinks the artizans—I am now speaking of the artizans, of the labouring population, not the tradespeople—does the hon. and learned Gentleman really think that the number of artizans, in the sense I have now given to the word, of operatives to be enfranchised by this measure is larger than the number of the peasantry?

MR. EDWARD CLARKE: Yes.

MR. GLADSTONE: In England, Scotland, and Ireland?

MR. EDWARD CLARKE: In England.

MR. GLADSTONE: In England and Scotland—I will say nothing about Ireland?

MR. EDWARD CLARKE: Yes.

MR. GLADSTONE: Then I differ from the hon. and learned Gentleman altogether. I will take another challenge, and affirm that the divisions of those counties where large masses of those commonly understood as the labouring classes—miners and manufacturing operatives—abound in large numbers, are a very small minority of the counties. Consequently, we are going to strengthen the constituencies in the large majority of counties, and, unquestionably, by a large introduction of the rural population. Is that a measure which colourably sustains, or at all sustains, the charge of oblique and indirect views towards the undue aggrandizement of the Liberal Party? Well, Sir, what class is there in the country that is more open to the influence of other and stronger classes than the rural population? What are the classes in the country that constitute the strength of the Tory Party? Farmers, landlords, and clergymen—and it is the farmers, the landlords, and the clergymen who have the most direct, and the largest, and the most constant influence upon the rural population, the peasantry of this country; and yet, when we are going to give over a very large majority of the counties in England, and a yet larger number of them in Scotland, to a system under which this rural population will be immensely represented, we are told that we are doing this for Party purposes, and in the interest of the Liberal Party. I advise all those who

make that charge to confine themselves to vague generalities, to avoid carefully any reference to details. But that is not all. We have considered a service franchise, and in what spirit have we done so? Is the service franchise also a device for strengthening the Liberal Party? Those who have said the enfranchisement of the peasantry is a device for strengthening the Liberal Party are, in my opinion, equal to saying anything, and will, perhaps, be prepared to say that the service franchise is likewise a device for strengthening the Liberal Party. No, Sir; if we had had in our minds any idea of strengthening that Party as the aim of this Bill, we might, perhaps, have concocted something in the shape of argument against the service franchise. Those who will be qualified under it are those who are most open, and directly open, to the influence of their superiors in wealth, and we might have plausibly insisted that, as regarded the greater part of them, it was not safe to intrust them with the franchise. We have not done so, and why have we not done so? Because we have faith in the people; and because we believe it to be the first element, the first article, in the creed of Liberalism, to have that faith; and because we believe that to be the strength of Liberalism, that it has that faith; and that, and nothing else, affords the reason why the Liberal Party has been predominant in this country through the last half-century. If counsel might be accepted from a foe, I would offer to hon. Gentlemen opposite my humble advice, and tell them that they, too, will be a stronger Party when they have learned to put faith in the people. I would only ask the opinion of every candid man among them whether the introduction of this service franchise into the Bill is not a fairly conclusive refutation of the statement that we have been manipulating the state of the franchise, and making our arrangements with regard to its adjustment with a view of diverting it into those quarters which are most amenable to the predominance of the Liberal Party? I have shown that as regards the rural population—I have shown that as regards the service franchise, how entirely that is untrue. But, Sir, I may also say that if there were a disposition to give us credit, under any circumstances at all, for any act



that we do, some credit might have been given for our having declined to confine property voting to the cases of residents. We have considered that matter. Before this Bill was introduced, those who were inclined to strangle it, if they could, in its birth, found it convenient or necessary to assume at once that we would never dream of allowing non-resident owners of property to vote; and I read a speech that was attributed to the right hon. Gentleman the late Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross), in which he said—

“Why, in their Bill that is coming forth, a man may own half a county, and he will not be allowed to vote unless he resides in it.”

I must say, in passing, that I think a man who owns half a county and does not reside there is a very doubtful member of society, and not at all a good citizen; but it is not my object to employ that argument. Be that as it may, my object is to prove that by declining to impose that condition of residence on property voting, we have again, and have conclusively, shown our determination to disturb nothing which we can avoid disturbing, and also our determination, on the one hand, to present a great enfranchisement, and, on the other hand, to tender it to those who either hesitate or oppose us, in such a shape and figure that they shall have no excuse for rejecting it, and that those whose real motive is hostility to the enlargement of popular liberties shall be left without an effectual pretext. I may say, further, that my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), although he certainly was not violently favourable to the unhappy outline of redistribution which I gave, yet in his speech he boldly, fairly, and earnestly called this Franchise Bill, speaking generally, a Conservative measure. That also shows how desirous we were at every step in the consideration of this measure to narrow the grounds of difference between conflicting Parties in this country, and, if possible, for once to place on the Statute Book this great boon, this great enfranchisement, this enormous enlargement—I would so call it, if you please; I am not afraid of the use to which you may turn the term—to place upon the Statute Book this enormous enlargement of our fellow-citizens, without its being made the

subject of odious Party contest. Well, Sir, although this question is most important, it has been commonly observed that the debate has been languid. It might almost be said, in the words of Pope, I think, that the debate has—

“Like a wounded snake, dragged its slow length along.”

And why has it been so languid? Not, certainly, because of the want of talent or of ability in those who have taken part in it. I take the noble Lord opposite (Lord John Manners), who moved the Amendment. I have always admired his debating powers and the great ingenuity of his arguments; and if anything could give interest—lively and pervading interest—to the discussion, he would have done it. Very able men on both sides of the House have also entered into the debate, and yet it has been observed that it has been languid. And why has it been languid? Because no direct issue has been raised. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Sheffield told us to-night that he was greatly in favour of the principle of the Bill—indeed, I think he said that he was much more in favour of the principle of the Bill than most of us who sit on this side of the House.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: I said I was at least as much in favour of its principle.

MR. GLADSTONE: My hon. and learned Friend says he is at least as much in favour of the principle of the Bill as most of those sitting on this side—“For, after all,” he said, “you deal only in professions.” That is a heavy reproach. I am very glad that my hon. and learned Friend feels that it is inconsistent, and even lowering, to deal only in professions. I am very glad that he has given us that reproach, because it will put us on our mettle, and make us endeavour to show whether we do deal only in professions or not; but my hon. and learned Friend, who has such a horror of those who deal only in professions, and who is himself so strongly in favour of the principle of the Bill, will have an admirable opportunity to-night of showing to those 16,000 men who met in Sheffield what is the value of his professions. Stung by the reproach of my hon. and learned Friend, we shall walk out into the Lobby with more zeal and energy than we should have done if he

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had not launched at us that reproach. We shall not be wanting when the time comes, and I do hope that he will be found in our company. Yes, Sir; there has been a want of direct issue. That has depressed and clouded the debate. And why has no direct issue been raised? Because, Sir, Gentlemen opposite know, as well as we know, that this is a *res judicata*—a settled question, not to-day and not to-morrow, perhaps by this Government, perhaps by the next Government before it is six months old—but the question is no less a settled question. Then, Sir, if it be true that this Bill is favourable from its construction to the Liberal Party, this I say with confidence—it will not be we who have made it favourable, it will be you. If, again, you, the Tory Party, unwarned by your experience of former controversies, are going to place yourselves in a false position in the face of the country by appearing as the withholders of the boon which others seek to grant, why, in that case, and for the moment, perhaps, your prophecy may be fulfilled, and, perhaps, for an Election or two we may receive a benefit from this Bill. But the remedy is in your own hands. You know that the thing must be done, and, therefore, you do not contest it directly, but you contest it indirectly. Is that really for your advantage? Do you believe that your Party will be stronger five years, 10 years, 20 years hence in consequence of this futile opposition? No; you know it will not. You know that after a Government that is in earnest in its work has proposed a measure of this kind to a Parliament which is not less in earnest, there is not a doubt as to the issue to which the question will rapidly be carried. If you want to disarm this Bill of danger to yourselves, if you want to falsify the charge which you have made against this Bill, and which you would be glad to falsify—that it is manipulated so as to be beneficial to the Liberal Party—your plan is obvious. Enter freely into competition with us—compete with us in the free, cheerful, and willing presentation of this boon. That is the way, if there be danger in this Bill, to take the sting out of it. But your present opposition will have not the less the effect of discrediting you with those who are to be enfranchised, because it is an indirect, instead of a direct, opposition. But be

the disposition of that side of the House what it may—whatever you may be disposed to say or to do, whatever doubts may entangle your path—on this side of the House, at least, there is no doubt, no hesitation, no lingering, no question. We have divested our Bill of every questionable or assailable proposition, because, Sir, we felt that if a Constitutional struggle were to arise we would wash our hands of the responsibility by placing ourselves from the outset in the right. That is the reason why our Bill has been reduced to the form of naked simplicity—that is the reason why we have asked and conjured those who have important propositions of their own to urge in amendment or extension of the franchise to refrain from urging them on this occasion. We wish that a simple issue shall be raised before the country. We feel that our object has been gained, and that the country comprehends it. I believe, Sir, that the Division of to-night will show that the House of Commons is not behind the sense and intention of the country, and will be such as to afford a certain prognostication that we shall at once proceed to incorporate this great enfranchisement in the law, and place it in the Statute Book of the Realm.

MR. DALRYMPLE said, that when the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down declared that there was no doubt or hesitation on the Ministerial side of the House on that question, he could not help wondering whether all doubt and hesitation had been removed from the mind of the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). It had been alleged that there was an unreality about that debate; but it might be asked whether that unreality was not owing to the mode in which the Government had treated the question? The right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) had told them how Ministers had been answering one another on the platform throughout the autumn; but anyone who heard the different speeches delivered in that House from the Treasury Bench upon that Bill could hardly believe they were made in support of the same measure. There had been as great a contrast between the speeches delivered by Members sitting on the Treasury Bench as could well have been between speeches made from opposite sides of the House. He was anxious, however, to say a few words

in regard to the Bill itself, because the position he occupied in reference to it was not that of some hon. Gentlemen who sat on his own side of the House. Ten years ago he voted with the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant (Mr. Trevelyan) in favour of the extension of the suffrage to counties. At that time, however, different views regarding this question were taken from those which the House was bound to believe were now held by right hon. Gentlemen who sat on the Treasury Bench. The Chief Secretary at that time had to contend against influences which then, as now, were exercised in high places. He thought that when the gratitude of the unenfranchised was demanded on behalf of those who promoted this measure, it ought to be borne in mind that it was the Chief Secretary who was the pioneer in the labour into which other men had entered, and from which they were prepared to take the utmost possible credit. As regarded his own position in reference to the Bill, he had, as previously stated, voted with the Chief Secretary 10 years ago in favour of the extension of the franchise to counties. His right hon. Friend at that time was defeated by majorities of about 114, 100, and so on. He did not believe there was any use in pressing the question upon the Parliament elected in 1874; but he made a declaration, not under pressure, that he would support the extension of the suffrage to the counties when it should be afterwards proposed by the Government of the day. [*Ironical cheers.*] He had made that declaration from time to time when asked about the franchise question. He had not repented making it, and he was quite prepared to give effect to that declaration when the proper time came. He repeated it last winter, without knowing what the nature of the present measure would be; but he guarded himself against being absolutely bound to support the measure in the particular form in which it might be introduced if it should be separated from the question of redistribution. He held that, in order to arrive at a fair settlement of the question, it was absolutely essential the House should have the scheme of redistribution before it—he did not say in the particular measure before the House, but in such a form as the House and the country might judge of

it, as to how far it might affect the scheme of Reform. He was not only not unfavourable to the principle of the Bill; but he might say distinctly that he could not have voted for a direct negative to this Bill. It was, however, because the Amendment raised a matter upon which he especially desired satisfaction that he supported it, and not because, as had been stated, it was a mere side wind. He remembered that, in the opening speech of the Prime Minister, it was said that this question was a vital part of the mission of the present Parliament. He was not going to argue that question; but he might say that it was a strange thing, if it was a vital part of the mission of this Parliament, that during a certain campaign in the North there was scarcely a reference made to that which was about to be the chief mission of the Parliament then about to be elected. His copy of the Mid Lothian speeches was in such a tattered condition, owing to the constant reference made to it, that it was not capable of being brought to the House. He had had, however, an opportunity recently of refreshing his recollection of what those speeches contained in reference to the question of Reform. The Mid Lothian speeches, which were for a long time the *vade mecum* of Radicals, were now the merest repertory of shattered idolatries. He had had an opportunity of studying the references to this question in those speeches, and he found they were contained in two paragraphs only. Strange to say, the references were to what was now known as the centrifugal theory, and to the inadequacy of Scottish representation. He might notice another circumstance which was curious. While those speeches did not contain references to this subject, which, as the House was now told, was a vital part of the mission of this Parliament, there was a complaint in a certain election address that Lord Beaconsfield had not mentioned in his Manifesto to the country the question of a more equal distribution of the political franchise, showing, therefore, the importance of this matter on which the Amendment turned. There was something almost pathetic in the revival, or, he might say, in the survival, of the question of the centrifugal theory; because, although the Parliamentary wave was strewn with the wreck of abandoned professions and abortive schemes,



there were two standards still held aloft—one was the standard of the centrifugal theory, and the other was the standard of the paramount claims of jam. With reference to the centrifugal theory, he might ask, who were the Members constantly in the House? They were those who represented distant constituencies. Whether the suffrage was the chief part of the mission of this Parliament or not, no doubt it had been heralded for some time past, and many theories which were promulgated in the country had not found expression in the measure. He spoke for himself when he said there was much in the measure which he heartily approved. There was no disfranchisement in it; there was no question of the one man one vote principle; there was no condition of residence as a qualification for a vote; and, what was more important, there was what was called the service franchise. Speaking only as a Scottish Representative, he said that service franchise was of infinite importance. It was admirably adapted to meet the case of those persons who were neither owners nor tenants, but who, in many cases, were quite as capable of exercising the franchise as many owners and tenants. He remembered that his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland, when addressing a meeting in the Border Country last autumn, said what an awful thing it was to think that if Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, had been alive, he would not have had a vote. He would not have had a vote under the present Bill if it were not for the proposed service franchise. He also approved of the extension of this measure to Ireland. The condition of Ireland was, in his humble judgment, an argument for postponing the Bill altogether; but it was not an argument for omitting Ireland if the question was to be dealt with at all. It was, however, because he was prepared to accept the principle of the measure; because he sympathized greatly with many who were not as yet enfranchised; and, above all, that he was prepared to see it extended to Ireland, that he desired to see the whole scheme of the Government. He maintained that precedents were in favour of this view. There were two views of this matter which might be considered. One was that the extension of the suffrage and the

redistribution scheme should be kept separate; and the other was that they should be, if not actually dealt with together, at least announced together as forming part of one great scheme. It was because the Conservative Party asked that the latter course should be adopted, and not the former, that it was said they were secretly hostile to Reform, and that the Liberal Party were the only true friends of Reform. He thought, however, Liberal Members ought to have some sympathy with the proposal he contended for. A Member of the present Cabinet took part in a proposal that the whole question should be dealt with together. In 1866 this proposal was started, and the present Secretary of State for the Colonies advocated that the Government of the day should deal with the measure as a whole. A Franchise Bill unaccompanied by redistribution would increase the anomalies of the present representation twenty-fold. In 1875 the Secretary of State for War expressed a strong opinion that the franchise portion of a Reform scheme ought not to be pressed forward apart from redistribution. He thought the necessity for the presentation of the whole case had become ten times greater since the speech of the Prime Minister in introducing the Bill, and since his speech to-night. The question of redistribution that was being raised was, the Prime Minister said, a trap; but, nevertheless, he walked into it. Why was this? Not because he desired to give the Opposition any information; but so as to "rescue" his measure from certain awkward risks which it ran, and then to "retire" from the subject. There was reason to believe that the Irish Members would not support the Bill unless they were assured that the representation of Ireland would not be diminished; and the Prime Minister's references were manifestly intended to satisfy them on that point. Hon. Members blamed the Opposition for desiring to see the whole scheme of the Government; but this was only natural after the Prime Minister had declared his intention of doing what would be, not justice to Ireland, but injustice in reference to Ireland. Hon. Members opposite said that they trusted the Government. Well, he did not; and he rather suspected that some Members of the Government would be glad if the redistribution scheme was post-



poned altogether. There ought to be no difficulty in the way of inserting a clause providing that the registers should not be made until the Redistribution Bill passed; but this the Government refused to consent to. The strangest thing that had come under his observation was the attitude of the Scotch Members on the other side of the House in reference to this stage of the measure. He quite understood and sympathized with their support of the measure; but it would have been well if Scotch Members had shown more distinctly what they felt on the subject of the nebulous scheme of redistribution as shadowed forth by the Head of the Government. Scotch Liberal Members were for ever telling Scotland that it was inadequately represented. Whatever difference existed on this subject, they all took refuge in that canny, that obvious allegation, that Scotland was inadequately represented. He believed entirely that that was the case; but he thought Scotland suffered from another thing besides inadequate representation, and that was from not having its Representatives more equally divided between the two Parties in the State. If they could sometimes see from Scotch Representatives opposite a little of the troubling of the waters of independence, and a greater vigour of self-assertion, it would be better for Scotland, better for the credit of the Scotch Representatives, and better for Her Majesty's Government, who, knowing they could depend on the support of their Scotch followers, disregarded the claims of Scotland in this as in other matters. If Scotland was inadequately represented, where was the increased representation to come from? It was not from Ireland, because the Government would take care that the representation of that country remained undiminished. There would be great opposition to its being taken from the boroughs of the South of England. And as to increasing the number of Members of this House, he did not suppose that anyone seriously contemplated supporting such a fantastic proposal. The Prime Minister, it seemed, would far rather run the risk of neglecting loyal Scotland than run the risk of opposition to his Bill from disloyal Ireland. It was not from hostility to this measure; it was not from any desire to continue the disfranchisement of those who did not

at present possess the franchise; but it was because he believed that only by redistribution the anomalies of the electoral system, which would be greater in future than now, could be rectified; because by diminishing suitably and fairly the representation of Ireland the evils of extending the franchise to that country could be remedied; and, above all, because it was only by redistribution that an adequate addition could be made to the representation of Scotland, that he claimed to see the whole scheme of the Government, and must vote for the Amendment of the noble Lord.

MR. WILLIAMSON said, the speech of the hon. Member who had just sat down was scarcely worthy of his ability or judgment; and he would, doubtless, be called upon by his constituency to give some good reason for his speech and vote. He left the hon. Member in their hands. Although a Scotch Representative, he intended to give his vote for the Bill, and to deal with redistribution when it came up. As well might hon. Members opposite refuse to pay their greengrocers, because they were afraid they might not make a good use of the money, as to refuse to assimilate the borough and county franchise, because they did not know how the political power was to be cast when redistribution took place. The hon. Member magnified the difficulties of the situation. Why could they not get the just quota of Members for Scotland out of the small boroughs in England? Why should they give to the Metropolis over-representation of political power? To deal with the Metropolis according to the principles of proportional representation, London would be greatly over-represented. If they looked at the number of London barristers, bankers, &c., who represented small English boroughs, they might find some way to apportion to Scotland the requisite number of seats without possibly touching the representation of Ireland as it now stood. Many of them listened with astonishment to the sweeping assertion of the right hon. Baronet the Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel) that this Bill proposed to add to the electoral body 2,000,000 of the most ignorant classes in the country. The right hon. Baronet had generously deducted from the number the London artisans who lived beyond the Parlia-

mentary boundaries. So far well. He wished to know whether he was prepared to deduct the well-educated rural population of Scotland, the intelligent mining population of Scotland, the artisan and labouring population of Scotland on the banks of the Clyde, and scattered over the country in its unenfranchised towns and growing centres of population? If he were to make the *amende* which he was sure his sense of justice would prompt, then he submitted that Scotland would be entirely exempted from his computations, and practically his objections would fall to the ground as untenable and erroneous. The right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope) ridiculed the rural population of this country, held them up to obloquy as devoid of political foresight, and spoke of them as only concerned about the material objects of life. He was sure he did them much injustice. No class had a better opportunity of learning that a man's life "consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth;" and he felt assured there was among them a proportionately larger share of unselfishness, and as much regard for the happiness of others and for the welfare of the State, than was to be found among men who were subject to the corrupting influences of luxury. Then, as to their political perceptions or foresight, was it not a fact that in all the great questions which had agitated this country for half a century the working classes had, as a rule, had a clearer perception of the right than the wealthier classes? He believed this had unquestionably to be answered in the affirmative. Why, then, scoff at and scorn the men who were the very backbone of the country? Such scorning was only fitted to drive them to take up with false political theories. It was also said on the Front Opposition Bench that there was no necessity for this measure. It was always a necessity to pay heed to the claims of justice. The assertion made was unworthy serious refutation. Then, again, it had been said that the exercise of the franchise was not "a right, but a trust." This was a mere sophism, meant to blind the eyes of the unwary. How could the trust be exercised unless the right be acknowledged and granted? All that the Bill proposed was to grant to large sections of the

population dwelling outside Parliamentary boroughs that which hon. Gentlemen opposite granted to these boroughs in 1867, when they took what they called the leap in the dark. He was glad this measure was not cumbered with any redistribution scheme, as to which he kept himself entirely free to act when the proper time came. A striking argument might be found in support of this course in that curious Redistribution of Seats Bill which on Saturday was brought under the notice of Members—a Bill promoted by Members opposite—having amongst the names on its back that of the right hon. and gallant Admiral opposite (Sir John Hay). The Bill was designated "A Redistribution of Seats Bill." It was a scheme for so redistributing political power as to secure a Tory preponderance. It eliminated from the counties nearly all the towns and villages of any consideration, grouped them with boroughs of similar political complexion, and so left the rustics in the hands of the squire and the factor. Thus the only towns in Peebles and Selkirk were to be picked out and added to a Liberal group 50 miles away, so that Sir Graham Montgomery might come back to the House. Pre-eminently Liberal towns were sought for out of the county of Fife to be added to the boroughs he represented, so that a Tory might have some chance of displacing the hon. Member for the county, and so on all over Scotland. It seemed to him that Lord Salisbury had secretly offered a premium for the best essay on redistribution jugglery, so as to gain political advantage, and that the right hon. and gallant Member for the Wigtown Burghs had won the prize. That just showed the wisdom of not cumbering this Bill with any scheme of redistribution. The country wished to have no redistribution scheme before it till the Legislature had done justice by the Franchise Bill to those who were now suffering manifest injustice. There ought to be no opposition on the part of just men to such a proposal as that before the House, and he gave it cordial and unqualified support. He made no secret of his belief that the Democracy of this country needed strengthening and invigorating. They wanted a more resolute Democracy to demand from this House a more adequate and business-like concern for the many social ques-



tions that demanded attention. He wished to see this Assembly purged of its Bridports and Knaresboroughs and Eyes, which were such an obstacle to the diligent and successful discharge of its duties and obligations.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE, as the Representative of an agricultural constituency (South Wilts), claimed the right to offer a few words on this question. He denied that there was no precedent, as laid down by the Prime Minister, for introducing a Franchise Bill and a Redistribution Bill at the same time. The speeches delivered in support of the Bill were, as far as he could see, entirely based upon the assumption that a vote was an individual right, and that the extension of the franchise was a necessity, without regard to its influence on the good of the Empire, and on the Constitution at large. The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had sketched a plan of redistribution; but it was not by any means certain that he would be in the House next year in order to propose his scheme. Could they not foresee the possibility of the right hon. Gentleman enjoying his *otium cum dignitate* on the cushioned Benches of "another place?" And then there were other circumstances which might possibly prevent a Redistribution Bill from passing next Session. There was a Coercion Bill to be renewed for Ireland, and that they all knew was a matter which would take up a great deal of the time of the House. In any case, he (Viscount Folkestone) was of opinion that the Bill was not wanted by the people generally. The Prime Minister had said that the addition of capable citizens to the constituency was a good thing. But if regard were had to capability, he feared that the Bill would be a measure of disfranchisement rather than of enfranchisement; although, no doubt, many were at present without the vote who were capable of making a good use of it. A valuable test was lost when voters were allowed to affix a cross to the name of the candidate instead of signing their own name. If they were to carry out to its logical conclusion the principles of the Ballot, Members of that House would vote by Ballot, in which case the fate of that Bill would probably be very different from what it would be in present circumstances. But if the present voters were so capable, as it was claimed

they were by the Liberal Party, what was the necessity for the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act? The passing of that Act convicted the Party opposite of insincerity. The President of the Board of Trade had gone out of his way to attack the landlords of this country, and said that they had robbed the poor of their land, and that there was not a lane in the country which could not tell of landlord encroachment. When he heard that speech he could not but think that the right hon. Gentleman had in his mind a certain lane in Flintshire where the right hon. Gentleman his Chief had planted a number of trees to improve the view from his mansion. But that could not be so, because the magistrates had ordered that the trees should be cut down. It was not true that the landlords oppressed their tenantry. An American friend of his, who came to this country full of that idea, determined to investigate the matter himself, and had told him that he was surprised at the care with which the landlords consulted the interests of the tenants, and that they did so far more effectually than any legislation could do. Certainly, there were not among agricultural labourers the constant strikes which occurred in the manufacturing districts. He had personally no objection to household suffrage in the counties; but he objected to giving the proverbial blank cheque to Her Majesty's Government. In 1878, when the present Chief Secretary for Ireland brought in his Resolution in favour of the county franchise, the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War insisted on the necessity of dealing with the question as a whole. The Postmaster General also, during the Recess, had said that the notion that the extension of the franchise and redistribution of seats should not both be taken up at the same time was preposterous. He was not, therefore, disposed to leave the question in the hands of right hon. Gentlemen who could so easily be induced to alter their opinions on questions of such vital importance. The Conservative Party were right in bringing forward that Amendment, which he should heartily support.

THE O'DONOGHUE said, that he could understand the measure being opposed by those who preferred an absolute Monarchy or an Oligarchy to a

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Constitutional or popular Government. From the murder of Charles I. down to the passing of the Ballot Act, the Government of this country had really been an Oligarchy. Theoretically speaking, the British Constitution deserved all the praises which had been bestowed upon it; but in practice it was an Oligarchy, which worked extremely well for the interests of those who were the exclusive depositories of power. The few who were voters voted according to order, while the vast majority—the non-electors—had the privilege of cheering and getting drunk. A Reform Bill was essentially a Party measure. It was the very principle which divided Parties in that House. They—the Liberals—existed as a Party for the defence and extension of popular rights in order to confer political power upon their countrymen, and in order to admit them to a share in the management of public affairs. Hon. Gentlemen opposite were bound to resist the extension of popular rights, to keep political power from the people, and it was a common desire to do this which alone kept them together. He was quite aware that they were able to assign reasons in defence of their conduct; but it was sufficient to say that those reasons were regarded by the masses as untenable, sophistical, and delusive. He contended that Liberal Members sat on the Ministerial side of the House in virtue of the belief which prevailed among the masses that they sympathized with their general and all-absorbing idea—the attainment of political power. It was the universal prevalence of that desire which united the people in their support. If that desire were gratified, the people might break up into various sections; but at present they were united in the pursuit of a common object. It might be said truly of the Liberal Party that on all occasions they relied on popular support. This Bill, no doubt, placed hon. Gentlemen opposite in a position of unusual difficulty, because it was so simple that the modern tactics of the Tory Party were useless. The Leader of the Opposition had a habit of getting up and saying that they were prepared to accept the principle of a popular measure; but that they reserved to themselves the right of amending it in Committee. That was to say, they reserved to themselves the right of destroying the Bill in Com-

mittee. The extension of the franchise was so simple a matter that there was no room for the exercise of their destructive ingenuity. The nature of the Bill was such that the answer of hon. Gentlemen opposite should be “Yes” or “No.” They had, however, declined to answer, and had brought forward an Amendment which furnished what appeared to be their reason for taking the course which they were pursuing. He noticed that his right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, in his introductory speech, laid great stress upon the simplicity of the Bill, and he had observed that its possession of this merit had been generally recognized by the Press. It was also most satisfactory that the right hon. Gentleman held out not the slightest encouragement to the vagaries of the “fancy franchise” gentlemen. There was a great wail over what was to be the condition of the minority in the future, and an appeal would be made to them to adopt the principle of proportional representation. He had never been able to get anyone to explain proportional representation in a manner to reconcile his advocacy of it with his duty as a Liberal. It was on behalf of the minority that they were asked to adopt that innovation. Who were the minority? He would take his own district. There the minority consisted of those who were opposed to the Church Act, to the Land Act, and to the extension of the franchise—that was, to this Bill. There were not a few who were in favour of the re-enactment of the penal laws. Was it possible that they were to be asked to supply such minorities with Members? He said Members, because minorities of that kind existed in every constituency in England as well as in the county of Kerry. Was legislation to be strangled by giving additional representation in that House to exploded views, and to anathematized opinions? The proposition was so monstrous that it deserved to be scouted by everyone who had at heart the political enfranchisement of the people and the general welfare of the country. The Government had been exposed to some adverse comments because of their determination not to reduce the number of Irish Representatives. He could not, without dismay, contemplate the possibility of the Government receding from their resolution in that matter. If the Government gave

way, it would strengthen the very prevalent idea that there was a fatality attending all the attempts of that House to legislate for Ireland; and that, no matter how good a measure might be in itself, there was always certain to be coupled with it something bad and distasteful to popular feeling. The consequence was that people remembered mainly what was bad in a measure. It was difficult not to recall what occurred at the time of Emancipation. The great merit of Emancipation—its political value—consisted not in the re-admission of the Catholics to seats in Parliament, but in its enabling Ireland to choose Representatives from amongst men whose political sympathies were in accord with those of the majority of their countrymen. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel saw that the effect of this would be to enable O'Connell to get together a Party of 70 or 80 Repealers; and, consequently, the disfranchisement of the 40s. freeholders was coupled with Emancipation and a constituency created completely under the control of a small class. Now, when the Government was going to vastly increase the Irish constituency, hon. Gentlemen opposite were anxious to clip the Irish representation. The contemplated reduction, at the very most, could not exceed 10 or 11; and, putting it at even a higher figure, it would have scarcely any appreciable effect on the proceedings of that House. The question of repeal did not depend in any way on the presence there of 25 or 30 Members more or less; the effect of the reduction would be simply to give Ireland an additional grievance. It would not do to push too far the argument that Ireland was a part of the United Kingdom. After all, Ireland was Ireland, as England was England, and required consideration in no way more than for her national pride. The Liberal Party had made up their minds that England and Ireland should be treated alike on this question; and he felt confident that the wise and patriotic course laid down by the Prime Minister would be followed, and that there would be no spoiling of a just, a great, and a necessary measure by a curtailment of Ireland's Parliamentary strength.

VISCOUNT NEWPORT said, he did not believe that there was any strong feeling in the country in favour of the

reduction of the franchise. Sitting for a great constituency (North Shropshire), which contained a large agricultural element, he could say with truth that he had never received the smallest intimation from any one of his constituents that he ought to vote for a reduction of the suffrage. He denied that the President of the Board of Trade, or the junior Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), or the Conference at Leeds, had succeeded in stirring up any real feeling or general enthusiasm in favour of this measure. The fact was that the class which the Bill was particularly intended to enfranchise did not care one bit about it. It would be admitted, even by hon. Members opposite, that during these last years of agricultural depression, when landowners and farmers had been struggling with overwhelming difficulties, the agricultural labourer had been free from distress. Prices had been low, but wages had not fallen; and his belief was that the agricultural labourer was satisfied with things as they were. But if people went to an agricultural labourer and asked him whether he wished to have a vote it was not in human nature that he should say no. He asked himself, therefore, these two questions. Would the extension of the suffrage be for the good of the community; and, if so, was this the proper moment to introduce a measure for that purpose? To these questions he answered, unhesitatingly, no. Why should the county and the borough franchise be assimilated? From time immemorial the contrary had been the case; and the practice of the Constitution was that there should be a different suffrage for Knights of the Shire and for Members for boroughs. He could not see the advantage of bringing both down to one level. Nor was it desirable that the whole political power of the country should be thrown into the hands of one class. His idea was that all classes should have their due share of political power. By this Bill they would practically disfranchise culture and property, and owners and occupiers of land would have no power except through the labourers. He thought that any change which might be made ought to take the direction of redistribution, and not of lowering the franchise; and in that way what was called "the one side of the street" argument would be met. Did



anyone suppose that this Bill would effect any final settlement of this question? He was a Member of the House when the last Reform Bill was passed; and one of the considerations which induced him to support it was that he heard from all sides, even from hon. Gentlemen opposite, that the Bill would place the franchise on a permanent basis. He was an older and wiser man now; and if he had learnt nothing else he had, at least, learnt this—that there was no such thing as finality in Reform. Since he had been in Parliament there had been nothing but peddling with and patching the representation of the people. They had had the Reform Act, the Ballot Act, the Parliamentary Elections (Corrupt and Illegal Practices) Act, and the President of the Board of Trade had frankly told them that he considered the Bill before the House only an instalment of still greater change. Surely it would be wiser to pause in order to see how these changes worked before proceeding further. On other grounds, too, he could not imagine a more inopportune moment for introducing such a measure. The state of Ireland alone ought to be sufficient to show that. It would be the height of folly to make any change of this kind in England without extending it to Ireland; because he thought the present unfortunate position of that country was greatly due to its having been governed by different laws from our own. But he would say, without hesitation, that it would be an act of madness to throw the entire electoral power in that country into the hands of one class, when it was impossible to keep Ireland quiet without the most stringent Coercion Act. As an Englishman, strongly approving the Union, he protested against the course which the Government proposed to take. He thought also that the present was a most ill-chosen moment for the introduction of the Bill. A question like the franchise ought to be approached from all parts of the House in a spirit of independence. At the time of the last Reform Bill the Party opposite showed their independence pretty freely; but they could not, or would not, do so now. At that time there was no Caucus, and the Liberal Party was as free as the Conservative to exercise an independent judgment. If the Prime Minister's concluding sentences when he

introduced the measure meant anything, they meant that the Party opposite were to acquiesce in this undesired and undesirable Bill whether they approved it or not. The country, he felt satisfied, would not tolerate much longer that the independence of the constituencies should be sacrificed at the bidding of the organization managed by Mr. Schnadhorst. The result of the Brighton Election confirmed him in that belief. The country ought to have an opportunity of pronouncing upon the Bill before it was passed, and for that reason he should support the Amendment of the noble Lord (Lord John Manners).

Mr. BURT regarded the Bill as a moderate and just measure of Reform, introduced in the interests of a large number of capable citizens in the country. He believed it had been received with complete satisfaction throughout the country, and there was in all parts a very strong desire that the House should, without unnecessary delay, pass the Bill into law. They had heard very little direct opposition to the Bill. Why? Did hon. Members believe that the present franchise was satisfactory, and could be maintained? Did they believe that if the present measure was rejected and the country was thoroughly aroused, anything more moderate than the present Bill would be accepted by the country? Did they not know that all the fancy franchises, all the faggot votes would be swept away, and the country be brought so much nearer universal suffrage if this Bill were not accepted? He had been glad to notice that in the course of the debate there had been very little said that could be regarded as offensive to the unenfranchised portion of his countrymen. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Huntingdon (Sir Robert Peel) made some strong remarks; but he appeared very speedily to come to a penitent frame of mind, and, therefore, it was not necessary to say more on the subject. He had noticed, however, that several Members on the opposite side of the House endeavoured to institute a contrast between the citizens in the boroughs and the agricultural labourers. They asserted that while the present voters in the boroughs had all the advantages of the political education and combination which they derived from Trades Unions and Friendly Societies, the agricultural



labourers had not those advantages. He was glad that hon. Members recognized the educational advantages of Trades Unions; but the argument was not a valid one, because the agricultural labourers and others outside the present borough boundaries had in recent years all those advantages that the voters in the towns possessed. At one time or another, more than 150,000 agricultural labourers had been connected with Trades Unions; and at the present time one Trades Union alone paid £2,000 a-year in support of its sick members, and to that extent relieved the rates. In Durham and Northumberland there were about 87,000 miners, and of these about 50,000 were connected with Trades Unions, and the great bulk of those men were in the counties, and had no votes at the present time. A great deal had been said to the effect that there was no desire on the part of the working men who lived in the counties to have votes. His own experience, however, altogether contradicted that supposition. One of the most extraordinary meetings which he had ever seen in support of the proposal to extend the franchise was a meeting presided over by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright), at which between 2,000 and 3,000 agricultural delegates and labourers assembled to declare their desire for the extension of the franchise. The meeting cost no less than £3,000, the whole of which sum was contributed, not by any political organization or Caucus, but by the agricultural labourers themselves in their own villages. The miners wished earnestly for the franchise. There were 550,000 of them in the country, and at present very few possessed the right to vote. He had attended meetings in all parts of the country, the numbers of those attending varying from 5,000 to 50,000 and 60,000, and at all of them Resolutions were passed unanimously in favour of the extension of the franchise. Last week there were no fewer than 50 meetings held in the county of Northumberland alone, at which Resolutions were passed in favour of the present Bill. In Durham and Northumberland there were Associations of long standing, formed for the purpose of promoting such measures as the present. He himself had received in the last few days

more Resolutions bearing on this subject from his constituents and others in the North of England than he had received on any other subject since he had had the honour of a seat in the House. In fact, one could not attend a political meeting in the North of England where a reference to the extension of the franchise would not be received with as much enthusiasm as a reference to the reform of the House of Lords itself. How much excitement did hon. Members opposite want to see in order to be convinced of the demand for electoral reform? He wished they would explain to what extent they wished the people to agitate. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), who was always outspoken, had told them exactly what would satisfy him—that if the agricultural labourers were to meet in vast numbers, to neglect their work, to march upon London and pull down the Park railings and necessitate the calling out of the police and the military, the noble Lord would be satisfied that they wanted the vote and knew how to use it. Was that the new qualification which the Tory Party wished to insist upon? The noble Lord could have but a very poor idea of the labourers' adjustment of means to ends if he thought that they would be satisfied to march to London simply to pull down the Park railings. It was possible that suggestions such as this one of the noble Lord might provoke a spirit that could not be controlled. He believed that the working people were too wise and too conscious of their power to resort to any such methods in furtherance of their desire; but it was, nevertheless, dangerous to tell them that such methods as those described by the noble Lord would constitute the only argument which would convince the House that they were in earnest. Was it at all desirable that there should be excitement on this subject? If such excitement existed, would not that be advanced as an argument why the franchise should not be extended? Mr. Disraeli, in 1874, said—

“When a class is in a state of excitement—whatever may be the cause, however just it may be—when there exist a variety of circumstances, hopeful I trust for their eventual benefit, but not conducive to calm reflection and cool judgment—I do not think there is a *prima facie* case for suddenly advancing them to and investing

them with the franchise."—(3 *Hansard*, [219] 253.)

That very argument had been adduced in the present debate. The noble Lord who had just spoken had advanced as an argument against the Bill that Ireland was in too excited a condition. It therefore came to this—England was too quiet; Ireland was too excited; they must wait until England was revolutionary and Ireland contented. A great deal had been said about redistribution, which all admitted to be necessary in consequence of the great anomalies and irregularities which existed. Hon. Members opposite were prepared, however, to maintain these anomalies. ["No, no!"] Well, at all events, they wanted redistribution at the same time as the extension of the franchise. When hon. Members became favourable to Reform, they were so impetuous and so extreme that it was hardly possible to satisfy their voracious appetite. He knew that a great number of Members were anxious to address the House, and he did not wish to detain it. All he had to say was that he hoped that the House would pass the Bill by a decisive and triumphant majority. As to the action of the House of Lords, Lord Salisbury had spoken of an appeal to the people. ["Hear, hear!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite cheered that sentiment. Those were strange words from such lips. What Lord Salisbury meant was, not an appeal to the people, but an appeal to the present electors; that was, to ask the present voters whether those who had not votes wanted them and ought to have them. Even of an appeal of that kind he (Mr. Burt) was not at all afraid. He could trust the people; and though it was proverbially hazardous to prophesy, this much he ventured to predict—the Bill might be delayed; it could not be defeated; and whatever might follow the rejection of the Bill by the House of Lords, such rejection would not add either to the reputation or to the power of that great historic Assembly.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, that the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down seemed to be very doubtful, after he had stated that a large number of miners and others in the North of England were anxious that the franchise should be extended to their neighbours who had not got it, of the propriety of

appealing to the present constituencies, as he was not quite sure what their verdict might be. They were anxious to appeal to the present constituencies, who, it was said, were so desirous that the franchise should be extended, to hear what they would say when an election took place. He did not mean to say there were not many agricultural labourers fit to have the franchise; but when it was deemed so light a matter that 1,300,000 should be enfranchised in England, 200,000 in Scotland, and 400,000 in Ireland—as stated by the Prime Minister, but he believed it would be found to be nearer 500,000—they had a right to ask themselves whether this great change was for the benefit and interest of the country. The Prime Minister, speaking with regard to the constitution of the House, asked whether it had not been improved by the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867, and whether it was not better qualified to deal with the legislative exigencies of the nation? That was a question he should like to put to the House. It had not been discussed during the course of the debate. He would like to ask right hon. and hon. Gentlemen on the Bench opposite why they had called the House together in the autumn of 1882 to pass all those Rules, and stop that Obstruction which they said existed? Surely, they then thought the House had deteriorated, or they would never have come forward with those Resolutions. Then, again, why were there such a number of Questions put in the House now? The constituencies were not satisfied unless their Members took some active part in the Business of the House; and if they were not able to speak they thought that asking Questions would bring them prominently before their constituencies. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had asked what would be the effect on the Members of the House if the franchise was extended; and if the working classes combined upon something which was not for the interest of the country? Such a question, coming from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon, was worthy of consideration. There had been a large accession of Members of a particular view from Ireland; and had not that had an effect on the debate—had it not had an effect on the occupants of the Treasury Bench? Was it not said by the Prime



Minister and by the present Lord Chancellor in 1870 that nothing would induce them to deviate one hair's breadth from the Irish Act of 1870, and that fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale could never be given? Did not the noble and learned Lord say that if rents were reduced and free sale given it would be a breach of the Act of Parliament which constituted the title of so many to the land they held? But the exigencies of Party were such that, in order to obtain the Irish vote, the Government passed the Land Act of 1881, in spite of all they had said in 1870. We had to look to the danger to which men in power were exposed when they had the opportunity of gaining votes on one side or the other by deviating from what they had formerly said. It was not done prior to the Act of 1867; but it was now done in a way which almost amounted to a crime. The Act of 1867 conferred a household and rating franchise; that was done away with by the Poor Rate Assessment Act of 1869; but two wrongs did not make a right. He would venture boldly to say no man ought to have the franchise who did not personally pay his rates. This was a question that ought to be, and he hoped would be, seriously dealt with in Committee, if the Bill ever reached that stage, for it was one upon which the construction of the County Government Bill would rest hereafter. A man might be the owner of 4,000 acres, and have on the estate 20 tenants and 100 cottages for 100 labourers who would be enfranchised, even although the landlord had compounded for and paid all the rates. The vote would be given to these men, although they paid nothing to the rates; and certainly that was not the way in which the vote ought to be given. If the vote was worth having, it was worth making a sacrifice for. If a man thought it was worth having, he ought to pay his rates. With regard to the service franchise, he objected to it, because it took away all condition of a man paying his rate, for it said a man might pay nothing to the rates, and yet he should have a vote. They were told they were to have a County Government Bill immediately following the Franchise Bill. At the present time they had a graduated scale of rating according to property; but now, if they gave a man a Parliamentary vote, he paying no rates

whatever, when they came to the County Government Bill, was this same man to have a vote in the distribution of money to which he had not contributed a farthing? That was a point likely to cause much discussion. Then, with regard to Ireland, if he had no other reason to object to the Bill he should object to its extension to Ireland at that moment. He wanted to ask the House, were they prepared to hand over the Government of Ireland, in a particular sense, to those men who professed openly that their only view was separation from this country? That was what they were proposing to do; and at some future day it would not be by such mild means as this extension of the franchise. Could they have confidence in the Government that if the Redistribution Bill was not produced now they would hereafter do what was right and just in the interests of the country? A good deal had been said about setting class against class. If there was an incitement to conflict between class and class it was given by the President of the Board of Trade, when he charged the landowners with robbery, and said the poor had been robbed of endowments. But the other night, when an attempt was made to restore one of these endowments to the poor, the right hon. Gentleman was absent, and the effort was resisted on behalf of the Education Department, whose policy made the right hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) one of the chief robbers. It was a Liberal Government that passed the Act under which this robbery was carried on. The Prime Minister suggested taking away Members from the loyal South of England to give to Ireland a representation to which she was not entitled. Now, he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), who had something to say on this Bill, would he vote for the Bill if Ireland was to be dealt with in that way? Then, also, they had to say what was to be done about proportional representation; and he advised those who wanted it not to lose their grasp of this Bill now. They wanted the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill. The measure without redistribution was incomplete; and it was because he thought that it was essential that redistribution should go with any extension of the franchise that he should



give his most hearty and cordial vote for the Amendment of the noble Lord (Lord John Manners).

MR. GOSCHEN: If on the first reading of this Bill I had said, what some hon. Members seem to have thought I said, that I should support this Bill, I should have scrupled to trouble the House a second time on this question. What I did say was that the action I might think it my duty to take in regard to this Bill would be determined by the language which might be uttered by Ministers in the course of these debates with regard to some questions which appeared to me to be vital and inseparable from the business which we have in hand. That being so, I should wish, before the Division takes place, to be allowed to explain to the House what impression the utterances of Ministers and other Members of the House have made upon me. No man likes his own vote to be misunderstood; and I trust the House will pardon me if I recall what I stated to them on a former occasion. I then strenuously contended that the enfranchisement of 2,000,000 additional voters below the £12 line ought to be accompanied by some precautions which would insure a hearing to minorities, and the protection of other classes of the community. I said—

"I do wish, in the course of these debates, to know what is in the mind of the Cabinet—what is the tendency of the Cabinet with regard to such vital questions as to how minorities are in future to be heard, and how they propose to prevent the total disfranchisement of the loyal classes in Ireland?"

I proceeded—

"If the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the House had been the last word, if there were no other hope to be given to us that Her Majesty's Government would face the problems which I have endeavoured imperfectly to put before the House, I confess that I should feel it my duty to oppose this Bill at every stage. If, on the other hand, I can see in the declarations to be made in the course of these debates by my right hon. Friend himself and his Colleagues that they intend to grapple with these difficulties, and that if there is a Dissolution—a contingency which we cannot put out of sight—before they can carry their Redistribution Bill, they will place before the country a moderate programme in accordance with that which has been sketched out by the Prime Minister, then I can conceive that one might support this Bill."—(3 *Hansard*, [285] 429.)

With regard to the moderate programme of redistribution, I have every confidence it will be placed before us; but I

ask any hon. Member of this House whether, in the course of their speeches, Ministers have to any extent faced the problem which seems to me to be so vital and inseparable from the business we have now in hand—namely, whether the Government have any intention of keeping in view the great principle of the protection of minorities? If they hold that principle, at all events they have not disclosed it; but I am inclined to think they do not assent to it, and in that course they will be supported by many hon. Members who sit around me. They do not assent to the principle; and, consequently, what is the position? If there are no declarations from the Government, in the presence of the silence of the Government, what are the chances that any such securities will be obtained? Shall we obtain them in the present Parliament? Contrary to the view of the Prime Minister, I believe—I am sorry I must believe it—that the chances of the Redistribution Bill passing next year are not so favourable as my right hon. Friend supposes; and if the House permits me, I will advance one or two considerations in favour of this view. If the chances are against a Redistribution Bill being passed in the course of next year, what will be the chance for the principle of the protection of minorities, if it should be heard in a Parliament elected on the new franchise? [*Cheers.*] An Election on the new franchise, as I can conclusively prove, will immensely add to the strength of the urban democracy —[*Cheers*—] which, even without this reinforcement, as we can tell by the cheers we have just heard, will be opposed to any precautions which would weaken the force of solid majorities. If the Cabinet had declared in favour of the principle of protecting minorities, then there would be some chance that a programme would be put forward at the next Election embodying that principle, and that Members would be returned to oppose or support it. But in the absence of any declarations on that subject, it is, I am afraid, hopeless to expect that a Parliament elected upon the new franchise would be in favour of the principles to which I attach so much importance. Those, therefore, who deem these securities indispensable if the franchise is to be extended, cannot desire to leave the decision to the new

Parliament; and I, for my part, see my way clearly—it is, I regret to say, my duty to vote against this Bill. Now, I would entreat my hon. Friends on this side of the House to believe me when I say that I do see a close and intimate connection between these two portions of the great measure of Reform. I quite understand the view they take—that enfranchisement may proceed without redistribution; but I wish them, on their side, to understand the ground on which many of us attach so much importance to certain elements in the redistribution scheme. If we see that the chances of their being duly considered diminish, if not dealt with in the present Parliament, though you disagree with us, at all events you cannot say our belief is irrelevant to the Bill in hand. I have heard some of my hon. Friends say in the course of this debate—"Let us deal with the question as it arises;" but some of us think that when the question arises it will be too late; and that after we have enfranchised the 2,000,000 of voters without any securities, we should never get the securities which we now wish to take. Now I think my hon. Friends should see that there is some force in this plea for tying the two Bills together; or if not for tying the two Bills together—for I have not contended for that—that we should know that when we proceed to redistribution we shall have the assistance of Her Majesty's Government in regard to the points I have indicated. My noble Friend the Secretary of State for War, in his clear and able speech, has said that if he thought redistribution was to be conducted in such a way as to lead to equal electoral districts he should not support the Bill. That, at all events, shows that in the opinion of the noble Marquess redistribution does hang together with this Bill, and the noble Marquess was exceedingly candid on that point. He said that there was reason in this demand, and that we were entitled to know the general plan of the Government with regard to redistribution. But I can quite understand that hon. Members who are prepared to admit to the franchise 2,000,000 of voters without looking to the right or to the left, without considering any of the consequences of such a measure, and who consider that the best and most ideal test of Representative Government is the number

of those who go to the poll—I can quite understand that they would not hold my view, but would be content to leave the decision of this question to a Parliament in which they would be largely reinforced by those who hold the same views as themselves. But surely the position is a different one in the case of Members who do not hold this view. I hope, at all events, that hon. Members see that, to my mind, there is an intimate connection between the two subjects, and that it is not a mere crotchet that induces me to take the course I do. But hon. Members will, perhaps, think that I am wrong, not only in saying that we have no securities in this measure, but also in saying that securities are necessary at all. They will say that I have made admissions with regard to the qualifications of the working classes to enjoy the franchise, and that, therefore, they cannot understand why I should take the line which I feel myself compelled to take. I have been reprimanded by several hon. Members, and the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst) said that it was lamentable that I should have had to make the admission which I have made. But I think that in the present great complexity of political forces it is possible that one may occasionally hold opinions that require to be modified by events; and I do not think that it is humiliating to admit that one has made a mistake. It would be far more humiliating to act as if one were not converted when one is converted. I will put it to the generosity of the hon. Member for Stoke. Supposing that on entering this House he had had the idea that the various sections in the House had not got that same desire to promote the interests of the working classes which he himself has, and that when he was here he had found that, contrary to his expectations, there was a great tendency and a great desire to assist in this work. Would the hon. Member not go before his Trade Union and say to them—"We have been mistaken as to the ideas of the other classes of the community, and I come here to admit it?" I trust we shall all be candid both in acknowledging criticisms and when we change our views. I am bound to say that no single Member has grappled with my other point—namely, the power of resistance of this House. The Prime



Minister in his speech to-night pointed to what had happened since 1867. The Prime Minister said that Parliament had greatly improved, and that there was now more comprehension of the wants of the people than there had ever been before. Hon. Members say—"Why not then go further, and enfranchise 2,000,000 more?" That is true in one sense; but I would venture to ask the Prime Minister whether there have not been gigantic changes in the last 10 or 15 years? If Parliament has improved in some senses, are there not totally different views prevailing on political questions, some of which might be dangerous to the State? In this House do we not take a totally different view on many questions from that which we took 10 years ago? Do we not see that Democracy at every turn is clutching the arm of the Executive power? Do we not see that it is influencing our actions in our Indian Empire, and testing our hold on subject races? We see it in the relation of Members to their constituents. [*Cheers.*] Those cheers come from hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway; they are Democrats, and they know that the measure the House is going to pass is calculated to strengthen the hands of the Democrats. We are perfectly agreed as to its effect; but there is this great difference between us—that what is their hope is my fear. I will illustrate what I mean by reference to hon. Members below the Gangway, if I may do so without impertinence. I admire the great public spirit with which they throw themselves into the consideration of public questions, and I believe there is no body of men more animated by public spirit; but I should not like to see these hon. Members in a vast majority in this House. That precisely illustrates my feeling with regard to this question of enfranchisement. I would gladly see the enfranchisement of large additional numbers; but I do not want to see the preponderating power given to a particular class. It is said that this is distrust of the people. That is not so, because the people do not consist of one class of the community; there are various classes and various interests; and I do not see that there is any class which is not more or less open to criticism with regard to its attitude on matters affecting its own special interests. The hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) in his

speech said—"Why bring up this question of classes?" But in this debate the selfishness of the present depositories of political power has been commented on upon several occasions; and what we are asked to believe is this—that all the classes now entitled to the franchise are more or less animated by selfish interests; but that there is one class below the £12 line which will be totally different from all the other classes. I say that that is a little too much. Either let us believe that all classes are liable to the foibles and infirmities of political human nature; or let us believe that they are all superior to them. Do not let us draw the line just at the £12 household franchise in the counties, and believe that all those below that line will be virtuous, while those above it are systematically content, as my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade would say, to connive at robbery. Now, Sir, we are told—and I wish to believe it—that the classes whom we are about to enfranchise will be under the good influence of other classes; and we have been repeatedly told, and, among others, by the Prime Minister in his speech to-night, that these classes—the agricultural labourers, for instance—would be under the influence of those Conservative forces—the squire, the parson, and so on. But if we are told that we should look to the influence of other classes upon the new voters for political stability, let us, at all events, be assured that language is held to them which will increase their respect for the classes above them. And it would be—and, in fact, is—very inconsistent that, at a moment when we are told to rely upon such influences, a Member of the Government should tell us—and not only us, but, through us, the classes that are to be enfranchised—that this House has not only been indifferent to their interests and to the redress of their grievances, but that it actually connives at robbery. My right hon. Friend the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) said that the President of the Board of Trade was made the lightning conductor in these debates. Now, I can assure my right hon. Friend (Mr. Chamberlain) that it is from no personal antagonism that I allude to him now or on other occasions; but he seems sometimes to invite separate criticism by separate utterances; and we sometimes



think that he wishes us to forget that he is a Member of the present Cabinet, because he wishes us to remember that he is, at the same time, the vigorous, determined, and unflinching Leader of the advanced section of the Liberal Party, both in and out of this House. And, therefore, we are compelled in our political utterances—I hope without any personal offence—to allude more to his speeches than to the speeches of any other Members of the Cabinet. I venture to put this to the House. If my right hon. Friend holds such language now, when he is himself a Member of Her Majesty's Government, when the Government is presided over by my right hon. Friend the present Prime Minister, and when the Liberal Party are in a majority, what would be likely to be the language that would be held if it should be a Conservative Government and a different majority which were guiding the affairs of this country? I point to this because I wish to indicate that there is a vital distinction between two sets of speeches which have been made in this House with regard to the admission of these 2,000,000 voters to the franchise. There are many Members who have supported this Bill simply from a desire to enfranchise a large additional number, who have spoken of it simply from the point of view of justice, and in the belief that they would strengthen the Constitution by passing it; and it is in that spirit that we have been addressed to-night by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister. But there are other Members who tell us plainly that they desire to promote this enfranchisement, not simply from the point of view of the voters themselves, but in order to strengthen the position which they themselves occupy, and to promote those political objects which they, most conscientiously, have at heart. We have been told that we have but to await the advent to power of those 2,000,000, in addition to those already within the pale of the Constitution, to quicken the pace at which we are now going. These persons wish to heap further coals upon the fire, in order that democratic progress may proceed still faster. Such was the tone of the speeches of the junior Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) and the hon. Member for Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst). And it is not only in this House, but out of it, that we have indications, that it is

not only a question of admitting these voters for the sake of their own position, but that it is to be done in order to strengthen the democratic movement in this country. And from their point of view those hon. Members are perfectly consistent. I certainly shall not, at this hour of the night, put history into the witness-box in regard to this question, because we all know that in these days any allusion to what has passed in other countries is considered most irrelevant to our circumstances. I will not put into the witness-box any of those who have thought deeply on these subjects, because we all know that such witnesses are now brow-beaten. The men who are put into the witness-box are hon. Members who sit in this House—men of the Leeds Conference—men of the autumn campaign, Representatives of the very class which is to be enfranchised; and from their own mouths we hear for what purpose they wish 2,000,000 additional electors to be brought within the pale of the Constitution, and why they would wish for no checks and no restraints. And, meanwhile, other hon. Members rush, with that language in their ears, to throw themselves into the arms of the masses; while hon. Members representing advanced opinions laugh a quiet, but a very triumphant laugh in their sleeve. I think I have shown why I consider that the course of this debate proves that we require securities. But I am told that what I propose is to take away with one hand that which we give with the other. That is not so. It would be true, if we were first to enfranchise, and then, some time afterwards, we were to ask the new voters to give back a portion of their power. But it is not true, if in one and the same measure we take these securities at the time the enfranchisement passes, and as the condition of enfranchisement. The challenge has been thrown out to me and others who think with me—"You have not shown what are the securities that you want, nor said a word about the particular form of representation of minorities that you expect." Well, Sir, my answer to that is, that it is very ingenuous for hon. Members to ask us to tell them what these securities are, while they support the Government in refusing to disclose what their scheme of redistribution is. The securities I wish for would depend, to a great extent, on the Redistribution Bill of the

Government. We are to remove anomalies; anomalies are varieties; and varieties often are the protection of minorities; and in proportion as the scheme of the Government does away with anomalies and places electoral power in the hands of large aggregates of population, in that proportion it will be necessary to take the securities to which I have alluded. I certainly should not contemplate any general system of cumulative voting, nor that it should be applied to the whole country. In satisfying the demands of new centres of voting and counties which will have reinforcements of voters, the more you can meet them on the old lines the better; but where you pass the old lines the protection of minorities becomes indispensable. Then I would not propose any separate system for Ireland; but the same system of minority voting, whatever it is, that is applied to England should be applied to Ireland. My right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade ridicules the three-cornered constituencies. I myself was never enamoured of them; but sooner than have no protection to minorities I should prefer that such a security should be retained, and I should not deem it impossible to extend that system in a certain degree to Ireland. How far, then, has the Government endeavoured to meet this point? With regard to the general, simple scheme of redistribution of seats, the Government proposal seems to be moderate; but not a single sentence has fallen from them showing that they have the slightest desire to provide protection for minorities in any way; and that reminds me of a phrase which I regretted to hear from the Secretary of State for War with respect to the representation of minorities in Ireland. He suggested that they would be adequately represented by the majority in England and Scotland. Now, I cannot admit for a moment that the loyal minority in Ireland would be represented in any such way; because, what we must desire is to see present in this House, not only the Party of Separation, but, in proportion to their population, the Loyal Party in Ireland. We have been taunted, in the course of these debates, as if we had proposed to apply the population test to Ireland in opposition to the plan of the Government, or to that of the

Prime Minister, who suggested that Ireland should retain her present number of Members. The population test has not been put forward as the only possible standard to determine what Ireland should have, but as the standard most favourable to Ireland—as a kind of maximum; and if you take population as a basis, Ireland will not be entitled to the full number of Members she has at present. I have heard no one suggest that it should be a population test that should be applied to Ireland; but it is a test the most favourable that can be applied; and what I object to in the Government proposal is this—that Ireland should have a guarantee that she should be treated differently to the other portions of the United Kingdom—a guarantee that, come what may, Ireland should not lose any of her Representatives. I should be prepared to say—"Let Ireland be treated like the other two countries." If you find that there are boroughs in Ireland below a certain point which are not entitled to a Member, let them be disfranchised; if there are counties and large centres of population in Ireland which are entitled to additional Members, let them receive them, precisely as in England and Scotland; but let no guarantee be given that a separate principle will be applied to Ireland. My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister alluded to what was done at the time of the Union, and also in 1832; and I think, if I may be permitted to say so, he was rather hard upon the great Reformers of those days, because he puts it as if so unjust was their action to Ireland, that now we must be more than strictly just in meeting the demands of Ireland, because then she did not receive her fair share of Representatives from England. But that is because my right hon. Friend has set up the test of population. Mr. Pitt never professed to act upon population; and, therefore, he committed no crime. In 1832 the test of population was not set up; but population and taxation were taken together. For my part, I should be perfectly prepared to meet my right hon. Friend, and to say—"Let Ireland be treated precisely as she has been treated before, taking all circumstances into consideration." Such seems to me the answer to my right hon. Friend on that point. I have shown to the House that, in my view, there is little satisfaction to be obtained in the way of decla-



rations with regard to the vital questions that I have mentioned from the Government. And I have to ask myself what chances are there of getting what we want from the next Session of Parliament, or, if not, from the Parliament after? My right hon. Friend believes that we shall, in the next Session of Parliament, be able to deal with this question of redistribution. Well, I say frankly I hope that my right hon. Friend may be right; but he will have to deal with tremendous difficulties. He will have to deal with hon. Members from Ireland, who will have to submit, if I may use the phrase, to a certain transfer of power from various parts of Ireland to Ulster on account of her growing population; and I think we may anticipate a great degree of opposition which will be made to almost every proposal. Then, we have to deal with right hon. Gentlemen and hon. Gentlemen opposite—with the Conservative Party; and the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War said that, without their co-operation, he believed it would be exceedingly difficult to procure a satisfactory redistribution scheme. I am inclined to agree with him; and I am inclined to think that unless the two Parties lay their heads together with regard to the Redistribution Bill that it will be exceedingly difficult to pass a satisfactory Redistribution Bill in the course of the next Session. Hon. Members opposite will be wrong if they oppose a Redistribution Bill next Session; but, looking to the whole circumstances of the case, and looking to the fact that we shall have to pass, and may be invited to pass, a Prevention of Crime Bill in the course of next Session, I think he is a sanguine man who believes that we have got a good chance of passing this Bill. What, then, I proceed to ask, are the chances with regard to the protection of minorities in a Parliament elected upon the new franchise? Now, my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister put before us this evening the supposition that in the new counties the large majority, as I understood him, would be agricultural labourers.

MR. GLADSTONE: The majority to be enfranchised by the new Bill.

MR. GOSCHEN: That is precisely what I mean—that the largest class to be enfranchised under the new Bill would be the agricultural labourers. That is true; but it is only true to a

certain extent. I have looked very carefully into that matter. Let me remind the House that in the days when my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary used to bring forward his Motions we were always told that the numbers were about equal—500,000 urban population and about 500,000 rural population, which would be enfranchised, putting them roughly at half and half. Now, that may be so; but then they are very variously distributed. I have looked very carefully into this matter, and I venture to submit my examination to the earnest attention of the House. I find that in 30 county constituencies out of 95 the addition to be made to the constituency from what I may call the industrial and urban element will be so great as to entirely outvote the agricultural constituents. I can refer hon. Members to industrial statistics upon these points, and many hon. Members know these facts from their own experience. The urban element will be strongly increased; and it must be so, because the boroughs will be left unchanged by this Bill, and although there are service and other franchises, they are exceedingly slight and insignificant compared with the numbers which will be otherwise introduced. Hon. Members will see that this process will go on; that a large number of urban voters residing in unrepresented towns or the suburbs of boroughs will be placed in the counties in numbers entirely out of proportion to the labourers, the landlords, and others. When I say that, I refer not only to the dwellers in towns, but to all who have affinities, political and otherwise, with what I may call the urban democracy. It is the industrial and the urban, the gregarious classes, which will be enfranchised in large numbers; and it is the wish of hon. Members that they should be enfranchised in those large numbers. They will be enfranchised in such numbers that in 30 county constituencies returning 60 Members there will be an entire transfer of political power from an agricultural and farm class to the urban class. I have looked carefully into the matter; and it is not a question between the Conservative and the Liberal side. I hope the House will see that I have not dwelt upon any Party consideration; but it is a question between the rural and the urban element. I say, with reference to the next Parliament, to which we refer redistribution



and the protection of minorities, we shall find that it will be reinforced by 60 Members returned for county constituencies, which will have become practically urban or industrial. But I will only assume 40 votes. We know there will be a gain to the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) of, at least, 10 or 15 votes; and the result will be that in this new Parliament there will be at least 50 Members, representing 100 on a Division, who will strengthen the urban Democracy, and who will have in their hands power for the purpose of the Redistribution Bill, and for the resisting of those securities for which some of us have pressed so much. I have submitted my argument to the House, and I thank it for the attention it has given to me. Many hon. Friends of mine who sit around me say—"What is the good of your individual vote or your speech against the Bill?" I believe there is no greater temptation, no more seductive influence to which we in these days ought more to close our ears than to the siren voice which says:—"Swim with the stream; let the boat glide; statecraft is no more than the clever use of the pole to keep it from the bank." That is not my view; and I believe that resistance, even if it fails on a particular point, nevertheless is not without its influence. I believe that a campaign is influenced in its results even by a hopeless resistance made on a particular point. It is said that the wish is father to the thought. I can assure the House that in my case no proverb is more untrue. I have endeavoured to persuade myself that I could vote for this Bill; but I have not been able to persuade myself. My Party seem to breathe an atmosphere of Utopia, and to feel a confidence I cannot share. But I wish this House to feel assured that if I cannot join hon. Members who will crowd through the Lobbies to carry the second reading of this Bill, that if I must sit silent while the cheers are heard which will greet the victory when the numbers are announced from the Chair, I shall none the less breathe a most fervent and earnest hope that my own misgivings, which compel my dissent, may be put to the rout by the future course of events; and that the Democracy to which the large majority of the House is content to confide the future destinies of this country may stand out in splendid contrast to the Democracy of other coun-

tries, and that by its superior fairness and greater moderation it may prove that history does not always repeat itself, and that examples do not always teach a lesson. It is with feelings such as these that I am obliged most reluctantly to announce my intention of voting against this Bill.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER said, it seemed to him that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down might more appropriately have been uttered on the first reading of the measure by the Leader of the Opposition, or some of his Colleagues. Knowing the right hon. Gentleman's skill as a debater, he confessed to some disappointment that he should not have attempted to answer the speech which was delivered that evening in favour of the measure by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government. He had warned them against moral cowardice and swimming with the stream; but he did not think that on this occasion the right hon. Gentleman showed so much courage in not swimming with the stream. To use another metaphor, it seemed to him that the right hon. Gentleman had taken the desperate resolve of jumping overboard, hoping that he could buffet the waves of Democracy by himself alone. He (Mr. O'Connor Power) looked upon every proposal of this kind as an effort made by a wise and far-seeing statesman to guide the ship of State over the turbid waters, and to allow it to pass along on its course into a harbour of refuge. He would sympathize with the right hon. Gentleman thoroughly in not going with the stream when it was going in the wrong direction; but he regretted that the right hon. Gentleman occupied the peculiar and unique position of being directly and emphatically opposed to the principle of the Bill. If there was danger to the State by this increase of political power being placed in the hands of the people, that argument would more properly have come from the Leader of the Opposition. But if the Conservative Party were afraid to raise that issue, because they knew that it could not be successfully defended on logical or Constitutional grounds, the right hon. Gentleman must admit that he was engaged in an entirely hopeless resistance. He noticed that the right hon. Gentleman harped upon a few strings, one of which was the Irish Separatist Party. He supposed that no one would accuse him

(Mr. O'Connor Power) of undue sympathy with the tactics of the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his Colleagues in that House. He would, however, emphatically deny that what had been described as the Constitutional Home Rule Party in Ireland, which numbered amongst its ranks some of the most loyal subjects of Her Majesty in that country, was one which advocated a policy of separation. He lamented that these tactics were resorted to by, it seemed to him, every English politician who wished to make it appear that the aspirations of Ireland were inconsistent with the integrity of the Empire. It was that which had baffled English statesmen for centuries in their attempts to govern the country; and he thought it ought to be the proud ambition of the Leaders of public opinion on both sides of the Channel to endeavour to solve the difficulty satisfactorily and finally. The Separatist bogey had been thrust before them by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the senior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) no less than half-a-dozen times in the course of his speech a few nights ago. He thought no good purpose was served by such attempts to put forward this erroneous conception of Irish demands. He believed that no Member of the Party which followed the Leadership of the hon. Member for the City of Cork would make any proposal of a serious character tending towards the separation of Ireland and Great Britain; and it would be time enough for hon. Gentlemen who were interested in the maintenance of the Union and in the integrity of the Empire to raise their protests when any proposal of that kind was really brought forward. The principle of the Bill was simply that household suffrage should be extended to all parts of the United Kingdom; while the Amendment asked the House to declare that the Bill ought not to be proceeded with until the redistribution scheme of the Government was laid before Parliament. The fact, however, was that no risk whatever was run in passing this measure as it stood, because Parliament would have the power of moulding the Government redistribution scheme as it thought fit. He was sorry that the Conservative Party, who had threatened the House with a Dissolution, should so soon have forgotten the principle which had been laid down by

their late illustrious Leader (the Earl of Beaconsfield), in introducing his Reform Bill of 1867, that it was not for the advantage of the country that the question of Reform should involve the fate of a Ministry. He apprehended that if they had his guidance there that day he would reproach his Colleagues and political Friends for their opposition to that Bill. They were being constantly asked what was to become of the loyal minority in Ireland? For his part, he did not think that the "loyal minority" were in such danger as those hon. Gentlemen seemed to believe. They could rely upon the protection of the great loyal majority in England and Scotland; and he was satisfied that they would sustain the loyal minority in Ireland in the exercise of every one of the rights to which they were entitled. The time was, however, gone when they would sustain the "loyal minority" in Ireland in the exercise of undue and exceptional privileges. They had sought to govern Ireland through the agency of the loyal minority in Ireland for centuries, and in order to gratify them they had divided the nation into two classes. The privileged few were placed at the top and the people were placed at the bottom, in order that they might be trampled on by the privileged few; to the loyal minority had been handed over the government of the country. They had erected their schools, endowed their Colleges, and subsidized their churches. In their interest they had disinherited the nation, degraded them, and deprived them of their civil and religious liberty. On the ruins of their laws they had erected a system of class domination and territorial government in its most hateful form, and had added insult to injury by making them support an ecclesiastical ascendancy; and now, because in this age of enlightenment they were endeavouring to put an end to this nefarious policy, they were told that they were about to extinguish Constitutional liberty in Ireland. It was alleged that the Irish householders whom this Bill proposed to enfranchise ought not to be enfranchised, because of the objects which their Leaders had at heart; and the two most odious objects pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) were the destruction of landlordism and the disintegration of the Empire.

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He did not see how landlordism could be saved by withholding the Parliamentary vote from the people who, while still beyond the pale of the Constitution, had by methods, some of which all hon. Members deplored, contrived to attain the objects they had in view. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Westminster declared that if the Bill passed in its integrity the Irish Members would hold the balance of power and control the destinies of the Empire. Who could be so absurd as to imagine that if the hon. Member for the City of Cork came back to the House with every single Irish Member pledged to support him—with the whole 100 Members—the 560 English and Scotch Members would be so powerless and feeble that they would not be able to maintain the integrity of the Empire against the action of the hon. Member? The right hon. and learned Gentleman the junior Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had given his views upon this question, and had asked, in the speech he had delivered the other night—"Why do you not wait until Ireland has quieted down?" The answer was plain. It was unreasonable to expect a state of quiet and tranquillity in Ireland so long as there remained any inequality between the peoples of the two countries. It was vain to expect it. They would have the same cycle of events, appeals for the restoration of liberty followed by agitation, agitation followed by attempts at rebellion, and attempts at rebellion followed by coercion. This would be repeated again and again, unless they took their stand once for all on the principle of Constitutional equality between the peoples of the two countries. They had been invited, at a very early stage of this discussion, to consider what action was taken by Irish and English statesmen respectively at the time of the Union in respect of the number of Members which Ireland should have in the United Parliament. He had taken the trouble to look up what passed between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Grattan. He thought it was in the very last debate which took place in the Irish Parliament on this subject. Ireland had 300 Members in the Irish Parliament, and it was enacted in the Act of Union that her representation in the United Parliament should be limited to 100. Lord Castlereagh, in referring to the

subject in the last debate on the question, used these extraordinary words—

"It is a matter of no moment what are the number of Irish Representatives, provided that they be sufficient to state the wants, and watch over the interests, of their country."

["Hear, hear!"] He was not surprised to hear the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) cheer that observation; but, surely, the hon. Member would not bind Ireland by the declaration of Lord Castlereagh. To tell him what Mr. Pitt's view of that contract was, and to tell him the opinion of Lord Castlereagh, was to interest him very much, and to present to him something for his consideration, which ought not to be treated with indifference or neglect; but, certainly, if they were to try to make Ireland content, they must satisfy themselves what the Leaders of Irish opinion in the Irish House of Commons thought about it. Mr. Grattan, in reply to Lord Castlereagh, said—

"In defence of his plan of Union, he tells us that the number of Irish Representatives in the British Parliament is of little consequence. This doctrine is new—namely, that between two nations the comparative influence is of no moment. He supposes 100 Irish Members will be sufficient, because he supposes any number will be sufficient."

Further on, in the same speech, Mr. Grattan contended that—

"If Yorkshire were governed by a Lord Lieutenant, and a different code of laws, it would not be simply a part of England in the Constitutional sense, but a nation allied with England, or, if you like, a Province of Great Britain."

With regard to Scotland, Mr. Grattan said—

"The Constitutional sympathy of England defends her, and renders the number of her Representatives less essential."

He (Mr. O'Connor Power) did not ask hon. Gentlemen from Scotland to accept the concluding part of that quotation as a conclusive argument against their demand for increased representation; but it had been well said by the junior Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley) that though the physical distance of Ireland from Great Britain entitled her to some increased representation, in that respect her moral distance entitled her to more. It might be said that the activity of certain Irish Members in the House ought to compensate for any



moral distance between Great Britain and Ireland; but he thought it ought not to compensate, for he was one of those who deplored the fact that legislation should be passed under the physical pressure of walking into the Division Lobby and obstructing the Business of the State, and who trusted that in the future they would not be tempted to rely upon any tactics of that description. Let them come a stage lower down in the history of this Reform Question as between Great Britain and Ireland—to the year 1831. The late Lord Derby, then Mr. Stanley, referring to a speech in which it had been urged that the Reform Bill of that day would give too great a preponderance to Ireland, and that the proportion laid down at the time of the Union should be preserved, said—

“For my part, I am not inclined to attach any great importance to the strict maintenance of the relative proportion between the three countries. As long as I find large, wealthy, and populous places unrepresented in any of these three countries, I care little whether they are to be found in England, Scotland, or Ireland. I thank God that there is now an United Empire, and I am for meting out the same measure of strict impartiality to all.”

The two hon. Members who, he said—

“Struggled so pertinaciously for the maintenance of the proportion of Members between the three counties; and who grudged Ireland any increase to her Representatives beyond the number given to her at the period of the Union.”

He cautioned—

“To consider well the arguments they are putting into the hands of those who are contending for a measure which I conceive would be most mischievous—those who put forward the doctrine that Ireland is not adequately represented in the House, and was, therefore, to have a domestic Legislature of her own.”

He (Mr. O'Connor Power) asked the attention of the House particularly to the concluding part of this quotation from the late Lord Derby. He said—

“If you fear to give any more Members to Ireland, why did you pass the Relief Bill; why did you grant Catholic Emancipation?”

And he (Mr. O'Connor Power) said that if they feared the presence of the hon. Member for the City of Cork, and his new accession to strength in the new Parliament; if they believed that it would be fatal to the existence of the State and the integrity of the Empire, why did they give the Irish constituencies the trouble of returning any Members at all? They could not halt

half way in a policy of restriction and exclusion. They must govern Ireland on Constitutional principles, or they must govern her by force. It had been the conception of the Conservative Party that Ireland was not a nation to be governed, but was simply a military outpost, to be held by the strong arm, and to be kept down by the iron hand. If that was the opinion of hon. Members, then, he maintained, they had not the courage of their convictions—they were stopping half way, and were taking up a ground that was absolutely untenable. The Prime Minister had referred to the injustice, in regard to the number of Members, under which Ireland had laboured for so long a time, without any great disposition being manifested by the Representatives of England and Scotland to redress the wrong. He (Mr. O'Connor Power) did not intend to dwell on that question; but, for the purpose of showing how far the Prime Minister was justified in his reference to that part of the Reform Question, he should like to make one very brief quotation from O'Connell on the subject. O'Connell had said in 1831—

“One great objection to the Union is the gross partiality of the arrangement by which Ireland has only 100 Members to watch over her interests; whilst England, with only twice her population, has five times that number.”

Well, after all that had been said on the subject, he trusted hon. Gentlemen would have no difficulty in supporting the Bill; and that no further attempt would be made to affix the stigma of inferiority to the people of Ireland by excluding them from the scope of the measure. There were a great many right hon. and hon. Members in the House—the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), he believed, being of the number—who considered that certain persons in Ireland made a parade of their grievances in order that they might make political capital out of them. The right hon. Gentleman was one of those who believed that many of the grievances spoken of were of a purely imaginary character. Well, if they were imaginary, they were not likely to last long. It was a very illogical position for the same hon. Members to take up to say—“Because Ireland has no real grievances of which she can justly complain, we will manufacture a grievance ready to her hand; and, in

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the present excited state of the relations between the two countries, we will supply every leader of popular opinion in Ireland with a just ground of complaint against the people of England and Scotland." Almost every hon. Member who had addressed the House on this subject had discussed it in connection with some contemplated redistribution of seats; and upon that point he only wished to express a hope that, when the Government came to deal with the question of redistribution, they would consider worthy of their attention what was called the self-acting Reform Law in operation in the United States of America. At the close of the last century, and for some years at the beginning of this century, the number of the population each Member of Congress represented at Washington was 30,000. In 1811 the proportion was raised to one Member to 35,000; in 1822 it was one to every 40,000; in 1832 one to every 47,700; in 1842 one to every 70,680; in 1852 one to every 93,000; and almost every 10 years a similar change had been made, until now each Member of the House of Representatives represented about 145,000 people. The effect of this was obvious. They had a continually growing population; but so great was the desire of American statesmen to keep down the number of Representatives that, though the country had a population considerably larger than that of the United Kingdom, he supposed the number of Representatives at Washington was not more than half those who, at the present time, occupied seats in this House of Commons. He trusted, therefore, that when this redistribution scheme was taken in hand, Her Majesty's Government would consider that arrangement worthy of serious consideration. Well, he thoroughly endorsed every opinion expressed by the various speakers on the Ministerial side of the House in reference to the essential principle of the British Constitution. He believed its essential principle was its representative character. That was its main strength; and he believed the reason why the British Constitution had remained unshaken, whilst other systems of government had been overthrown again and again in various countries of Europe, was because it was an elastic Constitution, which tried to embody the legitimate aspirations of the people and

of the community of which it formed so great a part. Regarding the Constitution of the Empire in that light, and believing that this measure was a wise and prudent one, founded upon justice and expediency, he should certainly, for one, give it his hearty and sincere support.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Earlier in the evening we had the advantage of a speech from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. He gave us, in terse language, his view of the discussion which has taken place; and he also invited us to consider certain points with regard to the measure which we are now considering. I wish, before I take notice of some of the observations of the right hon. Gentleman, to call attention to the exact nature of the issue which we are presently to pronounce upon. We are now discussing an Amendment moved by my noble Friend the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) upon the second reading of the Bill. As hon. Members are perfectly well aware, there are two ways of dealing with a Bill which you desire to discuss and oppose. One is by moving that the Bill be read on some future day, three or six months hence; the other is by an Amendment of a distinct and argumentative character—not necessarily disposing of or rejecting the Bill, but laying down the points upon which the House is dissatisfied with it, or dissatisfied with the proposal by which it is accompanied, and requiring something else to be done. There can be no doubt, with regard to the principle of my noble Friend's Amendment, although there may be some doubt with regard to the principle of the Bill. When we come to discuss the Bill we shall see that there is reason enough for the observation of the Prime Minister, and that the debate has been, to a certain extent, languid, because of the doubt as to the issue involved in it. I think, when you come to consider the Bill, the circumstances in which it is brought forward, and the arguments by which it is supported, the House may fairly say that there is a certain amount of doubt as to what is the principle of the measure. But with regard to the principle of the Amendment I contend that there is no doubt whatever. The principle involved in that is neither more nor less than this—that an alteration of



the balance of the Constitution by the introduction of so large a number of new voters as this Bill proposes to introduce is a matter of a very serious character, and is one which requires to be viewed and considered from all points; and it is impossible to pronounce upon a measure of this sort without knowing whether it is part of a larger scheme, and, if it is part of a larger scheme, what that larger scheme may be. We are told that the measure which we have now to consider is one that the Government offer with great confidence, because it embodies a principle which they think the House cannot possibly reject, and because it is supported by arguments which they have brought forward; but when we begin to discuss these arguments and that ground, and when we begin to inquire as to some points in the position of the Government, we are met with vague and shadowy explanations, which, after all, we are told, or we are as good as told, by the Prime Minister are only meant to be shadowy and sketchy arrangements, and which, when we attempt to grapple with them, we find are constantly changing in their form. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shakes his head; but I shall be able to prove what I have stated. At all events, I would observe that the right hon. Gentleman told us that this Bill was presented to an earnest Parliament by an earnest Ministry, and he said that that being the case it was absolutely certain that the measure must be adopted. I will not say anything about the earnestness of this Parliament—I give hon. Gentlemen on both sides credit for desiring to deal with this matter as earnestly as they can; but when I am told that the Government is in earnest, I must say that they have not produced upon me an impression of their real earnestness, because they are so vague and uncertain, and, as it seems to me, so little agreed upon the main principle of the proposals they are making, and upon the grounds on which they defend them. It is all very well for the right hon. Gentleman to say, as he did this afternoon, that he calls upon us to trust the people; it is a question of whether you can trust the Government. It appears to me that we have no encouragement, and no ground given to us, to warrant us in putting in the Government that trust which they require,

for it is no inconsiderable matter they are asking of us. It is not a simple and insignificant transaction they are asking us to take part in; it is not a small social question, or a mere matter of detail; but this is a question of revising and altering the whole basis of your Constitution, and the whole balance of your Constitutional system. Surely, if we are in earnest we must insist—we are bound in duty to insist—upon a full explanation and consideration of all the points which are involved in so great a change. What was it the right hon. Gentleman told us in his speech at the beginning of the evening? He began by saying that there had been certain charges brought against the Government and against himself in respect of the measure that he had brought forward and the speech in which he had explained and defended it. He said the first of these objections was a want of positive argument. I do not say that there has been an absolute absence of positive argument, but there has been a great deficiency of positive argument in support of the measure, considering its great importance. We must bear this in mind. It has been said, on various occasions, in the course of this debate and elsewhere, on the one hand, that this is not a measure which has been called for by the people, and then, on the other hand, we are rebuked for using such an argument as that, because we are told that it is as much as to say we desire to see the people goaded on to riot and disorder, for the purpose of obtaining that which they ought to obtain without such pressure. Well, I entirely agree that we ought not to wait for riot and disorder if we are convinced that a measure of this kind is desired; and that we ought to consider in what way the legitimate wishes and desires of the people can be gratified and met without injuring the Constitution. But, I may say, when you have a quiet time, as by the hypothesis and by the confession of all you have; when there is no pressure from below, and when the change comes recommended from above; when it is proposed by a Government who has been three or four years in Office, and who, we may assume, have been carefully considering the question, who tell us it was the first task imposed upon them by their return to power, and who have had three or



four years to consider the matter, being conscious of its importance, I say it was their duty to have so considered it that they should be able to present to us some strong ground for taking the step, and present to us a complete plan.

What I say is, that at every turn in the argument the Amendment of my noble Friend rises up, and is a rebuke to the Government for the manner in which they are dealing with the subject. In the first place, the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister says—"When you speak of want of positive argument we deny the charge; we say we have given you positive argument which redeems something of the pledges of the Government, and realizes something of the expectation of the people." But the point put forward in the first speech, and which has been repeated to-night, was this—that it is a matter of advantage to the State that the largest possible number of capable citizens should be admitted to the right of election. We want to know the meaning of that rather vague phrase. What does the right hon. Gentleman mean by "capable citizens?" and what does he mean by "the largest number that can possibly be admitted?" If "capable citizens" means all who are able to give a vote, it is obvious that there is a much larger number than you propose to include in your Bill who would answer to that description. If you mean to tell us that anybody who is not incapable, by reason of some physical or mental infirmity, or some extraordinary circumstance of position, and who is untainted with crime and anything of that sort—anyone who, in that way, is a "capable citizen," ought to have the franchise extended to him, then you ought to extend the principle very much beyond the limited number you propose to include. If you make a capable elector the test, you will find that you are bound to go very much further, and in very different directions in some respects, to what you have done in order to complete your definition. I take, for instance, the case of the female franchise. There cannot be a doubt, if you ask who are capable electors, that you would find it very difficult to declare that the females who are in a certain position as taxpayers and ratepayers, and who are electors for municipal purposes, are not capable citizens, and should not be in-

cluded in the franchise. I believe, from Returns I have seen, that about one-seventh of the electors of the municipalities of the Kingdom are females; and, on the principle on which you are proceeding, you will find it difficult to say that they are not entitled to vote. You find it, I think, inconvenient to give us a definition of "capable citizens." It is an easy term to repeat, and when the Prime Minister is called upon to give us a definition, or thinks he is called upon to give us something of a definition, instead of doing so, he says—"At all events, the persons whom we propose to bring into the electoral body are capable citizens, for they belong to the same class whom you have already enfranchised in other parts of the Kingdom—those resident in the counties are just the same class as those you enfranchised in the boroughs, and enfranchised with such excellent effect." The right hon. Gentleman says—"Or, if they are not the class you have enfranchised, then they are agricultural labourers, whom you must necessarily trust as being men whose circumstances make them trustworthy—indeed, who are shown to be trustworthy by the fact that they exercise the franchise very properly in certain boroughs." Then the right hon. Gentleman, having laid down these two propositions, which, no doubt, are correct so far as they go, says—"That is a proof that the measure we are proposing is a safe measure, and that it only includes capable citizens." Well, but the right hon. Gentleman forgets that in this measure he is introducing into the electorate not only these classes of agricultural labourers, artisans, and others in the English and Scotch counties, but that, according to the principle he is acting on, he is introducing into the electorate a very large number of electors of whom you cannot say the same thing that you have said of the English and Scotch electors. The right hon. Gentleman contends that the proof that the addition to the electorate is safe in England and Scotland is that we have already tested these classes of men and found them capable and good persons to trust with the franchise. He assumes, on the strength of that, that he is right in carrying the same doctrine into the whole of the United Kingdom, and so include Ireland. We are twitted, if we venture to allude to this subject,

and are told that we are proposing or suggesting that this measure should be passed for England, or England and Scotland alone, and that Ireland should be excluded. We say nothing of the kind; but we want to call attention to that point, which is of such vital importance to the character of the Bill, as a proof that it is necessary that you must make your whole scheme with reference to that electoral fact, that electoral element, you are going to introduce. And here comes my noble Friend before the House with his Amendment; and says—"Before we can give you the verdict you claim we want to know your whole scheme; we want to know how you are going to deal with the questions that were raised in the able speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) just now—the question of the protection of the loyal minority in Ireland, and the question of the share or proportion which Ireland is to have in the Representative Body of the United Kingdom." These are questions which it is not necessary for us to pronounce an opinion on, because we want to know what you are going to propose. I say you have no right to turn on us and ask—"What is it you propose?" until you have at least done us the honour of communicating to us what it is you propose. With regard to the first part of the right hon. Gentleman's statement, I have offered what I consider to be an answer to the House. Now, with regard to other observations of the right hon. Gentleman, I wish also to point out the force of the Amendment of my noble Friend. The right hon. Gentleman said that the representation of classes will be far more perfect and equal under this Bill than it is at the present time—and this is one of the strongest recommendations he can offer. I want to know how he makes that out? That is a most difficult assertion to make, and it is certainly one which is not self-evident. If you have got a certain distribution of power and a certain description of the electorate, and if you suddenly throw into that body an amount of voting strength equal to two-thirds of the existing power, you certainly do not, on the face of it, make matters more equal, and I require a proof that you will do so. If we saw your measure of redistribution, we might, perhaps, find that you had so devised it as to accomplish that object.

But you are entirely silent on the subject; you do not tell us anything about it; and you leave us to accept that proposition entirely on your authority. Now, that redistribution has a great deal to do with the character and the justice of your measure is a fact which requires no argument, no proof. But, if I am to appeal to any authority on the subject, I will appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), who, I remember, many years ago, in a very powerful speech he made in Birmingham, said that redistribution was by far the more important question of the two, and that, take what franchise you pleased, if you left redistribution to him he would undertake to produce certain results. That was the opinion of a Gentleman extremely well qualified to pronounce an opinion on the subject. And I am not sure that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister—I will not say this Session—has not said something very much to the same effect. What did he tell us the other day? He told us that in the discussions which have occurred on the different Reform Bills in the past, it has always been on the redistribution question that the great fights have taken place; and that the Divisions on that point have been in the proportion of 20 or 30 to two or three on the franchise question.

MR. GLADSTONE: That was the proportion of the length of time spent in debate.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Well, of the length of time spent in debate. It was evident, therefore, that redistribution was the more important part of the whole, and was felt to be the more important part; and now you are undertaking an easier and simpler part, and are purposely putting off the more difficult and important part to a more convenient season. By what argument do you justify such a proceeding? The right hon. Gentleman used to-night a most extraordinary argument as a defence of what he is doing. He said—"If we had undertaken to deal with the whole question, including redistribution, this Session, we should have had time for nothing else." Why, what could be more important? What could be more proper than that you should give up everything else, if required? Are we to be put off from dealing with this great question in what is, I think, admittedly,



the best manner? ["No, no!"] [Mr. GLADSTONE: The worst manner.] The best manner is to bring the whole of the matter before the House of Commons at the same time. You have got your plan ready. It is not necessary, if you find it impossible to do it, that you should put it all into one and the same Bill, or that you should carry your two Bills, though I believe you would find that as easy as the course you propose. But that you should keep us entirely in the dark with regard to this important section of business, seems to me to be utterly indefensible. When your defence comes—that you have got to deal with Local Government, and to bring in a Bill for the Municipal Government of London, and matters of that sort, I must say it appears to me to be an insult to common sense. It is unworthy of the magnitude of the question that such an argument as that should be used. The right hon. Gentleman tell us that redistribution is a question of local character, to be settled on local grounds. That is one of the most extraordinary statements I have ever seen or heard. Settled on local grounds! What does the right hon. Gentleman mean? He tells us that redistribution is a matter of a local character, as though it had to be settled like some dispute between Gloucester and Birmingham, or between one part of England and one part of Scotland—whether there shall be one or two more Members in the one place than in the other. That is not the question. What you want to get in your redistribution and re-arrangement of the franchise is a better electorate and a better Parliament as the result. If that is not a national question, I do not know what it is. It is not only a national question, but an Imperial question; because, after all, you must bear in mind what this great House of Commons is, the composition of which you are now so especially considering. Consider what are the interests within the purview of this House—that they are not limited to the domestic affairs of this country; that they are not limited merely to the affairs of the United Kingdom; but that they touch all your relations with your Colonies, with India, and with all parts of the world. Therefore, consider of what enormous importance it is that you should do your best to constitute a really good House of Commons. The right hon. Gentleman

told us to-day that the Reform Bills which we have hitherto passed had largely improved the character and constitution of this House. That is a point which I am not disposed to take up as an argument. I think the proposition is one which is not altogether self-evident; but, at the same time, there is a considerable amount of truth in it. But we must feel that while we have been introducing a much larger amount of the popular element, and greatly increasing its power, we are, at the same time, suffering certain inconveniences from the enlargement of the constituencies, and have not yet learned thoroughly how to manage the footing on which the Member ought to stand with reference to his electors; and we must feel that there are difficulties and dangers attending our present system that we must take care we do not increase by a hasty and premature increase of the electorate. Take one point. You have had to legislate quite recently upon the subject of corrupt practices. You have introduced a Bill that is of the greatest importance, but which is also of a novel character, and which, in the first instance, it will not be at all easy to apply to your existing electoral system. Will you make it easier to apply it by suddenly throwing a large number of new voters into your constituencies? I doubt if you will; and so on with regard to other matters. You will find that by the sudden throwing upon your electorate of 2,000,000 of voters you will be raising questions that you will find it difficult to deal with. What will be the effect of introducing so large a body if you have not properly arranged the manner in which they are to fall into your system? There is always this to fear—that the masses you import will prove unmanageable, unless a system of training and manipulation is adopted; and the difficulty you will have to face will not be altogether with the masses themselves, who will be untrustworthy and wanting in experience, but it will be in the danger of their falling into the hands of persons who will misdirect them. I believe that the chief thing you have to guard against when instituting an electoral reform is anything likely to lead to a diminution of individual freedom and responsibility. The right hon. Gentleman has told us a very curious thing—namely, that it is really impossible for the Government to



say how they are to distribute seats before they have got the Franchise Bill and the Registration Bill. That is very confusing. When shall we have those Bills? The Registration Bill, apparently, will not be introduced this year.

MR. GLADSTONE: I know no reason why it should not be.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: We are by degrees extracting a few statements from the Government. We may, then, hope for a Registration Bill this year. That is very important. I do not know, however, how the registration can be conveniently managed if you have not fixed the character of the constituencies to which it is to apply. I do not profess to be an expert in the conduct of a whole system of registration; but, to my inexperienced mind, it would appear necessary that you should have your redistribution first, and then get your registration to work in the constituencies you are going to form. The right hon. Gentleman himself admits that it is desirable that all these measures should be passed by one and the same Parliament, although he says it is not essential. But will you be able to do that, considering the present stage and age of your Parliament? Remember that in order to get your registration to work before the Parliament which may have to be elected in 1886 comes into existence, you have to get your redistribution and registration plans through by somewhere about the month of June next year; but will you be able to do that? What will be your position? You will find that you will have as much time to spend over the Redistribution Bill as over the Franchise Bill; and you will find it very difficult indeed to get them forward so early next year as to enable you to have your registration ready before the Parliament which may have to be elected in 1886. Now, I think the House has a right to look at all these matters from this point of view. Here is a Government which has been in Office for four years, having received, as their first charge, the charge of dealing with this great question of a Reform Bill—with this great question of the Franchise, and with this great question of redistribution—and who have also undertaken to deal with Municipal Reform, but have allowed these four Sessions to pass by without beginning one of them. And now, at this time of day, they

tell us it is impossible to carry all this through, because they have to deal with Local Government and the Government of the City of London, and various other matters. I say that this is not treating the House fairly. Well, the right hon. Gentleman told us another thing. He observed that fault had been found with him on account of the indications—faint and shadowy indications, but still sufficiently significant—which he has already given us of the plan of redistribution as it exists in his breast. Well, we were very much astonished at some of the points in that scheme, and especially—let me go back again for a moment—at those which dealt with the question of the Irish representation. The Irish representation, we were told, was not to be diminished. The number of the Irish Members was to remain as it is at present; and we were told that whereas Scotland, undoubtedly, ought to have an addition made to the number of her Members, that addition was to be made in such a way as not to diminish the number of the Irish Representatives, and the number was to be made up by taking certain seats from the South of England and handing them over to Scotland and to constituencies in the North of England. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shakes his head. I do not know whether he questions my statement; but I am speaking not of what he said to-night, but of what he said some days ago. Possibly there may have been some change in the plans of the Cabinet since then; but I think I am in the recollection of the House, and I think that even the right hon. Gentleman will not deny it, when I say that in the scheme which he shadowed forth the other day he told us that he attached importance to retaining the number of the Irish seats; and he told us, further, that, undoubtedly, Scotland ought to have a greater number of seats, and that from the Southern parts of England it would be necessary to find the number required to make up the number for the North of England and for Scotland. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] Well, the right hon. Gentleman still shakes his head. It shows what a terribly bad plight we are in. Of course, this is not what he intended; but I will venture to say it is what everybody thought he intended. Well, then, we come back to

what was said by my noble Friend who sits beside me (Lord John Manners). If my noble Friend's advice could be followed, and if we could have the whole plan in any shape before us, we could not have all these doubts and disputes in regard to what the right hon. Gentleman's intentions are. But I admit—and it is, in fact, part of my case—that since we had that statement made we have had several other statements, some of which are of a very curious character. We were rather surprised that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War should have been content with an arrangement of that character which involved no diminution in the Irish representation, because we remembered various speeches and observations of the noble Marquess which seemed to point to something very different. But when the noble Marquess came to speak on the subject the other day he pointed out that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman was made only in conjunction with the laying down of two other principles, one of which is that you are to have regard to the distance of the constituencies. That is what, I believe, is commonly called the centrifugal theory. The other principle is that you must contemplate a moderate addition to the total number of Members sitting in the House at present. Now, we want to know—and the right hon. Gentleman this evening has repeated the words of the noble Marquess and has made some significant remarks upon them—we want to know what is the meaning of those words, “in conjunction with the other principles?” I can understand that the argument in regard to this is one that might be entertained; but when the right hon. Gentleman talks of the Irish Members, and says he proposes that the number of the Irish Members shall not be diminished, but that he proposes it in conjunction with the centrifugal theory—that you are to have regard to the distance of the constituencies—I want to know what he means? Does he contemplate a scheme founded upon keeping the Irish Members as they are, or does he not? Really, at the present time, we are in absolute darkness upon this point. And what is the meaning of this centrifugal theory? It seems to me to be one of those curious, mysterious things that make one feel quite uncomfortable. It is like a sort

of ghost, that you cannot explain. We do not know what he means by it. Why are we to have this principle, that distance is to entitle a constituency to a larger proportion of representation? To what extent is it to apply? Are we to apply it all through, and to say that as Ireland, as a whole, is to have a larger proportion of Members than England, therefore Connaught, being more distant than Ulster, is to have a larger proportion than that Province? Are we to say that the more distant parts of Scotland are to have a greater proportionate number of Members than the more Southern and active portions of that country? What is the ground on which we are to say that? Are we to take the ground that those who are least in the way of receiving intelligence—that those who are at the greatest distance from the Metropolis—are best qualified to guide the policy of the State? It would be quite interesting to know whether that is the ground which we are to go upon. But now, to-night, the right hon. Gentleman has started a new theory, and it seems to me to be one which is also of a very curious and alarming character. He has made the suggestion that the Irish representation should not be diminished upon this plea—that formerly we did much injustice to Ireland by giving her too little; and that now, by way of redressing the evil, we ought to do injustice to this country, and give Ireland too much. Really the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman are extremely ingenious, and they are always interesting to listen to. But is this the way in which we ought to deal with a large and important question of this character? Are we really justified in taking up one thing after another in this manner, lightly, and I may even say carelessly, as who should say that any argument is good enough to support a foregone conclusion? I venture to say that the spirit in which the House ought to be called upon, and the spirit in which the House is prepared to deal with, a question of this kind, must be something very different from that in which we are now told to approach it. If this debate has been languid, as the right hon. Gentleman says it has, it is owing to the very great uncertainty in which the whole of the proceedings of the Government have been involved. It is very difficult to believe that they are



really in earnest in endeavouring to carry even this Franchise Bill; because it is perfectly clear that the Bill is one which can only be part of a scheme, and it is so uncertain when the remainder of the scheme is to be laid before us, and what its character is to be, that it really looks as if they could not seriously expect the House to do more than discuss the subject and pass certain stages of the Bill, and stop there. They can hardly expect this to be taken as a redemption of their pledge. Now, Sir, the matter is really in their own hands. If they will only meet the natural desire and wish of the House, and will lay aside all other Business, and proceed to reveal to us the remainder of their scheme—if the House and the people are put in possession of the views of the Government, those views will be considered and judged in no narrow and in no purely Party spirit. There would be a perfect readiness to consider and discuss such a scheme as might be presented. I call on the House to consider what its duty in this matter really is. I call on the House to consider that it will not be doing that duty if it receives, adopts, and passes this large increase of the franchise without more light than has yet been shown to the House as to the effect of the measure. No doubt, we shall have other opportunities of discussing many of the questions of detail that arise. I am not desirous now to enter into matters which may arise out of the details of the Bill. There are many points upon which I think the Government have made proposals of an interesting character which will require very careful consideration. I think, for instance, that this "service franchise," as it is called, is one that will require very careful consideration indeed, and there are other matters also which require it; but this is not the moment nor the opportunity for discussing the details of the measure. The Bill is one of a very important character—indeed, its importance has not, I think, been exaggerated by any of the speakers who have recommended it to us; and yet we are asked to consider it in a way which seems to imply that it is of very little more importance than a Turnpike Bill. I see the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) in his place. He, at all events, knows perfectly well

what he wants; and there are expressions which every now and then fall from his lips which are worthy of the attention of the House. I have not got the exact words here; but I recollect that in a speech he made—I think at Bristol—he distinguished between the two measures of the Government, and said that the question of the franchise was a question of principle, but the question of redistribution was a question of tactics. Now, that is a very important distinction.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I beg the right hon. Baronet's pardon. I did not say that. What I did say was that the question of uniting the two subjects in one Bill was not a question of principle, but a question of tactics.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Well, Sir, there is not a great deal of difference between that version and mine—between the meaning which I thought I found in the words, and the meaning which is now given to them. Is it correct to say for the Government, as it certainly is to say for the right hon. Gentleman, that it is a question of tactics how far they will allow their redistribution scheme to be known before we are committed? Glimpses we have sometimes of the Redistribution Bill, such as have been afforded by the right hon. Gentleman, and also by the noble Marquess; and we can judge from their observations that whenever it comes it must be one of a very large and important character, and one very far in excess of any we have seen, at all events, since the Reform Bill of 1832. We have had these glimpses. From time to time the corner of the veil has been lifted, and we have been allowed to see a little of what is beyond. But it is a question of tactics, as the right hon. Gentleman is very well able to tell, as to how much of this redistribution scheme you had better let be seen before you carry your Franchise Bill. The two measures cannot possibly be separated. I do not mean to say that they cannot be separated in a certain sense, because you have done it. It is said that the speech of my noble Friend (Lord Derby), made in this House some years ago, was an unanswered and unanswerable speech. It certainly was unanswered at the time; but it has been shown that it was not unanswerable, because my noble Friend has contrived to answer it himself, by

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the process which we used to call in our old days of logic, *solvitur ambulando*. He has cut the knot of the difficulty by doing that which he said was impossible. I do not think he has destroyed the argument of his speech; but he certainly has shown that there are things which appear to be impossible which may be accomplished. But it is in the nature of things impossible that you can complete anything like a reform of your representation without dealing with both these subjects together. If you separate them one from the other, you must do it in such a way that you have no fair clue, and worse than no fair clue, because you have shadowy and deceptive indications—I do not mean intentionally deceptive—but shadowy and deceptive indications of what the details of the measure may be, and, therefore, you are acting in the dark. I trust the House will consider these views, and that it will pause before it consents to the second reading of this Bill. I trust that it will consider the Amendment of my noble Friend; and insist that before the Bill proceeds any further we shall be furnished with that which we ask for, and which we have a right to ask for.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I can only hope for the indulgence of the House by promising that I will trespass upon its attention for a very short time. I make this promise, not only because of the lateness of the hour, but because it would be out of place for me to attempt to make any general reply on the part of the Government. That general reply has been made five hours ago by the Prime Minister; and hon. Members will feel, as I do, that it would be absurd for me to attempt to supplement that speech. But as I take some interest in the form in which the Bill has been framed, perhaps the House will forgive me if I refer to one or two subjects of which mention has been made during this discussion. In the first place, I think that the cause of the enfranchisement of the masses of the people has made great progress during the debate. The discussion may have been languid, and so it has been from one point of view; but admissions have been made of a large and grave character which ought to give great encouragement to those who support the Bill. When this Bill was placed upon the Table there was, on the part of those

who were responsible for its introduction, a desire to ascertain whether it contained that measure of reform which would satisfy both its supporters and its opponents. Putting on one side for the moment the main principle of the Bill, there has not been a single criticism upon the minor details of the proposed Reform; and the Government have the satisfaction of knowing that those prophecies which have been made the ground of attacks upon the Government have been all falsified. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross) stated at Aberdeen that the Government were about to introduce a Bill which would destroy all the rights of property; that no man was to have more than one vote.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I said it had been stated by Members of the Government that that was what would probably be brought forward.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): The right hon. Gentleman warned those whom he addressed to give no support to a Government which was likely to bring forward such a Bill. Then, again, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), during the election in the City of York, appealed to the freemen of that city not to support a Government that was about to introduce a Bill which would allow no freeman to vote, and would deprive them of their ancient privileges. Not one of those prophecies have been fulfilled; and, notwithstanding all these prophetic attacks upon the Government, not one of the predictions have proved true. The Government now have the satisfaction of knowing that the settlement of this question is to be found in the Bill which they have presented to the House. No Conservative Government will ever venture to introduce a Bill that is more Conservative; and no Liberal Government will be wise to introduce one that is more Liberal than this. If this Bill in its details is acceptable, there are really only two questions remaining on the subject. The first is, whether the main principle of the Bill is acceptable to the majority; and upon that point the Government are encouraged to believe that the answer will be favourable to the Bill. Those who are responsible for opposing and criticizing the Bill have not answered in the negative, and have not said they object to the

principle of the Bill. Their own supporters, representing large constituencies, have said, one by one, that they approve of the principle of enfranchisement; and I therefore hold that I have a right to claim that as they have allowed the Bill to proceed thus far no one can now go back. It is now only a question of time when this great question is to be solved; and on whomsoever the responsibility for that solution should rest, the sooner that question is determined the better. Upon the main question some light has been thrown by the course which the Opposition have taken, not by introducing the Amendment, but by the statements of those who are mainly responsible for the criticisms upon the Bill. I heard the speech of the noble Lord who proposed the Amendment with regret in one sense, because it seemed to bear the tone rather of a past time of warfare. I cannot refrain from saying that the noble Lord, although he used arguments that were not without force, never allowed a word of an acrimonious character to escape him, and never said a word to which a political opponent could object. The noble Lord dealt with the question of the peasant class; and there is, perhaps, no one more entitled to deal with that subject than the noble Lord, for years ago he belonged to a Party which took great interest in the prosperity of the peasant class. But what has that interest done for the peasantry? Has it made their position any better, or given them any greater power, or opportunity of speaking for themselves? Now, the noble Lord asked why this class should be enfranchised at all; and argued that they have representation already in certain agricultural boroughs by means of the Members for those boroughs. But is not that statement, so far as it goes, the cardinal principle in the matter? And when the noble Lord endeavoured to persuade the House that for this reason the peasant class should not be permitted to enjoy the franchise, did he not see that he was paying them the greatest compliment he could, for he was telling the House that these agricultural voters were of like capacity and character with urban voters, and not only equal in their electoral character to town householders, but were in fact, so superior that they had sufficient intelligence and judgment to elect Members for all the agricultural

labourers throughout the country? While the noble Lord was thus bearing his testimony to the efficiency and capacity of these agricultural labourers who already have votes, he was, at the same time, saying that they were such ignorant men that to give them votes would be to destroy the Constitution, and annihilate the agricultural interest. In face of the view that there is not sufficient capacity on the part of these men, is there any encouragement to be learned from the Bench opposite as to the course which Gentlemen opposite will take? The right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) has told the House what he would do if his Party had to frame a measure; and, knowing the district which the right hon. Gentleman represents, the idea came into my mind that if his scheme were carried out labourers in East Gloucestershire would have to visit some distant town such as Cheltenham to vote, and the registration officer would have to wander over the Cotswold Hills in order to select the agricultural labourer whose alleged incapacity would have to be punished by making him vote far away from his fellows and his home. On the part of the Opposition, the right hon. Gentleman seriously asked for delay, in order that they might deal with such a scheme; and this is from an ex-Cabinet Minister, putting forward what he thought should be the basis of a measure of Reform to be introduced by the Party who claims to take charge of the question. Then there is another right hon. Gentleman who is an authority on Provincial matters—namely, the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), who has a peculiar capacity for attending elections, and who always greets the issue for a new Writ with pleasure, because of an intention to take part in the coming fray. I hope the House will forgive me if I say the right hon. Gentleman reminds me somewhat of a certain dog that used to be in the habit of going to fires. Whether it was asleep or awake, at home or abroad, that dog was always present at a fire; but, although it barked a great deal, I do not know that it ever did any good; but in justice to the right hon. Gentleman I must say I do not know that he ever did any harm. The right hon. Gentleman was present at an election in the City of York, and he



there appealed to the intelligence of the electors, and told them he had the greatest confidence in their electoral capacity. That was very gratifying to them. But when he went down to an agricultural constituency in Somerset, he there said the farmers were alone the persons fit to vote, and that no householder ought to have a vote unless he was a £12 householder; and also that according to the size of the farms they held the more votes they ought to have; or rather, that according to the amount of taxation they paid so they should have a corresponding number of votes. The right hon. Gentleman likewise advocated the principle of Sturges Bourne's Act as applicable to the franchise—the principle which determines the election of Vestries; and he said that was the principle upon which he would give Reform. That is the kind of Reform which the country may expect when the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends come to deal with the question. But I perceive that there are signs of mutiny against the Front Opposition Bench; and the greatest advance the Government could have made was to find that there was mutiny on the part of the Lord Mayor. The noble Lord who moved the Amendment has advanced nothing by way of contradiction to this Bill; and in what shape does he plead for delay? He does not plead for an indefinite delay; but he says he wishes first to see the Registration Bill. Why does he want to see that? He does not only wish to look at it. He wishes to discuss it together with this Bill, and to be able to point to every line of it as a reason for opposing the present Bill. He wishes to be, in effect, in Committee on a Registration Bill whilst we are discussing the Motion to read a second time this Franchise Bill. It is also urged that the present time is inopportune for this Bill, and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Rutland (Mr. J. W. Lowther) has said, in a very able speech, that such a measure ought never to be introduced at the tail of a Parliament. Does he wish the Government to introduce such a measure in the first years of the existence of a Parliament? Does he not know that a Franchise Bill can never be introduced except at the tail of a Parliament; because the moment it is introduced the tail of

a Parliament comes into existence? Then it is said, that before we introduce such a Bill as this we ought to look and see what is going on around us, and only introduce it when the surrounding circumstances are favourable. Then, when are we to introduce the Bill? We are to introduce it whenever there shall be peace at home and abroad, either in relation to this country or to the whole world. The hon. Member for Morpeth (Mr. Burt), in a speech to-night which I wish more Members had heard, pointed out another argument which has been used. It is said, he remarked, that you must introduce your Bill when the agricultural labourers and the working classes of England are in a state of disturbance, and when similar classes in Ireland are in a state of perfect content. But if you are to wait for that time to arrive, when will the Bill be introduced? It is idle to say that justice should be denied, if it be justice, until all this is accomplished. I have but few words to say in regard to the speech of the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). Sir, my right hon. Friend will, I am sure, wish that my personal regard for him shall not interfere with what I may think it right to say in regard to his speech. If he will allow me to say so, that speech scarcely seemed to me to be a speech that should have been delivered by a Member of the Liberal Party. Perhaps it will not be agreeable to him if I say that there will be very great difficulty for him to make that speech accord with the views of the Liberal Party; but all I will say is that the Members of the Liberal Party will find it very difficult to make their views come into accord with that speech. [*Opposition cheers.*] The right hon. Gentleman listens to the echo of those cheers, and finds that the Conservatives are in accord with him—a fact which supports what I said just now. I have read speeches something like that of my right hon. Friend delivered in the year 1866 by Mr. Robert Lowe, a supporter of the then Government, and who spoke just in the same tone. And I heard a speech very much like it delivered in the year 1876 by the right hon. Gentleman himself, who then spoke from the ranks of the Liberal Party. Taking that speech which my right hon. Friend has made to-night—taking it as



a whole, I will say that it is not one which can support the cause of the Liberal Party. What did it amount to? Total timidity towards those who have not a certain degree of wealth, and nothing else. "Aye," said the right hon. Gentleman, "I have no confidence or trust in the class below the £12 householder!"

MR. GOSCHEN: I am sure my hon. and learned Friend would not wish to misrepresent me. I said nothing of the kind. I said I was not prepared to give them an absolute preponderance among the electors; but I also spoke of their high qualifications.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR HENRY JAMES): The right hon. Gentleman is not prepared to give them a preponderance, as he calls it, because he wants confidence in them. Why is that? My right hon. Friend's whole argument was founded on the fact that he could not have sufficient confidence in them to give them a vote? How are they to get a preponderance unless they get a vote? The preponderance is the result of the vote. My right hon. Friend's statement was that he had not confidence in them sufficient to give them the vote—[Several MEMBERS: Preponderance.]—to give them the vote which gives them a preponderance.

MR. GOSCHEN: I am sure my hon. and learned Friend does not wish to misrepresent me. I did not say that they should not have the vote; but I claimed that it should be accompanied by checks and safeguards. [An hon. MEMBER: Flash cheques!]

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (SIR HENRY JAMES): I agree that my right hon. Friend did not say that he wished they should be deprived of the vote; but he wanted it to be accompanied by checks and safeguards, so that he has not the same degree of confidence in the class below the £12 householder that he has in the classes above, or he would not want to enforce checks and safeguards in the case of the one class and not in the case of the others. Sir, that very phrase "£12 householder" sounded to me as a phrase from a bye-gone time; that language is obsolete. It became obsolete in 1867. You cannot elect to use the phraseology of the £12 householder in the county and not to use it in the town. You swept it away from the Statute Book in 1867. My

right hon. Friend wishes to restore it in 1884. Does not the right hon. Gentleman see that this Democracy, of which he is so timid, is far more strongly developed among the urban than among the rural populations? He has cheerfully trusted it in the towns in 1867 and 1869; and now that he sees the effect and knows what it is he refuses, with great timidity of political character, to trust it. Sir, hon. Gentlemen opposite cheered my right hon. Friend. They were quite right to show their satisfaction with his speech—to show more joy over the right hon. Member for Ripon than over the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie). But they cheered him as if he were a new convert. He is nothing of the kind. It is true he has had different opinions at different times. I know no one who has done more for the cause of enfranchisement than my right hon. Friend. In 1869 there was an Act passed which bears his name, by which was enfranchised, if I may use the term, the most democratic section of our town populations. He freely gave the vote then to the Democracy who did not pay the rates. Let the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) bear that in mind when pleading for a rate-paying qualification—let him bear in mind that it was the hand of the right hon. Member for Ripon which removed that qualification from all the householders whose dwellings were so small that the rates were not worth the trouble of collection. His was the hand which trusted the Democracy of the towns—it was he who gave the vote to that very Democracy of which he is now so frightened. Between 1869 and 1876 the fruits of experience brought him to the conclusion that it was impossible, or at least unwise, to extend the franchise and the influence of the Democracy; and, speaking from that Front Bench opposite, he formed one of a Party of two who voted against the proposal made in 1876. Happily, his Party is less in 1884 than it was in 1876. It did number two Members then; it will only number one to-night. Not a single Member upon these Benches will he take with him into the Lobby. He has been cheered by the Tory Party in every proposition he has laid down; and that is the reason why there is a difficulty in making our views

and our principles accord with his. But what are the checks and safeguards which he asks for? He says—"I would ask you, before I vote for the Bill, to tell me what are the safeguards which you are about to give in order to insure the representation of minorities?" Will not my right hon. Friend consider that in thus acting as an opponent to the Bill on its second reading he is taking a course which will do harm to those who are seeking to secure the representation of minorities—to those who, as matters stand, want to see no undue preponderance given to any particular class? What are we to do? We are to introduce, I suppose by way of a Bill, some measure which will show what safeguards are to be given to minorities, and which will be satisfactory to the right hon. Gentleman. The price is too high, and the return too small. We shall endanger the Franchise Bill and gain one vote on this coming Division. What would be the fate of such a Bill if we placed it on the Table and we had my right hon. Friend discussing it, and the noble Lord opposite discussing it, and the whole House discussing it, while the Bill which is now before us, and which presents the main principle, would have to be put on one side until we had satisfied all the most learned views and scruples of my right hon. Friend, and of all those who would support him. My right hon. Friend admits that he does not claim to be a friend to this Bill—at best he accepts it reluctantly. He has told us that he is not one of those who wishes to swim with the stream. Well, Sir, that may be true enough; perhaps it is not always wise to attempt to do it. But has he not learnt that there are some streams which you cannot breast—some onward streams which bear men with them? This question which we are now discussing is like one of those powerful currents. We have gone too far with it to enable us to recede; and the extent to which it has been developed rests not with individual Members, but with the whole House. This question stops the way; and whoever may have charge of this measure must know that the sooner it is put out of the way the better it will be for all concerned. No Conservative Government could live for a year in this House without undertaking this question and dealing with it.

*The Attorney General*

"Put it out of the way," says the noble Lord. Does he think it can be put out of the way by the Amendment he has moved? The right hon. Gentleman has rightly described it. He says it bids us pause. You might just as well say that a comma in the middle of a sentence means the end of a book as to tell me that the adoption of the Amendment before us would settle this question. It is idle to bid us pause; for you know that the work must be resumed, and must be continued to the end. The introduction of these 2,000,000 of men to the franchise must come. How, then, are we to receive them? Are we to receive them with words of distrust, and with a grudging instead of with an open hand? When we are giving them political power, are we to tell them that they are enemies and not allies? After we have given them education and political knowledge, are we either to refuse to give them the franchise, or admit them to the Constitution as men who are to be distrusted? But now that the support of this measure has gone so far, it has become impossible to resist it, and the only wise course for every man of patriotic views to take is to be generous with an open hand, to welcome to equal rights with ourselves those people who must before long be allowed to record their votes; and not to teach them that we have assumed over them a superiority and an authority which can only produce injustice, and which may result in disaster to the country.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 340; Noes 210: Majority 130.

#### AYES

|                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Acland, Sir T. D.       | Bass, H.               |
| Acland, C. T. D.        | Baxter, rt. hon. W. E. |
| Agnew, W.               | Beaumont, W. B.        |
| Ainsworth, D.           | Biddulph, M.           |
| Allen, W. S.            | Biggar, J. G.          |
| Anderson, G.            | Blake, J. A.           |
| Armitage, B.            | Blennerhassett, Sir R. |
| Armitstead, G.          | Blennerhassett, R. P.  |
| Arnold, A.              | Bolton, J. C.          |
| Asher, A.               | Borlase, W. C.         |
| Ashley, hon. E. M.      | Brand, hon. H. R.      |
| Baldwin, E.             | Brassey, Sir T.        |
| Balfour, Sir G.         | Brassey, H. A.         |
| Balfour, rt. hon. J. B. | Brett, R. B.           |
| Balfour, J. S.          | Briggs, W. E.          |
| Barclay, J. W.          | Bright, J.             |
| Baring, Viscount        | Brinton, J.            |
| Barnes, A.              | Broadhurst, H.         |
| Barran, J.              | Brogden, A.            |
| Barry, J.               | Brooks, M.             |
| Bass, Sir A.            | Brown, A. H.           |

|                            |                          |                           |                          |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.    | Firth, J. F. B.          | Lee, H.                   | Power, R.                |
| Bruce, hon. R. P.          | Fitzmaurice, Lord E.     | Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S. | Price, Sir R. G.         |
| Bryce, J.                  | Fitzwilliam, hon. H. W.  | Lloyd, M.                 | Pulley, J.               |
| Buchanan, T. R.            | Fitzwilliam, hn. W. J.   | Lubbock, Sir J.           | Ralli, P.                |
| Burt, T.                   | Flower, C.               | Lusk, Sir A.              | Ramsay, J.               |
| Buszard, M. C.             | Foljambe, C. G. S.       | Lylington, Viscount       | Ramsden, Sir J.          |
| Buxton, F. W.              | Foljambe, F. J. S.       | Lynch, N.                 | Rathbone, W.             |
| Buxton, S. C.              | Forster, Sir C.          | Lyons, R. D.              | Redmond, J. E.           |
| Cameron, C.                | Forster, rt. hn. W. E.   | Macfarlane, D. H.         | Redmond, W. H. K.        |
| Campbell, Lord C.          | Fort, R.                 | Mackie, R. B.             | Reid, R. T.              |
| Campbell, Sir G.           | Fowler, H. H.            | Mackintosh, C. F.         | Rendel, S.               |
| Campbell, R. F. F.         | Fowler, W.               | MacIver, P. S.            | Richard, H.              |
| Campbell-Bannerman, H.     | Fry, L.                  | McArthur, Sir W.          | Roberts, J.              |
| Carbutt, E. H.             | Fry, T.                  | McArthur, A.              | Robertson, H.            |
| Carington, hon. R.         | Gabbett, D. F.           | McCarthy, J.              | Roe, T.                  |
| Causton, R. K.             | Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E. | McCoan, J. C.             | Rogers, J. E. T.         |
| Cavendish, Lord E.         | Gladstone, H. J.         | McIntyre, Eneas J.        | Rothschild, Sir N. M. de |
| Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.    | Gladstone, W. H.         | McKenna, Sir J. N.        | Roundell, C. S.          |
| Chambers, Sir T.           | Gordon, Sir A.           | McLagan, P.               | Russell, Lord A.         |
| Cheetham, J. F.            | Gordon, Lord D.          | McLaren, C. B. B.         | Russell, C.              |
| Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E. | Gourley, E. T.           | McMahon, E.               | Russell, G. W. E.        |
| Clark, S.                  | Gower, hon. E. F. L.     | Maitland, W. F.           | Rylands, P.              |
| Clarke, J. C.              | Grafton, F. W.           | Mappin, F. T.             | Samuelson, B.            |
| Clifford, C. C.            | Grant, A.                | Marjoribanks, E.          | Samuelson, H.            |
| Cohen, A.                  | Grant, D.                | Martin, R. B.             | Seely, C. (Lincoln)      |
| Colebrooke, Sir T. E.      | Gray, E. D.              | Marum, E. M.              | Seely, C. (Nottingham)   |
| Collings, J.               | Grey, A. H. G.           | Maskelyne, M. H. N.       | Sellar, A. C.            |
| Collins, E.                | Guest, M. J.             | Story-                    | Sexton, T.               |
| Colman, J. J.              | Gurdon, R. T.            | Mason, H.                 | Shaw, T.                 |
| Colthurst, Colonel         | Hamilton, J. G. C.       | Maxwell-Heron, J.         | Shaw, W.                 |
| Commins, A.                | Harcourt, rt. hn. Sir W. | Mayne, T.                 | Sheil, E.                |
| Corbet, W. J.              | G. V. V.                 | Meagher, W.               | Sheridan, H. B.          |
| Corbett, J.                | Harcastle, J. A.         | Meldon, C. H.             | Shield, H.               |
| Cotes, C. C.               | Harrington, T.           | Mellor, J. W.             | Simon, Serjeant J.       |
| Courtauld, G.              | Hartington, Marq. of     | Milbank, Sir F. A.        | Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.   |
| Courtney, L. H.            | Hayter, Sir A. D.        | Molloy, B. C.             | Slagg, J.                |
| Cowen, J.                  | Healy, T. M.             | Monk, C. J.               | Small, J. F.             |
| Cowper, hon. H. F.         | Henderson, F.            | Moore, A.                 | Smith, Lieut.-Col. G.    |
| Craig, W. Y.               | Heneage, E.              | Moreton, Lord             | Smith, S.                |
| Creyke, R.                 | Herschell, Sir F.        | Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.    | Smithwick, J. F.         |
| Cropper, J.                | Hibbert, J. T.           | Morley, A.                | Smyth, P. J.             |
| Cross, J. K.               | Hill, T. R.              | Morley, J.                | Spencer, hon. C. R.      |
| Crum, A.                   | Holden, I.               | Morley, S.                | Stafford, Marquess of    |
| Cunliffe, Sir R. A.        | Holland, S.              | Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.   | Stanley, hon. E. L.      |
| Currie, Sir D.             | Holland, J. R.           | Nicholson, W.             | Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.   |
| Davey, H.                  | Holms, J.                | Noel, E.                  | Stanton, W. J.           |
| Davies, D.                 | Hopwood, C. H.           | Nolan, Colonel J. P.      | Stevenson, J. C.         |
| Davies, R.                 | Howard, E. S.            | Norwood, C. M.            | Storey, S.               |
| Davies, W.                 | Howard, G. J.            | O'Brien, Sir P.           | Sullivan, T. D.          |
| Dawson, C.                 | Howard, J.               | O'Brien, W.               | Summers, W.              |
| Deasy, J.                  | Illingworth, A.          | O'Connor, A.              | Talbot, C. R. M.         |
| De Ferrières, Baron        | Ince, H. B.              | O'Connor, T. P.           | Tavistock, Marquess of   |
| Dickson, T. A.             | Inderwick, F. A.         | O'Donnell, F. H.          | Tennant, C.              |
| Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.   | James, Sir H.            | O'Donoghue, The           | Thomasson, J. P.         |
| Dillwyn, L. L.             | James, C.                | O'Gorman Mahon, Col.      | Thompson, T. C.          |
| Dodds, J.                  | James, W. H.             | The                       | Tillett, J. H.           |
| Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.     | Jardine, R.              | O'Shea, W. H.             | Torrens, W. T. M.        |
| Duckham, T.                | Jenkins, D. J.           | Otway, rt. hn. Sir A. J.  | Tracy, hon. F. S. A.     |
| Duff, R. W.                | Jerningham, H. E. H.     | Paget, T. T.              | Hanbury-                 |
| Earp, T.                   | Johnson, E.              | Palmer, C. M.             | Trevelyan, rt. hn. G. O. |
| Ebrington, Viscount        | Jones-Parry, L.          | Palmer, G.                | Villiers, rt. hon. C. P. |
| Edwards, H.                | Kenny, M. J.             | Palmer, J. H.             | Vivian, Sir H. H.        |
| Edwards, P.                | Kingscote, Col. R. N. F. | Parker, C. S.             | Vivian, A. P.            |
| Egerton, Admiral hon.      | Kinnear, J.              | Parnell, C. S.            | Waddy, S. D.             |
| F.                         | Labouchere, H.           | Pease, A.                 | Walker, S.               |
| Elliot, hon. A. R. D.      | Lambton, hon. F. W.      | Peddle, J. D.             | Walter, J.               |
| Fairbairn, Sir A.          | Lawrence, W.             | Pender, J.                | Warterlow, Sir S.        |
| Farquharson, Dr. R.        | Lawson, Sir W.           | Pennington, F.            | Watkin, Sir E. W.        |
| Fawcett, rt. hon. H.       | Lea, T.                  | Philips, R. N.            | Waugh, E.                |
| Ferguson, R.               | Leahy, J.                | Playfair, rt. hn. Sir L.  | Webster, Dr. J.          |
| Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.      | Leake, R.                | Potter, T. B.             | West, H. W.              |
| Findlater, W.              | Leamy, E.                | Powell, W. R. H.          | Whitbread, S.            |
|                            | Leatham, E. A.           | Power, J. O' C.           | Whitworth, B.            |



Wiggin, H.  
 Williams, S. C. E.  
 Williamson, S.  
 Willis, W.  
 Wills, W. H.  
 Wilyams, E. W. B.  
 Wilson, Sir M.  
 Wilson, C. H.  
 Wilson, I.

Wodehouse, E. R.  
 Woodall, W.  
 Woolf, S.

## TELLERS.

Grosvenor, right hon.  
 Lord R.  
 Kensington, rt. hn. Lord

## NOES.

Alexander, Major-Gen.  
 Allsopp, C.  
 Amherst, W. A. T.  
 Archdale, W. H.  
 Ashmead-Bartlett, E.  
 Balfour, A. J.  
 Baring, T. C.  
 Barne, F. St. J. N.  
 Barttelot, Sir W. B.  
 Bateson, Sir T.  
 Beach, right hon. Sir  
 M. E. Hicks-  
 Beach, W. W. B.  
 Bective, Earl of  
 Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.  
 Beresford, G. De la P.  
 Biddell, W.  
 Birkbeck, E.  
 Blackburne, Col. J. I.  
 Boord, T. W.  
 Bourke, right hon. R.  
 Broadley, W. H. H.  
 Brodrick, hon. W. St.  
 J. F.  
 Brooke, Lord  
 Brooks, W. C.  
 Bruce, Sir H. H.  
 Brymer, W. E.  
 Bulwer, J. R.  
 Burghley, Lord  
 Buxton, Sir R. J.  
 Cameron, D.  
 Campbell, J. A.  
 Carden, Sir R. W.  
 Castlereagh, Viscount  
 Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.  
 Chaplin, H.  
 Christie, W. L.  
 Churchill, Lord R.  
 Clarke, E.  
 Clive, Col. hon. G. W.  
 Coddington, W.  
 Cole, Viscount  
 Collins, T.  
 Compton, F.  
 Coope, O. E.  
 Corry, J. P.  
 Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.  
 Cubitt, right hon. G.  
 Curzon, Major hon. M.  
 Dalrymple, C.  
 Davenport, W. B.  
 Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.  
 Dawnay, hon. G. C.  
 De Worms, Baron H.  
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## TELLERS.

Crichton, Viscount  
 Winn, R.

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed  
 for Thursday 24th April.

MR. NEWDEGATE gave Notice that,  
 on the Order for going into Committee  
 upon the Bill, he would move—"That  
 the House do go into Committee on this  
 day six months."

REAL ASSETS ADMINISTRATION BILL.

(Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Warton.)

[BILL 98.] COMMITTEE.

[Progress 24th March.]

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clause 2 (Real estate assets in hands of personal representatives).

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR moved, in page 1, line 11, to leave out the words "customaryhold," in order to insert the words "of any other tenure."

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. GREGORY said, the Bill had come before them so very abruptly that he did not think they were in a fair position to consider it at this time. It was a measure which sought to make a most revolutionary change in the law, and it would affect all landed property throughout the country. Under the existing law, the primary fund from which the debts of a deceased person were to be paid was his personal estate; but his real estate might be brought in in case the personal estate was not sufficient. This Bill proposed to place the real estate and the personal estate exactly on the same footing; and the devisee or heir-at-law could not deal with the real estate until all the debts had been paid. This matter required more consideration than could now be given to it, and he should, therefore, move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Gregory.*)

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he thought the Committee had already manifested general approval of the provisions of this Bill; and he could hardly understand what reason the hon. Member could have for opposing so moderate a measure. The grounds he now put forward were grounds which should have been brought forward on the second reading.

MR. TOMLINSON said, he thought the hon. Member was not dealing quite fairly in saying that the objections now taken should have been advanced on the second reading. It was understood that the provisions of the Bill would be carefully considered by the Law Advisers, and that the Committee should then have the benefit of their exertions; but it did not seem that they had had time to explain their views. It appeared to

him that the hon. Member (Mr. Gregory) was reasonable in objecting to proceed now.

Question put, and *negated*.

Amendment *agreed to*.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 11, to leave out from "be assets" to end of Clause, and insert "notwithstanding any testamentary disposition, devolve upon and become vested in his legal personal representative or representatives from time to time and subject to the payment of his debts."—(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

MR. WHITLEY asked for the opinion of the Law Advisers, because this was a Bill of an extraordinary character. When a person left freehold property to anyone, it did not pass to the devisee as real estate, but to the executor as a personal asset; and it would be a matter of serious consequence that no man who had property should be able to part with it except under the conditions here provided. Such a change ought not to be introduced by a private Member, for such a change respecting the devolution of property was one of great importance. A Bill of this kind ought not to pass except on the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL) said, the real question was, whether this Bill would improve the law? If it would, then they ought to welcome it even from a private Member. He believed there could be no question that heavy expenses were caused at the present time by assets being administered under suits only for the purpose of securing that real property should become chargeable for debts. Obviously, if that could be avoided it would be very desirable, because it was not to the advantage of owners of property that it should be wasted in Law Courts for the purpose of administration, which only became necessary through the circumstances of the moment. He had endeavoured to assist the hon. Gentleman opposite with his Bill, by putting before him such Amendments as might meet some of the difficulties that had been raised. This first Amendment, as to the property vest-





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TO

## HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, VOLUME CCLXXXVI.

THIRD VOLUME OF SESSION 1884.

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When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus \*, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

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North Sea Fisheries Convention—The Instructions, 1483

*Bishops (House of Peers)*

Amend. on Committee of Supply Mar 21, To leave out from "That," add "the legislative power of Bishops in the House of Peers in Parliament is a great hindrance to the discharge of their spiritual function, prejudicial to the Commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by Bill" (*Mr. Willis v.*, 501; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Question put: A. 148, N. 137; M. 11 Div. List, A and N, 549

BLAKE, Mr. J. A., *Waterford Co.*

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*Grants of Charters—Facilities for Opposition*, Question, Mr. Roundell; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain Mar 27, 864

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(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Trevelyan*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* April 3 [Bill 165]

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(*The Lord Lyttelton*)

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c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* April 3 [Bill 167]

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Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Sir William Harcourt Mar 28, 1919

**BURT, Mr. T., *Morpeth***

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**CAMPBELL, Mr. J. A., *Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities***

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## Canada, Dominion of

*The Enfranchisement of Women*, Question, Sir Edward Watkin; Answer, The Attorney General Mar 25, 744

*The Orange Society*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley Mar 24, 593

Canada, Dominion of—*State-Aided Emigration*

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for copies or extracts of correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the President of the Canada Pacific Railway in regard to state-aided emigration to Canada; also, for copies or extracts of correspondence on the same subject between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Mr. F. Boyd" (*The Earl of Carnarvon*) Mar 28, 987; after short debate, Motion agreed to

## CAMPERDOWN, Earl of

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Egypt—Policy of H.M. Government, 1541

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Representation of the People, 2R. 1107, 1250

*Charitable Trusts Acts*

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the operation of the Charitable Trusts Acts 1853 to 1869, and to consider and Report how far it may be expedient to amend the powers exercised under them by the Charity Commissioners" (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) Mar 17  
Ordered, That it be an Instruction to the Select Committee to inquire into the working of "The Allotments Extension Act, 1882" (*Mr. Jesse Collings*) April 2

CHEETHAM, Mr. J. F., *Derbyshire, N.*

Parliament—Business of the House, 1173, 1280

CHILDERS, Right Hon. H. C. E. (*see* Chancellor of the Exchequer)*China—Opium Smuggling at Hong Kong*

Question, Mr. Cropper; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley Mar 28, 1009

CHURCHILL, Lord R. H. S., *Woodstock*

Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. 712

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Public Prosecutor Act, 1879—Rules of Debate, 745, 746

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Supply, Report, 492

## City of Norwich (Mousehold Heath) Provisional Order Bill

(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)

c. Report \* Mar 19 [Bill 105]

Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 20

l. Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* (*Earl of Dalhousie*) Mar 21 (No. 35)

Read 2<sup>nd</sup> \* April 1

Committee \*; Report April 3

Read 3<sup>rd</sup> \* April 4

*Civil Service Clerks—The Lower Division*

Question, Baron Henry de Worms; Answer, Mr. Courtney Mar 24, 591

CLARKE, Mr. E. G., *Plymouth*

Representation of the People, 2R. 663, 1108, 1838, 1839

CLIVE, Colonel Hon. G. W., *Ludlow*

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## COLCHESTER, Lord

Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—The Mahdi, 1122

*College Charter Act, 1881—St. Paul's Hostel, Cambridge*

Question, Mr. Charles Roundell; Answer, Mr. Mundella Mar 24, 597

COLLINGS, Mr. J., *Ipswich*

Endowed Schools (England and Wales)—Cam School, Motion for an Address, 723, 730

Representation of the People, 2R. 684, 693

COLLINS, Mr. E., *Kinsale*

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 2R. 1422

COLLINS, Mr. T., *Knaresborough*

Education Code, Motion for an Address, 1387, 1388

Infants, 2R. 826

Inland Revenue—Divided Parishes Acts—The Land Tax, 856

Leaseholders (Facilities of Purchase of Fee Simple), 2R. 232

Parliament—Business of the House, 616

Representation of the People, 2R. 961, 1351

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays, 2R. 1444

Supply, Report, 490

**Colonial Prisoners Removal Bill** [H.L.]

(The Earl of Derby)

l. Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> Mar 27 (No. 44)**COLTHURST, Col. D. La Zouche, Cork Co.**

Army—Chelsea Hospital—A Roman Catholic Chapel, 277

Duke of York's School, 277

Army (Term of Service), Res. 55

Ireland—Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act, 859

Royal University of Ireland—Grants for Buildings, 278

Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy, Res. 1727

**COMMINS, Dr. A., Roscommon**

Army (Auxiliary Forces)—The 18th (Liverpool)

Rifle Volunteers—Church Parades, 1796

Army (Annual), Comm. add. cl. 1746, 1756

**Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill**

(Sir Arthur Otway, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Courtney)

c. Ordered \* Mar 18

Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* Mar 19Read 2<sup>nd</sup> \* Mar 20

Committee \*; Report Mar 21

Considered \* Mar 24

Read 3<sup>rd</sup> \*, with a New Title Mar 25l. Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* (Earl Granville) Mar 25Read 2<sup>nd</sup> \*; Committee negative; read 3<sup>rd</sup> Mar 27

Royal Assent Mar 28 [47 Vict. c. 4]

**Contagious Diseases Acts**

Meeting at St. James's Hall, Question, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Answer, Sir William Harcourt Mar 27, 874

Tables of Comparison, Questions, Mr. Samuel Smith, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman Mar 27, 890

**Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts**

Act of 1878—Clauses 27 and 32—Uniformity of Action, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Dodson April 3, 1485

Disinfection of Market Places, &amp;c., Question, Mr. Hicks; Answer, Mr. Dodson April 7, 1799

Exclusion of Irish Fat Cattle from Markets in England and Scotland, Questions, Mr. Kenny, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Dodson April 3, 1497

Foot-and-Mouth Disease, Questions, Mr. James Howard, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Dodson April 4, 1646;—Ireland, Question, Mr. James Howard; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 24, 602

Importation of Cattle from Ireland, Questions, Mr. Kenny, Mr. James Howard; Answers, Mr. Dodson April 7, 1801

Rumoured Orders for closing Cattle Markets, Question, Mr. Storer; Answer, Mr. Dodson Mar 31, 1174

**Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill** [H.L.]

(Mr. Dodson)

c. 2R., Mar 18, 162; after long debate, Debate adjourned

Debate resumed Mar 19, 258; after short debate, Debate further adjourned

Personal Explanation, Mr. Thorold Rogers;

Observations, Mr. Clare Read Mar 20, 310

Debate resumed Mar 21, 465; after debate,

Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>

[Bill 120]

Committee deferred, after short debate Mar 24, 712

Committee Mar 25, 782; after debate, Debate adjourned

**Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act (1878) Amendment (No. 2) Bill**

(Mr. James Howard, Mr. Borlase)

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" April 4, 1778; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (Mr. Herbert Gladstone); Question put; A. 28, N. 10; M. 18 (D.L. 59); Debate adjourned

[Bill 82]

**COOPE, Mr. O. E., Middlesex**

Parliament—Business of the House—Easter Recess, 1814

**Copyhold Enfranchisement [Stamp Duty]**

c. Res. considered in Committee, and agreed to Mar 19, 258

Res. reported Mar 20

**Copyhold Enfranchisement Bill**

Moved, "That all Petitions against the Bill, presented not less than three clear days before the sitting of the Committee, be referred to the Committee, and that such of the Petitioners as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel, Agents, or Witnesses be heard upon their Petitions, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bill against such Petitions" (Mr. Halsey) Mar 28, 1114; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

Moved, "That the Committee do consist of Thirteen Members" (Mr. Waugh); Motion agreed to; List of the Committee, 1117

**CORBET, Mr. W. J., Wicklow Co.**

Army—Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, and the Royal Hibernian Military School—Salaries of Head Masters, 463

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Labourers' Act, 1883—Erection of Cottages at Arklow, Rathdrum Union, 592

Landlord and Tenant—Payment of Rent for the Surface of Public Roads running through Holdings, 612

National Education—Amount of Grant per Head of Population, 281;—Teachers in Convent Schools, 285, 596, 597

Poor Law—Election of Guardians, Baltinaglass Union—Mr. E. P. O'Kelly, 41

Public Health Act—Medical Officers of Health, 1648

Tramways and Public Companies Act, 1883—Guarantee Clauses, 1160

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CORBET, Mr. W. J.—*cont.*

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Lunacy Commissioners—Insane British Subjects Abroad, 1645

Parliament—Questions and Answers—Replies of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, 462

Private Lunatic Asylums—"Weldon v. Winslow," 453

### *Cork Butter Market Bill*

c. Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate, and committed *Mar 17, 15*

Instruction to the Select Committee; Postponement of Motion, Mr. Moore *Mar 20, 272*

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Committee on the Cork Butter Market Bill that they do provide that the Butter Inspectors shall not be accompanied by, or interfered with by, any Butter Merchant or Broker, or other person, save and excepting the officials of the Market, during their inspection, and that the Trustees do frame by-laws to protect the Inspectors from all pressure and undue influence in the discharge of their duty" (*Mr. Moore*) *Mar 24, 574*; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

COTTON, Mr. Alderman W. J. R., *London*  
Navy—The Accountant Branch—Paymasters, 303

COURTNEY, Mr. L. H. (Financial Secretary to the Treasury), *Liskeard*

Army (Annual), Comm. 1595

Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings—The Commissioners of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenues, 458

Civil Service Clerks—Lower Division, 592

Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. 712, 713

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act (1878) Amendment (No. 2), 2R. 1778

Customs Department—Questions  
Custom House at Kingston, 19  
Customs Clerks—Out-door Department, 1495

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Excise—Foreign-Bound Ships' Stores, 744

Inland Revenue—Questions  
Divided Parishes Acts—The Land Tax, 856

Freeing of the Dee Bridges—Stamp Duty on Purchase Money, 232

Officers—The Out-door Department, 1171  
Promotion of Officers, 1265

Ireland—Questions

Board of Inland Revenue, 738

Board of Works—Mr. Owen, Architect to the Board, 1275

Commissioners of Public Works—Major-General James, R.E., 1159

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Franchise—Population—Inhabited Houses, &c. Returns, 33

COURTNEY, Mr. L. H.—*cont.*

Inland Navigation and Drainage—The Shannon Sluices, 868 ;—The Lower Bann, 1498 ;—Bridges over the Shannon, 1651

Magistracy—Mr. Richard Harvey, Government Stamp Distributor at Drogheda, 1650

Piers and Harbours Act—Kinsale Quay and Pier, 868, 1492

Registry of Deeds, 1489 ;—Final Report of the Royal Commission, 612, 1149

Registry of Deeds Office, Dublin, 1787

Royal University of Ireland—Grants for Buildings, 278  
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Literature, Science, and Art—Scottish Meteorological Society—Marine Zoological Station at Granton, 1275, 1276

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New Forest—Woods and Plantations—Receipt and Expenditure, 1141, 1803

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COWEN, Mr. J., *Newcastle-on-Tyne*

Egypt (War in the Soudan)—Battle of El Tel—Alleged Killing of Wounded Arabs, 292

Egypt (Military Operations in the Eastern Soudan)—Policy of the Government, Res. 772

India—Government House at Ootacamund—Mr. Grant Duff, 275

CRANBROOK, Viscount

Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Relief of General Gordon, 1127

CRICHTON, Viscount, *Fermanagh*

Ireland—Magistracy—Questions

Enniskillen Petty Sessions—Captain M'Ternan, R.M., 1806

Mr. Richard Harvey, Government Stamp Distributor, Drogheda, 1650

Royal University of Ireland, 23

The Rev. Mr. Firth, 1012

Criminal Law Amendment Bill [H.L.]

(*The Ear of Dalhousie*)

l. Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> *Mar 27* (No. 45)

Read 2<sup>a</sup>, after short debate *April 3, 1453*;

Moved, "That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee" (*The Earl of Miltown*);

after short debate, Motion withdrawn

*Criminal Law—Brutal Assaults—Legislation*

Questions, Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. Ritchie; Answers, Sir William Harcourt April 7, 1790

**CROPPER, Mr. J., Kendal**

China—Opium Smuggling at Hong Kong, 1009

India (Finance, &c.)—The Opium Trade, 871

**Cross, Right Hon. Sir R. A., Lancashire, S.W.**

Army (Annual), Comm. *add. cl.* 1745

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Supply, Report, 493

**Cross, Mr. J. K. (Under Secretary of State for India), Bolton**

Afghanistan—Central Asian Papers, 1504

Army (India)—Questions

Indian Graduation List—General Order No. 579, 864

Kirwee Booty, 1143, 1144

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Alleged Assault by an Officer upon a Native Pleader in the High Court, Meerut, 291

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## Dublin Museum of Science and Art Bill

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)

c. Committee\* (*on re-comm*); Report *Mar* 20  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* *Mar* 21 [Bill 59]

l. Read 1<sup>a</sup> \* (*Lord Sudeley*) *Mar* 24 (No. 38)

Read 2<sup>a</sup> \* *April* 1

Committee\* ; Report *April* 3

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Endowed Schools (England and Wales)—Cam School, Motion for an Address, 733

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*Ecclesiastical Buildings (England and Scotland)*

Question, Mr. Illingworth; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 17, 36*

*Ecclesiastical Commissioners—House Property in Southwark*

Moved for, "Copy of the Report of the Select Committee of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, recently presented to the Board in reference to certain House property in Southwark" (*The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*) *Mar 24, 557*; after short debate, Motion agreed to

ECROYD, Mr. W. F., *Preston*  
Contagious Diseases (Animals), 2R. 479

*Education Department*

*Board Schools at Gravesend*, Question, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar 24, 600*

*Flogging at Speldhurst National School*, Questions, Mr. Samuel Morley; Answers, Mr. Mundella *April 3, 1484*; *April 7, 1811*

*Instructions of 9th August, 1832—Examination of Infants*, Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *April 7, 1797*

*Lambeth School Board—Additional School Accommodation*, Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *April 1, 1272*

*Endowed Schools Acts—Christ's Hospital*, Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar 24, 614*

*The Education Code, 1884*

Notice, Mr. Stanley Leighton *Mar 24, 618*; Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar 25, 748*; Question, Mr. Finch-Hatton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *April 7, 1797*

*Elementary Schools*

*Management of Elementary Schools*, Questions, Mr. R. H. Paget, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Mr. Mundella *Mar 27, 860*

*Over-pressure in Elementary Board Schools*, Questions, Mr. Stanley Leighton, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Mundella *Mar 24, 598*; Questions, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answers, Mr. Mundella *Mar 25, 737*; Question, Lord Algernon Percy; Answer, Mr. Mundella *April 1, 1273*

*Excessive Punishments and Overwork—Shoreditch and Egham Board Schools*, Questions, Lord Algernon Percy, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, Mr. Mundella *Mar 31, 1170*

*Elementary Education Act, 1870—Offences against the Act—Incidence of Costs*, Question, Mr. Brinton; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar 27, 885*

*Education Department—cont.*

*Elementary Education Act, 1876—The Pupil Teacher Grant*, Questions, Mr. Salt, Mr. Bourke, Mr. Stanley Leighton, Mr. J. G. Talbot; Answers, Mr. Mundella *Mar 27, 860*

*Education Code, The New—Article 107 B*

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that after the word 'examination' in Article 107 B. of the new Code of Regulations issued by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education the following words be added 'but infants till they have attained the age of five years shall be exempted from examination in reading, writing, counting, and needlework'" (*The Earl De La Warr*) *April 1, 1256*; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

*Education Code, The New*

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, in respect to the Education Code now lying on the Table of this House, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that regulations shall be made so as to secure the following objects, that is to say:—

- (1.) That scholars under seven years of age shall not be presented for examination individually, but by class;
- (2.) That greater liberty than at present shall be given to managers and teachers to classify children according to their acquirements and abilities;
- (3.) That a larger share of the Government Grant shall depend upon attendance, and a smaller upon individual examination" (*Mr. Stanley Leighton*) *April 1, 1366*; after debate, Question put; A. 135, N. 184; M. 49 (D. L. 54)

*Education Department—Examination of Young Children—The London School Board*

Moved for, "Copy of the Memorial forwarded to the Education Department relative to the examination of young children in schools; with the answer of the Education Department thereto" (*The Earl De La Warr*) *April 1, 1254*; after short debate, Motion agreed to

*Education Department—Endowed Schools (England and Wales)—Cam School*

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty to withhold Her consent from Sections 28, 32, 33, and 34 of the Scheme now lying upon the Table for the future management of the Charity known as the School founded by Francis Hopton, in the parish of Cam" (*Colonel Kingscote*) *Mar 24, 718*; after debate, Question put; A. 49, N. 53; M. 4 (D. L. 51)

**EGERTON, Hon. A. F., Wigan**

Leaseholders (Facilities of Purchase of Fee Simple), 2R. 238

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**Egypt****LORDS****Events in the Soudan**

*Admiral Sir William Hewett's Proclamation (Osman Digna)*, Question, Observations, Earl De La Warr; Reply, Earl Granville Mar 18, 152

*The Mahdi*, Question, Observations, Lord Colchester; Reply, Earl Granville Mar 31, 1123

*Relief of General Gordon*, Question, Observations, Lord Strathnairn, The Marquess of Salisbury, Viscount Cranbrook; Reply, Earl Granville Mar 31, 1124

*Khartoum*, Question, Observations, The Earl of Hardwicke; Reply, Earl Granville; Debate thereon April 4, 1604

*War in the Soudan—Advance of General Graham*, Question, The Earl of Carnarvon; Answer, Earl Granville Mar 27, 855

**Egypt****COMMONS (Questions)****Affairs of the Soudan**

*Slavery*, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 28, 1019; Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 31, 1161

*The Red Sea Ports*, Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 17, 28

**Events in the Soudan**

*The Sinkat Prisoners—Affairs at Khartoum*, Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir George Campbell, Sir Stafford Northcote, Baron Henry De Worms, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Staveley Hill; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice Mar 17, 41; Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice April 7, 1813

*Admiral Sir William Hewett's Proclamation (Osman Digna)*, Notice of Question, Mr. Healy Mar 17, 52; Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Healy, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 18, 158; Questions, Mr. Healy, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington; Question, Mr. O'Donnell; [no reply] Mar 20, 308

*Withdrawal of Proclamation*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 24, 614

*General Gordon*, Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice Mar 18, 161; Questions, Mr. Bourke, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 21, 463; Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Lord

**Egypt—COMMONS—General Gordon—cont.**

Edmond Fitzmaurice Mar 24, 613; Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 25, 749; Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 26, 801; Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice Mar 28, 1021; Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice April 3, 1505

*Reported Defeat*, Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington April 1, 1277

*Supplies to General Gordon*, Questions, Sir Henry Tyler, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, The Marquess of Hartington April 3, 1524

*Telegrams*, Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 27, 893

*The Suakin Garrison*, Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington April 1, 1287

**Military Operations in the Soudan**

*Army of Occupation—Horse Artillery*, Question, Mr. Williamson; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 18, 160

*Loss of Life in Egypt and the Soudan*, Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 24, 613

*The Expeditionary Force to the Soudan—Allowances to Subalterns*, Question, Colonel Milne-Home; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter Mar 31, 1145

*Vote of Thanks to General Graham and Admiral Hewett*, Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. Gladstone April 3, 1523

**War in the Soudan**

*Colonel Burnaby*, Questions, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Gorst, Captain Fellowes; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir Charles W. Dilke Mar 17, 46; Questions, Mr. Buchanan; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 21, 460

*The Royal Irish Fusiliers*, Question, Mr. O'Shea; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 17, 46

*The Battle of El-Teb*, Questions, Mr. Gibson, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 20, 276

*Alleged Killing of Wounded Arabs*, Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Healy; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 20, 292

*Alleged Flogging of Camel-Drivers*, Questions, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Labouchere, Colonel Makins; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Mr. Osborne Morgan; Question, Mr. O'Donnell; [no reply] Mar 20, 305

*The Abyssinian Scouts*, Observations, The Marquess of Hartington; Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 26, 800

*General Graham's Expedition*, Questions, Sir John Hay; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 26, 801

*Egypt—COMMONS—War in the Soudan—cont.*

*General Graham's Summons to the Tribes*, Questions, Mr. Richard, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar 27, 881*

*Policy of Her Majesty's Government*

Notice of Question, Sir Stafford Northcote *Mar 21, 463*;—*The Ministerial Explanation*, Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar 24, 601*; Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Macfarlane, Mr. Onslow, Mr. J. Lowther; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar 31, 1138*; Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Francis Buxton, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Sir Alexander Gordon, Baron Henry De Worms, Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, The Marquess of Hartington *April 3, 1509*

*New Rules of Procedure—Adjournment of the House (Rule 2)*, Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Sir Stafford Northcote*) *April 3, 1526*; after debate, Motion withdrawn

*Finance, &c.*

Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 24, 603*; Question, Mr. J. G. Hubbard; Answer, Mr. Courtney *April 1, 1277*

*Re-organization*

*Alteration of Question*, Question, Observations, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Reply, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Mar 31, 1167*

*Extortion of Evidence*, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Mar 20, 294*

*Judicial Reform*, Question, Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Mar 17, 29*

*Native Employés dismissed*, Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Mar 17, 30*

*Egypt, Affairs of*

*British Officials*, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Mar 25, 744*

*Defence of the Nile Provinces*, Questions, Mr. Gourley; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *April 4, 1642*

*Political Affairs—Nubar Pasha*, Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *April 7, 1801*

*The Administrative System*, Questions, Mr. Kennard, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar 20, 309*

*The Egyptian War (1882)—The Indian Contingent—Case of Mr. Stringer*, Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross *Mar 27, 856*

*The Khedive—Pledges of the British Government*, Questions, Lord Randolph Churchill, Lord George Hamilton; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *April 7, 1799*

*The Law of Liquidation*, Questions, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Mar 27, 872*

*Egypt, Affairs of—cont.*

*The Press Laws—The "Bosphore Egyptien,"* Question, Mr. M'Coan; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Mar 17, 45*

*The Riots at Alexandria*

*Indemnity Claims*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Mar 17, 24*

*Awards of the Commissioners*, Questions, Mr. Gourley, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Mar 31, 1158*

*Captured Artillery*, Question, Mr. Tomlinson; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar 17, 34* [See title *Suez Canal*]

*Egypt (Military Operations in the Eastern Soudan)—Policy of Her Majesty's Government*

Amendt. on Third Reading of Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill *Mar 25*, To leave out from "That," add "this House is of opinion that it would be inexpedient to assent to the Third Reading of the Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill before receiving further information as to the Military operations in the Eastern Soudan, the position of General Gordon at Khartoum, and the policy of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt proper" (*Lord Randolph Churchill*) *v.*, 752; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

*Electric Lighting Provisional Order Bill*

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)

c. Ordered; read 1° \* *Mar 21* [Bill 145]  
Read 2° \* *April 1*

*Electric Lighting Provisional Order (No. 2) (Bury Saint Edmunds) Bill*

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)

c. Ordered; read 1° \* *April 7* [Bill 170]

*Electric Lighting—The Swan and Edison*

*Electric Lighting Companies—Provisional Orders*

Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *April 7, 1791*

*ELLENBOROUGH, Lord*

Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Khartoum, 1628

*ELTON, Mr. C. I., Somerset, W.*

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*EMLYN, Viscount, Carmarthenshire*

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*EWART, Mr. W., Belfast*

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*Dodson April 1, 1276; Question, Mr. James*

*Howard; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice*

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*House Tenures, Question, Sir H. Drummond*

*Wolff; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice*

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**FOWLER, Mr. W., Cambridge**  
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**Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment Bill** (*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)

c. Considered Mar 21, 551 [Bill 129]

Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 24

1. Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* (*Earl of Dalhousie*) Mar 25 (No. 43)

Read 2<sup>a</sup> April 1, 1252

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**FRY, Mr. T., Darlington**

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- LORDS
- Address of Condolence to Her Majesty the Queen*
- Notice of Motion, Earl Granville Mar 28, 986
- Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to express the deep concern

[*cont.*][*cont.*]



*His Royal Highness the Duke of Albany*—LORDS  
—cont.

of this House at the great loss which Her Majesty has sustained by the death of His Royal Highness Prince Leopold George Duncan Albert, fourth son of Her Majesty the Queen, and to condole with Her Majesty on this melancholy occasion :

"To assure Her Majesty that this House will ever feel the warmest interest in whatever concerns Her Majesty's domestic relations ; and to declare the ardent wishes of this House for the happiness of Her Majesty and of Her family " (*The Earl Granville*) Mar 31, 1118 ; after short debate, on Question ? agreed to, nemine dissentiente

Ordered, That the said Address be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves

*Address of Condolence to H.R.H. the Duchess of Albany*

Moved to resolve, " That this House do condole with Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany on the loss which she has sustained by the death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Albany " (*The Earl Granville*), 1121 ; on Question ? agreed to, nemine dissentiente

Ordered, That a message of condolence be sent to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany, and that the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Bedford do attend Her Royal Highness with the said message

Her Majesty's Answer to the Address reported April 3, 1453

#### COMMONS

Notice of Motion, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 28, 1004

Motion for an Address of Condolence (*Mr. Gladstone*) Mar 31, 1175 ; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to express the deep concern of this House at the great loss which Her Majesty has sustained by the death of his Royal Highness Prince Leopold George Duncan Albert, Duke of Albany, Fourth Son of Her Majesty the Queen, and to condole with Her Majesty on this melancholy occasion :

To assure Her Majesty that this House will ever feel the warmest interest in whatever concerns Her Majesty's domestic Relations ; and to declare the ardent wishes of this House for the happiness of Her Majesty and of Her Family

To be presented by Privy Councillors

Resolved, Nemine Contradicente, That this House do condole with Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany, on the great loss which she has sustained by the Death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Albany

Ordered, That a Message of Condolence be sent to Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Albany, and that the Marquess of Stafford and the Earl of March do attend Her Royal Highness with the said Message

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(Mr. Hubbard, Sir Charles

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c. Bill withdrawn \* April 7 [Bill 15]

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*Bengal Tenancy Bill*, Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross Mar 17, 39; Questions, Mr. Gorst, Sir George Campbell; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross Mar 20, 281

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*The Princess of Tanjore*, Question, Mr. Justin McCarthy; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross Mar 31, 1149

*Dacca Collegiate School—Flogging of Students*, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross Mar 20, 288

*Export of Wheat*, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. James Howard; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross, Mr. Speaker Mar 27, 889

*Finance, &c.—The Opium Trade*, Questions, Mr. Cropper; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross Mar 27, 871

*The Salt Tax*, Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross Mar 20, 275; Questions, Mr. O'Donnell; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross, 288

*Government House at Ootacamund—Mr. Grant Duff*, Questions, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Joseph Cowen; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross Mar 20, 275

*Railways—Expenditure on Indian Railways*, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross Mar 27, 888

*Special Committee on Indian Railways*, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross Mar 27, 890; — *Representation of Native Interests*, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross Mar 31, 1150

*Sibi and Quetta Railway*, Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross April 3, 1504

**Infants Bill**

(Mr. Bryce, Mr. Davey, Mr. Henderson)

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" Mar 26, 811

**Infants Bill—cont.**

Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (Mr. Ince); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 208, N. 73; M. 135 (D.L. 52)

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2° [Bill 14]

**Intestates Estates Bill [H.L.]**

(The Lord Chancellor)

l. Committee \* Mar 28 (Nos. 6-46)

Report \* April 1

Read 3° \* April 3

c. Read 1° \* (Mr. Courtney) April 7 [Bill 168]

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*Commissioners of Public Works—Major General James, R.E., Assistant Commissioner*, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Courtney Mar 31, 1159

*Mr. Owen, Architect to the Board*, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Courtney April 1, 1274

*County Courts—Jurisdiction as regards Working Men*, Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland Mar 31, 1147

*Emigration—Mr. Tuke's Committee*, Question, Mr. Sheil; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 17, 35

*Sligo Board of Guardians*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan April 1, 1270; — *The Rev. Thomas Heany*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Gibson; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan April 4, 1649

*Encumbered Estates Court—Mr. George Bolton*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan April 4, 1644

*Franchise—Population—Inhabited Houses, &c. Returns*, Question, Observations, The Earl of Limerick; Reply, Lord Carlingford Mar 17, 12; Questions, Mr. Tottenham, Mr. Healy, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Courtney, 32

*Highways—Maintenance of Main Roads*, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Mar 27, 865

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*Irish Court of Probate—District Registrars*, Questions, Mr. Gibson, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 27, 862

*Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Act*, Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 27, 859

*Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1883*, Question, Mr. Sheil; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 24, 587

*Erection of Cottages at Arklow, Rathdrum Union*, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 24, 592

*Inquiry at Navan, Co. Meath*, Question, Mr. Sheil; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 24, 588

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*Landlord and Tenant—Illegal Distress—Mr. Arthur Hamill, County Court Judge, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 27, 869*

*Payment of Rent for the Surface of Public Roads running through Holdings, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 24, 612*

*Licensing Laws—Case of Daniel O'Neill, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 28, 1020*

*Lighthouses—The Ardglass Harbour Light, Question, Lord Arthur Hill; Answer, Mr. J. Holms Mar 31, 1142*

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*The Corporation of Naas—Alienation of the Corporate Property, Question, Mr. Leahy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland April 3, 1482*

*The County Surveyor of Kerry, Question, Mr. Blennerhassett; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 31, 1151*

*The Dublin Murder Trials—Compensation to Mr. Field, Question, Colonel King-Harman; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 28, 1015; Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan April 1, 1270*

*The Irish Privy Council—The Veterinary Staff, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 25, 738*

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*The Royal Schools, Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 24, 603*

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*Board of Intermediate Education, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan April 7, 1784*

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*Sligo Union—Mr. T. Simpson, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan April 1, 1271*

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*Election of Guardians, Kilkeel Union, Co. Down—Rejection of Votes*, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan April 7, 1784

*Election of Guardians, Loughrea Union—Collection of Voting Papers*, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan April 7, 1869

*Election of Guardians at Roscrea—The Clerk to the Roscrea Union*, Questions, Mr. Mayne; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 21, 457; Mar 24, 608

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*Sub-Post Office between Dorra and Blacklion*, Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Fawcett Mar 27, 858

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*The Shannon Sluices*, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Courtney Mar 27, 868

*Drainage of the Lower Bann*, Question, Mr. T. A. Dickson; Answer, Mr. Courtney April 3, 1498

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*The Riots at Londonderry—Routledge and Others*, Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 20, 283

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*Mr. McCorkell, Crown Prosecutor for Tyrone*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 25, 736

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*The High Sheriff of Drogheda*, Questions, Lord Arthur Hall, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Healy; [no reply] Mar 24, 585

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*Mr. Richard Harvey, Government Stamp Dis- tributor at Drogheda*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Viscount Crichton; Answers, Mr. Courtney *April 4*, 1650

*Mr. Haslett, J.P., Belfast*, Questions, Mr. Kenny; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April 1*, 1274

*Enniskillen Petty Sessions—Captain M' Ternan*, Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April 7*, 1782; Questions, Viscount Crichton, Mr. Sexton, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April 7*, 1806

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*Conveyance of Prisoners*, Question, Sir Hervey Bruce; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar 31*, 1156

*Death in Waterford Gaol*, Questions, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Gray; [no reply] *April 3*, 1501; Questions, Mr. Leamy, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April 7*, 1805

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*Married Constables*, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April 7*, 1786

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*The Phoenix Park Depot*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar 17*, 22

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*Intrusion of the Police at Knockamore, Co. Waterford*, Questions, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Healy; [no reply] *Mar 27*, 877

*Police Protection to Mr. T. F. Roe*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar 20*, 274

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*Alleged Case of Firing at the Person—Mr. James White*, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April 3*, 1498

*Alleged Outrage at Rathmore, Co. Wexford*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar 20*, 280

*Outrages in Kilkenny*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar 20*, 299

*The Ballyfarnon Murder*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *April 4*, 1657

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*The Corporation of Kilkenny*, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar 27*, 882

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*Constitution of the Senate—Rev. Dr. Scott*, Question, Viscount Crichton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar 17*, 23; Question, Mr. H. H. Fowler; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar 20*, 273

*Correction of Return*, Questions, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar 28*, 1008

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*Examination in Arts*, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar 31*, 1144

*Art Students*, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April 3*, 1495

*Examining Boards*, Questions, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Healy, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *April 3*, 1476

*Grants for Buildings*, Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Mar 20*, 278

*Medical Degrees*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April 1*, 1265

*Professor Armstrong's Class*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *April 7*, 1781

*The Queen's Colleges*, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar 20*, 285;—*The Queen's College, Cork*, Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, 286; Questions, Mr. Justin M'Carthy; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan, 289; *Mar 27*, 867;—*Punishments*, Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; [no reply] *Mar 28*, 1013

## IRELAND—cont.

[See titles *Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Act*, 1882

*Land Law (Ireland) Act*, 1881

*Land Law (Ireland) Act*, 1881

—*Irish Land Commission*

*Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act*, 1882]

*Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply April 4, To leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House, the present condition of the Irish Magistracy, constituted, as shown by a Return now in the possession of the House, almost exclusively from one religious denomination and one class, is offensive and injurious to the vast majority of the Irish people, and is calculated to destroy all confidence in the ordinary administration of justice in Ireland" (*Mr. Justin M'Carthy*) *v.*, 1658; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 106, N. 59; M. 47 (D. L. 55)

*Isle of Man Harbours Bill*

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 17 [Bill 138]

Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate Mar 24, 713

Committee \*; Report; read 3<sup>o</sup> Mar 27

l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* (*Lord Sudeley*) Mar 28 (No. 47)

Read 2<sup>o</sup> April 1, 1253

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Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.), Consid. add. cl. 1130

*Japan—Claims of Mr. Hartley*

Question, Mr. Grantham; Answer, Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice Mar 27, 882

*JENKINS, Mr. D. J., Penryn*

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*KENNY, Mr. M. J., Ennis*

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**Land Drainage Provisional Orders Bill**

(Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt)

c. Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* April 1 [Bill 137]**Land Improvement and Arterial Drainage (Ireland) Bill**

(Mr. Courtney, Mr. Trevelyan)

c. Motion for Leave (Mr. Courtney) April 3,

1599; after short debate, Question put, and

agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* [Bill 166]**Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881**

Notice of Question, The Duke of Argyll

April 4, 1641

**Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Irish Land Commission**

Reduction of Rents, Question, Mr. Gibson;

Answer, Mr. Trevelyan April 4, 1643

**Sub-Commissioners**

Professor Baldwin, Question, Mr. McCoan;

Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 17, 38

Mr. Evans, Question, Mr. Justin McCarthy;

Answer, Mr. Trevelyan April 3, 1500

Mr. John E. Vernon, Question, Mr. Biggar;

Answer, Mr. Trevelyan April 7, 1792

Decisions of the Sub-Commissioners, Questions,

Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr.

Trevelyan Mar 20, 294

**Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Irish Land Commission**

Moved, That there be laid before the House a

Return of “(1.) The number of applications to

fix judicial rents filed in the office of the

Irish Land Commission Court (a) up to the

last day of June 1883, and (b) during each

of the nine months ending 31st March 1884;

(2.) The number of judicial rents fixed by

the sub-commissioners during each of the

same months, giving the average percentage

reduction of rent for each month; (3.) The

number of applications remaining to be dis-

posed of on the 31st March 1884” (The Earl

of Limerick) April 3, 1466; after short de-

bate, Motion agreed to

**Land (Perpetual Grants) Bill**

(Sir John Jenkins, Mr. Powell)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 24

[Bill 156]

**LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES) (Questions)**

“Belt v. Lawes,” Question, Colonel Nolan;

Answer, The Attorney General Mar 27, 887

Sale of Clement's Inn, Question, Mr. Firth;

Answer, The Attorney General April 3,

1493

The Director of Public Prosecutions—Prosecu-

tions in Capital Cases, Questions, Mr. Mel-

lor, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, The

Attorney General Mar 17, 40

The Spring Assizes, Question, Mr. Stanley

Leighton; Answer, Sir William Harcourt

Mar 17, 27

Re-arrangement of Circuits, Question, Vis-

count Newport; Answer, Sir William Har-

court April 3, 1485

The Circuits—The Judges of the Probate Divi-

sion, Question, Mr. Norwood; Answer, Sir

William Harcourt April 1, 1278

Welsh Juries, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer,

Sir William Harcourt Mar 25, 739

**LAWRANCE, Mr. J. C., Lincolnshire, S.**

Contagious Diseases (Animals), 2R. 481

**LAWRENCE, Sir J. J. T., Surrey, Mid**

Metropolis—Police Courts—Wandsworth Police

Court, 585

Water Supply—The Filter Beds of the

Southwark and Vauxhall Water Com-

pany, 582

Post Office—Good Conduct Stripes for Post-

men, 610

**LAWRENCE, Mr. Alderman W., London**

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 2R.

1438

**LAWSON, Sir W., Carlisle**

Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Admiral Sir

Williams Hewett's Proclamation, 308

Egypt (Military Operations in the Eastern

Soudan)—Policy of the Government, Res.

777

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, 2R.

1434

**LEA, Mr. T., Donegal**

Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy, Res.

1696, 1697

**LEAHY, Mr. J., Kildare**

Ireland—Corporation of Naas—Alienation of

the Corporate Property, 1482

**LEAMY, Mr. E., Waterford**

Army (Annual), Comm. add. cl. 1750, 1772

Army (India)—The Medical Service, 180

Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. 793

Infants, 2R. 835

LEAMY, Mr. E.—*cont.*

Ireland—Questions

Intermediate Education Act—Roman Catholic Examiners, 608, 609

Prisons—Death in Waterford Gaol, 1501, 1805, 1806

Sea and Coast Fisheries—Board of Trustees—Accounts for 1882-3, 1805

State of Ireland—National League Meetings—Intrusion of Police, 610

Representation of the People, 2R. 1251

Leaseholders Enfranchisement Bill

(Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir Henry Wolff)

c. Bill withdrawn \* Mar 26 [Bill 90]

Leaseholders (Facilities of Purchase of Fee Simple) Bill

(Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Reid, Mr. Burt, Mr.

Passmore Edwards, Mr. Puleston)

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" Mar 19, 212

Amend. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (Mr. Gregory); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &amp;c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 104, N. 168; M. 64

Div. List, A. and N., 255

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off [Bill 5]

LEATHAM, Mr. E. A., *Huddersfield*

Representation of the People, 2R. 670

LEE, Mr. H., *Southampton*Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.), Consid. *add. cl.* 1133LEFEVRE, Right Hon. G. J. Shaw (Chief Commissioner of Works), *Reading*

Metropolis—Questions

Hyde Park—The Achilles Statue, 1141

Hyde Park Corner—The Wellington Statue, 1023, 1463, 1470, 1471

Street Traffic—Refuges at Hyde Park Corner, 1150

Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement), 887, 888;—

Nomination of Select Committee, 1362, 1365

Representation of the People, 2R. 1233, 1238, 1243, 1305, 1310

Scotland—Preservation of the Castle of St. Andrew's, 1156

LEIGHTON, Sir B., *Shropshire, S.*

Local Taxation, Res. 1031

Parliament—Business of the House, 1285

LEIGHTON, Mr. S., *Shropshire, N.*

Education Department—Questions

Education Code, 1884, 618, 743

Instructions of the 9th August, 1882—Examination of Infants, 1797

Lambeth School Board—Additional School Accommodation, 1272

Over-Pressure in Elementary Schools, 598, 737, 738

LEIGHTON, Mr. S.—*cont.*

Education Code, Motion for an Address, 1366, 1378, 1381

Law and Justice—Spring Assizes, 27

Parliament—Rules of Debate—Production of Official Documents, 1022, 1023

Parliament—Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day, Motion for Postponement, 1300

LENNOX, Right Hon. Lord H. G. C. G., *Chichester*

Army (Auxiliary Forces)—Easter Volunteer Review, 459

Army (Ordnance Department)—Rapid Firing Guns, 1804

Navy, State of the—The Armour-Clad Navy, 344

Navy—Marine Artillery and Infantry, Motion for a Select Committee, 321

Navy Estimates—Sea and Coastguard Services, &amp;c. 385

LEWIS, Mr. C. E., *Londonderry*

Ireland, State of—Riots at Londonderry—Mr. M'Corkell, 156

Trial of Thomas Doherty at Sligo, 300

Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.), Consid. *add. cl.* 1136

Supply, Report, 485

LEWISHAM, Viscount, *Kent, W.*

Navy—Marine Artillery and Infantry, Motion for a Select Committee, 314

LIMERICK, Earl of

Ireland—Franchise—Population—Inhabited Houses, &amp;c. Returns, 12

Irish Land Commission, Motion for a Return, 1466, 1467

Medical Act Amendment, Comm. *cl.* 9, 263, 264

Life Leaseholders Enfranchisement Bill

(Mr. Charles Ross, Sir Edmund Lechmere, Mr. Puleston)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 20 [Bill 143]*Literature, Science, and Art—Scottish Meteorological Society—Marine Zoological Station at Granton*

Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Courtney April 1, 1275

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Order (The Labourers Act) (Carrick-on-Suir) Bill [H.L.]

(The Lord President)

l. Presented; read 1<sup>a</sup> \*, and referred to the Examiners April 3 (No. 54)

Local Government (Ireland) Provisional Orders (Naas, &amp;c.) Bill [H.L.]

(The Lord President)

l. Presented; read 1<sup>a</sup> \*, and referred to the Examiners April 3 (No. 55)[*cont.*]

### Local Government Provisional Orders Bill

(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles W. Dilke*)

c. Report \* Mar 19 [Bill 127]

Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 20

l. Read 1<sup>st</sup> \* (*Lord Carrington*) Mar 20 (No. 33)

Read 2<sup>nd</sup> \* Mar 27

Committee \*; Report Mar 28

Read 3<sup>rd</sup> \* Mar 31

### Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (Alton-Barnes, &c.) Bill

(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 24 [Bill 147]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* April 1

### Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 2) (Bovey-Tracey, &c.) Bill

(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 24 [Bill 148]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* April 1

### Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 3) (Ashill, &c.) Bill

(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 24 [Bill 149]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* April 1

### Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 4) (Belchalwell, &c.) Bill

(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 24 [Bill 150]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* April 1

### Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 5) (Acton, &c.) Bill

(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 24 [Bill 151]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* April 1

### Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 6) (Ashen, &c.) Bill

(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 24 [Bill 152]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* April 1

### Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 7) (Abberley, &c.) Bill

(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 24 [Bill 153]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* April 1

### Local Government Provisional Orders (Poor Law) (No. 8) (Abergwilly, &c.) Bill

(*Mr. George Russell, Sir Charles Dilke*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 24 [Bill 154]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* April 1

### Local Taxation

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Mar 28, To leave out from "That," add "this House, while ready to entertain any necessary reforms in local administration, deprecates the postponement of further measures of relief acknowledged to be due to ratopayers in counties and boroughs in respect of local charges imposed on them for National services" (*Mr. Pell*) v., 1023; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put, A. 197, N. 208; M. 11

Div. List, A. and N. 1102

Notice of Motion and Question, Mr. Pell April 1, 1903

### LODER, Mr. R., *Shoreham*

Customs Department—Custom House at Kingston, 19

### London and South Western Railway Bill

c. Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate Mar 31, 1903

### London Government Bill

c. Question, Mr. R. N. Fowler; Answer, Sir William Harcourt April 7, 1902

Motion for Leave (*Lord Richard Grosvenor*) April 7, 1901; Debate adjourned

### London, Reigate, and Brighton Railway Bill

l. Moved, "That the Examiners' Certificate be referred back to the Standing Orders Committee" (*The Earl Cadogan*) Mar 21, 1913; after short debate, on Question ? resolved in the negative

### LONG, Mr. W. H., *Wilts, N.*

Local Taxation, Res. 1062

### LOPES, Sir M., *Devonshire, S.*

Local Taxation, Res. 1081, 1086

### LOWTHER, Right Hon. J., *Lincolnshire, N.*

Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts—Foot-and-Mouth Disease, 1647

Education Department—Over-Pressure in Elementary Schools, 599

Shoreditch and Egham Board Schools—Cases of Excessive Punishment and Overwork, 1171

Egypt—Policy of H.M. Government, 1140

Egypt (Events in the Sudan)—Admiral Sir William Hewett's Proclamation—Osman Digna, 159

Defeat of General Gordon, 1278

Parliament—Arrangement of Public Business, 1652, 1653

Parliament—Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day, Motion for Postponement, 1302

Representation of the People, 2R. 687, 690, 698, 699, 940, 1243

Supply, Report, 483, 484, 488

### LOWTHER, Mr. J. W., *Rutland*

Parks (Metropolis)—Hyde Park—The Achilles Statue, 1141



*Lunacy Commissioners—Insane British Subjects Abroad*

Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Sir William Harcourt April 4, 1845

*Lunatic Asylums, Private—"Weldon v. Winslow"*

Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet, Mr. Mac Iver; Answers, Sir William Harcourt Mar 21, 453

*LYMINGTON, Viscount, Barnstaple*

Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy, Res. 1676

Leaseholders (Facilities of Purchase of Fee Simple), 2R. 225

Local Taxation, Res. 1078

Parliament—Business of the House, 1280

*M'CARTHY, Mr. J., Longford*

Army (Annual), Comm. 1593; add. cl. 1767

India (Madras)—The Princess of Tanjore, 1149

Ireland—Irish Land Commission—Sub-Commissioners—Mr. Evans, 1500

Ireland—Royal University of Ireland—Examining Boards, 1477, 1478

Queen's College, Cork, 287, 289, 867

Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy, Res. 1658

Parliament—Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day, Motion for Postponement, 1294

Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 406

*M'COAN, Mr. J. C., Wicklow*

Egypt—Press Laws—The "Bosphore Egyptien," 45

Ireland—Irish Land Commission (Sub-Commissioners)—Professor Baldwin, 38

Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy, Res. 1672, 1679

Supply, Report, 487, 488

Turkey—Imprisonment of Greek Subjects at Constantinople, 583

*MACFARLANE, Mr. D. H., Carlow Co.*

Assam and Cachar—Grog Shops, 28

Criminal Law—Brutal Assaults, 1790, 1791

Egypt—Policy of H.M. Government, 1139, 1546

Infants, 2R. 822

Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy, Res. 1695

Parliament—Business on Wednesday, 1288

Scotland—Highland Crofters, Report of the Royal Commission, 1503

*MCGAREL-HOGG, Sir J. M., Truro*

Parliament—Business of the House, 616

*MAC IVER, Mr. D., Birkenhead*

Harbours of Refuge—Convict Labour, 1494

Metropolis—Hyde Park Corner—Site for the Wellington Statue, 1471

Parliament—Business of the House, 616

Parliamentary Papers, Distribution of—Free Public Libraries, 1498

Private Lunatic Asylums—"Weldon v. Winslow," 454

*MACKINTOSH, Mr. C. FRASER-, Inverness, &c.*

Scotland—Sasine Office, Edinburgh, 278

*McLAGAN, Mr. P., Linlithgowshire*

Contagious Diseases (Animals), 2R. 480

*McLAREN, Mr. C. B. B., Stafford*

Infants, 2R. 825

Parliament—Business of the House, 1508

*MACLIVER, Mr. P. S., Plymouth*

Army (India)—The Kirwee Booty, 1143

Navy Estimates—Sea and Coastguard Services, &c. 386

*Madagascar—Protection to British Interests and Subjects*

Observations, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett Mar 25, 794; Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice Mar 31, 1172

*MAKINS, Colonel W. T., Essex, S.*

Bishops (House of Peers), Res. 533, 534

Egypt (War in the Soudan)—Alleged Flogging of Camel Drivers, 308

*MALMESBURY, Earl of*

Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment, 2R. 1253

*MANNERS, Right Hon. Lord J. J. R., Leicestershire, N.*

Egypt—Policy of H.M. Government, 1547

Parliament—Business of the House, 312, 886, 1284

Representation of the People, 2R. Amendt. 619, 702

*Marine Insurance Bill*

(Mr. Norwood, Mr. Edward Clarke)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \*

Mar 19 [Bill 141]

*Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister*

Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, The Attorney General Mar 17, 25

*Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill* [Bill 50]

(Mr. Broadhurst, Sir Thomas Chambers, Mr. Alderman Cotton, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Collins, Mr. Causton, Mr. Puleston, Mr. Burt, Mr. Heneage, Mr. Samuel Morley)

c. 2R. deferred, after short debate Mar 26, 842

*Marriages Legalization (Stopsley, Beds.)*

Bill [H.L.] (The Lord Bishop of Ely)

l. Royal Assent Mar 24 [47 Vict. c. 1]

# Married Women's Property Act (1882) Amendment Bill

(*Sir Richard Cross, Mr. Hinde Palmer*)

- c. Ordered; read 1° \* *Mar 24* [Bill 155]  
Read 2° \* *April 1*  
Committee \*—*R.F. April 2*  
Committee \*; Report *April 3*  
Read 3° \* *April 7*

# MARRIOTT, Mr. W. T., *Brighton*

Representation of the People, 2R. Motion for  
Adjournment, 1351  
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays, 2R.  
1439

# MARTIN, Mr. R. B., *Tewkesbury*

Bishops (House of Peers), Res. 532

# MASTER, Mr. T. W. CHESTER-, *Cirencester*

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays, 2R.  
1428

# Mauritius, The—*Ecclesiastical and Educational Matters*

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty for copies or extracts of any recent correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor of the Mauritius on ecclesiastical and educational questions" (*The Earl of Carnarvon*)  
*Mar 28, 1901*; Motion withdrawn

# MAXWELL, Sir H. E., *Wigtonshire*

Army—Dress of the Army—The Feather Head.  
Dress of the Highland Regiments, 60  
Army (Expeditionary Force to the Soudan),  
Small Arms—Cutlasses and Bayonets, 33  
Coyhold Enfranchisement, Res. Nomination of  
Select Committee, 1115, 1116, 1117  
Local Government Board (Scotland)—Secretary for Scotland, 456  
Portugal—Congo Treaty, 302, 1163, 1171,  
1507  
Post Office (Scotland)—Postmastership of  
Keith, 304

# MAXWELL-HERON, Captain J. M., *Kirkcudbright*

Army—Examination of Officers for Promotion,  
70  
Army (Annual), Comm. *add. cl. 1772*  
Scotland—Poor Law—Maintenance of Pauper  
Lunatics—Dumfries Parochial Boards, 1788

# MAYNE, Mr. T., *Tipperary*

Ireland—Questions  
Magistracy—Mr. Thomas Dowling, Cap-  
pathwaite, 1666  
Poor Law—Election of Guardians—Clerk  
to the Roscrea Union, 457, 458, 608  
State of—National League Meetings—In-  
trusion of the Police, 157  
Tramways and Public Companies Act, 1883  
—Guarantees, 1485  
Summary Jurisdiction over Children (Ireland),  
Comm. *cl. 4, 922*

# Medical Act Amendment Bill [H.L.]

(*The Lord President*)

- l. Committee, after debate *Mar 20, 259* (No. 23)  
Report, after debate *Mar 31, 1127* (No. 84)  
Read 3°, after short debate *April 3, 1462*

# MELLOR, Mr. J. W., *Grantham*

Bishops (House of Peers), Res. 536  
Law and Justice—Director of Public Prosecu-  
tions—Capital Cases, 40  
Representation of the People, 2R. 930

# Mercantile Marine

*Kingstown Harbour*, Question, Colonel King-  
Harman; Answer, Mr. Courtney *April 1,*  
1279

*The Steamship "Elephant,"* Question, Dr.  
Cameron; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar 20,*  
297

# Merchant Seamen—*Payment of Wages and Rating Act, 1880*

Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Mr. Chamber-  
lain *Mar 24, 591*

# Merchant Shipping Acts—*Lost or Missing Ships*

Question, Mr. Barry; Answer, Mr. Chamber-  
lain *Mar 27, 886*

# Merchant Shipping Bill

Question, Mr. E. Stanhope; Answer, Mr.  
Chamberlain *April 3, 1503*  
*Over-insured Ships*, Questions, Mr. O'Donnell;  
Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *Mar 24, 618*  
*The Thames Pilots*, Questions, Sir William  
Hart Dyke, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Mr. Cham-  
berlain *Mar 31, 1166*

# Merchant Shipping Law Amendment Bill

(*Mr. David Mac Iver, Sir Eardley Wilmot*)

- c. Ordered; read 1° \* *Mar 19* [Bill 140]

# METROPOLIS (Questions)

*Hackney Carriage Act—Cab Laws—Defraud-  
ing Cabdrivers*, Question, Lord Algernon  
Percy; Answer, Sir William Harcourt  
*Mar 28, 1010*

*Petroleum—Legislation*, Questions, Sir Ed-  
ward Watkin; Answers, Mr. Hlibbert *Mar 18,*  
157

*Police Courts—The Wandsworth Police Court*,  
Questions, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Mr. Arthur  
O'Connor; Answers, Sir William Harcourt,  
Mr. Courtney *Mar 24, 585*

*Street Traffic—The Refuges at Hyde Park  
Corner*, Question, Mr. J. G. Hubbard; An-  
swer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Mar 31, 1150*

*Water Supply—The Filter Beds of the South-  
wark and Vauxhall Water Company*, Question,  
Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer, Mr.  
George Russell *Mar 24, 582*

# The Parks

*Hyde Park—The Achilles Statue*, Question,  
Mr. J. W. Lowther; Answer, Mr. Shaw Le-  
fevre *Mar 31, 1141*

**Metropolitan Commons Provisional Order Bill**

(*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)  
*c.* Report \* *Mar 19* [Bill 106]  
*Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 20*  
*l.* Read 1\* (*Earl of Dalhousie*) *Mar 21* (No. 36)  
*Read 2<sup>a</sup> \* April 1*  
*Committee \*; Report April 3*  
*Read 3<sup>a</sup> \* April 4*

**Metropolitan Improvements—Hyde Park Corner—The Duke of Wellington's Statue**

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying Her Majesty that the equestrian statue of the late Duke of Wellington may not be removed from London, but replaced in the vicinity of Apsley House on a site not less appropriate than that from which it has been taken" (*The Lord Stratheden and Campbell*) *Mar 24*, 561; after short debate, on Question ? Cont. 20, Not-Cont. 26; M. 6; resolved in the negative

Question, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Mar 28*, 1023; Questions, Mr. Rylands, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, Mr. Puleston, Mr. Monk, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *April 3*, 1468

**Metropolitan Police—Case of Daniel Walsh in 1868**

Questions, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *Mar 24*, 592

**Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement) Bill**

*c.* Questions, Mr. Firth, Mr. Gorst, Lord George Hamilton; Answers, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Mar 27*, 887

Moved, "That Sir James M'Garel-Hogg be a Member of the Select Committee on the Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement) Bill" (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) *April 1*, 1360; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Sheil*); after further debate, Question put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed *April 4*, 1777; Question put, and agreed to; List of the Committee, 1778

**Middlesex Registry of Deeds Bill**

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Attorney General*)  
*c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* *April 7* [Bill 169]

**MILLTOWN, Earl of**

Criminal Law Amendment, 2R. 1456; Amendt. 1460  
 Habitual Criminals Act Amendment, 2R. 150  
 Medical Act Amendment, 3R. 1465

**MILNER, Sir F. G., York**

Naval Discipline Act, 1866—Punishments in the Navy, 330

**Mines, Accidents in—Report of the Royal Commission**

Question, Mr. Arnold Morley; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Mar 21*, 450

**MOLLOY, Mr. B. C., King's Co.**

Army (Annual), Comm. add. cl. 1760  
 Ireland—Questions  
 Inland Navigation and Drainage—Bridges over the Shannon, 1651  
 Law and Justice—Mr. Adam Mitchell, Crown Prosecutor for the King's Co. 1168, 1169  
 Law and Police—A Chief Commissioner of Police, 1654  
 Magistracy—The King's County Magistrates, 1169  
 Summary Jurisdiction over Children (Ireland), Comm. cl. 4, 981, 985

**MONK, Mr. C. J., Gloucester City**

Metropolis—Hyde Park Corner—Site for the Wellington Statue, 1470  
 Parliament—Business of the House—Half-Past Twelve o'Clock Rule, 582  
 Public Prosecutor Act, 1879—Rules of Debate, 745

**MOORE, Mr. A. J., Clonmel**

Cork Butter Market, 2R. 15, 272, 273; Instruction to Committee, 574, 578

**MORGAN, Right Hon. G. Osborne (Judge Advocate General), Denbighshire**

Army (Annual), 2R. 979, 980, 1113, 1114; Comm. cl. 4, 1741; add. cl. 1745, 1748, 1750, 1760, 1776, 1777  
 Egypt (War in the Soudan)—Alleged Flogging of Camel Drivers, 307

**MORLEY, Earl of (Under Secretary of State for War)**

Army—Royal Military College, Sandhurst—Examinations, 844  
 London, Reigate, and Brighton Railway, 415

**MORLEY, Mr. A., Nottingham**

Mines, Accidents in, Report of the Royal Commission, 450

**MORLEY, Mr. J., Newcastle-upon-Tyne**

Representation of the People, 2R. 1563

**MORLEY, Mr. S., Bristol**

Education Department—Flogging in National Schools, 1484;—Speldhurst, 1811

**MOWBRAY, Right Hon. Sir J. R., Oxford University**

Bishops (House of Peers), Res. 529

**Mr. Speaker's Retirement Bill**

(*The Earl Granville*)  
*l.* Royal Assent *Mar 24* [47 Vict. c. 1]

**MULHOLLAND, Mr. J., Downpatrick**

Representation of the People, 2R. 679



# MUNDELLA, Right Hon. A. J. (Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education), *Sheffield*

College Charter Act, 1871—St. Paul's Hostel, Cambridge, 597

Education Department—Questions

Board Schools at Gravesend, 600

Education Code, 1884, 749

Flogging in National Schools, 1484;—Speldhurst, 1811

Instructions of the 9th August, 1882—Examination of Infants, 1793

Lambeth School Board—Additional School Accommodation, 1272

Management of Elementary Schools, 861, 862

New Code, 1797

Over-Pressure in Board Schools, 1273

Over-Pressure in Elementary Schools, 598, 599, 737, 738

Shoreditch and Egham Board Schools—Cases of Excessive Punishment and Overwork, 1170, 1171

Education Code, Motion for an Address, 1376, 1378, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1385

Education (Scotland)—School Boards in Lewis, 595

Elementary Education Act (1870)—Offences against the Act—Incidence of Costs, 885

Elementary Education Act (1876)—Pupil Teacher Grant, 860

Endowed Schools Acts—Christ's Hospital, 614

Parliament—Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day, Motion for Postponement, 1300, 1302

Patent Medicines, 1495

Science and Art Department—Working Men's Institute, Belfast, 1481

Supply—Education Estimates, 884

## NAPIER OF MAGDALA, Lord

Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Khartoum, 1611

## National Debt Bill

(*The Lord Thurlow*)

l. Read 1\* *Mar 17* (No. 30)

Read 2\* ; Committee negatived *Mar 18*, 160

Read 3\* *Mar 20*

Royal Assent *Mar 24* [47 *Vict. c. 2*]

## National Museums and Galleries, Sunday Opening of

Moved, "That, in the opinion of this House, the time has now come to afford to the working classes of London the opportunity of visiting, on Sunday afternoons, such of the national collections of books, natural history objects, and of works of art of an elevating character, as may from time to time be sanctioned for Sunday opening by the President, in Council, and thus give to the working classes of London opportunities for recreation and instruction equal to those enjoyed by the working classes of Birmingham, Manchester, Middlesboro', Newcastle-on-Tyne, Wigan, Stoke-on-Trent, Dublin, &c." (*The Lord Thurlow*) *Mar 21*, 419

Amendt. To leave out all after ("That") insert ("inasmuch as a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public In-

## National Museums and Galleries—cont.

stitutions have reported, on the 27th of March 1860, that such institutions as the British Museum and the National Gallery should be opened on week-day evenings to the public between the hours of seven and ten in the evening at least three days in the week, this House is of opinion that the time has arrived when this recommendation should be carried out") (*The Earl of Shaftesbury*); after debate, on Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Motion?" Cont. 38, Not-Cont. 46; M. 8; resolved in the negative

Div. List, Cont. and Not-Cont., 448

Moved to resolve, "That inasmuch as a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Institutions have reported, on the 27th of March 1860, that such institutions as the British Museum and the National Gallery should be opened on week-day evenings to the public between the hours of seven and ten in the evening at least three days in the week, this House is of opinion that the time has arrived when this recommendation should be carried out" (*The Earl of Shaftesbury*); after short debate, on Question? resolved in the negative

## NAVY

(*Questions*)

*Admiralty Pensions*, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey *Mar 20*, 304

*Dockyards—Artizans' Memorials*, Questions, Mr. Gorst, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Mar 27*, 863

*Chatham Dockyard*, Question, Mr. Gorst; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Mar 27*, 862

*Wages of Labourers in the Victualling Yards*, Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Mar 27*, 876

*H.M.S. "Impérieuse,"* Questions, Dr. Cameron; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Mar 18*, 161

*Naval Discipline Act, 1866—Punishments in the Navy*, Observations, Sir Frederick Milner; short debate thereon *Mar 20*, 330

*Officers of the Royal Marines*, Question, Captain Price; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter *April 4*, 1651

*State of the Navy—The Armour-Clad Navy*, Observations, Sir John Hay; debate thereon *Mar 20*, 336

*The Accountant Branch—Paymasters*, Questions, Mr. Alderman Cotton, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Gabbett; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Mar 20*, 303; Question, Mr. Gabbett; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Mar 27*, 880; Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *April 3*, 1476

## Navy—Marine Artillery and Infantry

Amendt. on Committee of Supply, *Mar 20*, To leave out from "That," add "a Select Committee be appointed to inquire and report upon the expenditure incurred for the professional training and technical instruction of the Officers of the Royal Marine Artillery and Royal Marine Light Infantry, the posi-

[cont.]

[cont.]

*Navy—Marine Artillery and Infantry—cont.*

tion these Officers occupy, and the duties they perform, both afloat and ashore, when serving under the Naval Discipline Act, and further to inquire and report whether the administration of the Royal Marine Forces adequately provides for the due representation of their special interests, and sufficiently secures economy and efficiency of the public service" (*Viscount Lewisham*) v. 314; after short debate, Question put; A. 63, N. 36; M. 27 (D. L. 47)

*Netherlands—The Crew of the "Nisero"*  
—See title *Straits Settlements*

NEWDEGATE, Mr. C. N., *Warwickshire, N.*  
Bishops (House of Peers), Res. 548  
Contagious Diseases (Animals), 2R. 173; Comm. 791

Local Taxation, Res. 1101  
Parliament—Mr. Bradlaugh—The Library of the House, 1286  
Portugal—Congo Treaty, 302  
Representation of the People, 2R. 1916

*New Forest—Woods and Plantations—Receipt and Expenditure*

Questions, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, Mr. Courtney Mar 31, 1141; April 7, 1803

NEWPORT, Viscount, *Shropshire, N.*

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Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy, Res. 1693, 1700

Land Improvement and Arterial Drainage (Ireland), Leave, 1599

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Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1883—Appointment and Nomination of Select Committee, Amendt. 1600, 1603

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NORTHCOTE, Mr. H. S., *Exeter*

Representation of the People, 2R. 653

*North Sea Fisheries Convention—The Instructions*

Question, Mr. Birkbeck; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman April 3, 1483

NORTON, Lord

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Education Code, The New—Article 107 B., Motion for an Address, 1259

NORWOOD, Mr. C. M., *Kingston-upon-Hull*

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O'BRIEN, Sir P., *King's Co.*

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Policy of H.M. Government, 1140

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# OTWAY, Sir A. J. (Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means and Deputy Speaker), *Rochester*

Army (Annual), *Comm. cl. 4*, 1739, 1740, 1741; *add. cl.* 1763  
Education Code, Motion for an Address, 1388  
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# OXFORD, Bishop of

Sunday Opening of National Museums and Galleries, *Res.* 446

# Oyster and Mussel Fisheries Provisional Order Bill

(*Mr. John Holms, Mr. Chamberlain*)

*c.* Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* *Mar 20* [Bill 142]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* *Mar 28*  
Report \* *April 4*  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* *April 7*

# PAGET, Mr. R. H., *Somersetshire, Mid*

Agricultural Departments of Foreign Countries—Denmark, 1276  
Contagious Diseases (Animals), 2R. 183; *Comm.* 789  
Copyhold Enfranchisement, *Res.* Nomination of Select Committee, 1117  
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Parliament—Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day, Motion for Postponement, 1301  
Public Prosecutor Act, 1879—Rules of Debate, 746  
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# PALMER, Mr. C. M., *Durham, N.*

Straits Settlements—The Rajah of Tenom—Crew of the "Nisero," 1798

# Parliament

## LORDS—

### Private Bills

Moved, "That all Private Bills to which Standing Order No. 38. applies be circulated, on their introduction, in the same manner as Public Bills" (*The Marquess of Salisbury*) *Mar 18*, 154; after short debate, Motion agreed to

Ordered, That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after Friday the 20th day of June next [and other Orders] *Mar 21*, 412

### Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills

Ordered, That Standing Orders Nos. 92. and 93. be suspended; and that the time for depositing petitions praying to be heard against Private and Provisional Order Confirmation Bills, which would otherwise expire during the adjournment of the House at Easter, be extended to the first day on which the House shall sit after the recess *April 4*, 1604

*The Adjournment for the Easter Recess*, Question, The Earl of Redesdale; Answer, Earl Granville *Mar 25*, 735

*Public Business—Introduction of Bills into the House of Lords*, Question, Observations, Lord Waveney; Reply, Earl Granville *April 1*, 1255

## COMMONS—

### Indisposition of Mr. Speaker

Sir Arthur Otway, the Chairman of Ways and Means, took the Chair as Deputy Speaker, pursuant to the Standing Order *Mar 31*, 1130; *April 1*, 1264

Mr. Speaker thanks the House for their indulgence during his absence from illness *April 2*, 1389

*The Office of Speaker to this House*, Questions, Mr. Dillwyn, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Mar 31*, 1174

*The Deputy Speakership of this House*, Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *April 1*, 1285

*Private Bill Committees*, Questions, Mr. Craig-Sellar; Answers, Mr. Dodson *Mar 31*, 1145

## RULES OF DEBATE

*Production of Official Documents*, Question, Observations, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Reply, Mr. Speaker *Mar 28*, 1022

*Public Prosecutor Act, 1879—Rules of Debate*, Questions, Mr. Monk, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Warton, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answers, The Attorney General, Mr. Speaker *Mar 25*, 745

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

## THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE

"*Blocking*," Question, Mr. Firth; Answer, Mr. Speaker *Mar 27, 891*

*Adjournment of the House (Rule 2)—Egypt—Policy of Her Majesty's Government*, Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Sir Stafford Northcote April 3, 1526*; after debate, Motion withdrawn)

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

*Teachers in Convent Schools—Replies of the Chief Secretary for Ireland*, Questions, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan *Mar 21, 461*

## PRIVILEGE

"*Bradlaugh v. Gosset*" — *Shorthand Notes*, Questions, Mr. Labouchere; Answers, The Attorney General *Mar 17, 19*

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

*Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day*, Moved, "That the Order for resuming the Adjourned Debate on the Second Reading of the Representation of the People Bill have precedence, this day, of all Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day" (*Mr. Gladstone April 1, 1288*; after debate, Question put, and agreed to)

## BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE AND PUBLIC BUSINESS

*Arrangement of Public Business*, Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Parnell, Lord John Manners, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Healy, Mr. Gorst, Mr. Broadhurst, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. Ritchie, Sir John Hay, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Courtney *Mar 20, 311*; Questions, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Onslow; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 21, 463*; Questions, Sir William Hart Dyke, Sir James McGarel-Hogg, Mr. Mac Iver, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Speaker *Mar 24, 615*; Questions, Mr. Pell, Mr. Cheetham, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar 31, 1173*; Observations, Sir William Harcourt; Questions, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. Gibson, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir William Harcourt, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *April 4, 1651*; — *The Financial Statement*, Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 17, 26*; — *The Half-past Twelve o'Clock Rule*, Notice of Motion, Mr. Monk *Mar 24, 582*; — *Evening Sitings—Keeping a House*, Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar 25, 750*; — *The "Count-out"* — "*Keeping a House*," Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington *Mar 26, 798*; — *London Government Bill*, Questions, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Lord John Manners, Mr. J. G. Talbot, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Sir William Harcourt

{*cont.*PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*Business of the House and Public Business—cont.*

*Mar 27, 885*; — *Local Government Bill*, Questions, Viscount Lymington, Mr. Cheetham; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *April 1, 1280*; — *Local Taxation*, Questions, Mr. Pell, Lord John Manners, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Baldwin Leighton; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *April 1, 1282*; Question, Mr. Pell; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *April 3, 1508*; — *Business on Wednesday*, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *April 1, 1288*; — *Questions to Ministers*, Questions, Mr. Arthur Arnold, Mr. Healy, Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. Warton, Mr. Firth, Sir William Hart Dyke; Answers, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gladstone *April 3, 1505*; — *A Friday's Sitting*, Question, Mr. McLaren; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *April 3, 1508*; — *Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays Bill*, Question, Mr. Carbutt; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *April 3, 1525*; — *The Easter Recess*, Statement, Mr. Gladstone; short debate thereon *April 7, 1813*

## SITTINGS OF THE HOUSE

Resolved, "That, whenever the House meets at Two of the clock, the Sittings of the House shall be held subject to the Resolutions of the House of the 30th day of April 1889, *Mar 18*

*Parliamentary Papers, Distribution of—Free Public Libraries*, Question, Mr. Mac Iver; Answer, Mr. Courtney *April 3, 1498*

*Parliamentary Elections—Chelsea Liberal Association*, Notices of Questions, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Warton *Mar 24, 581*; Questions, Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, The Attorney General, Mr. Speaker *Mar 25, 746*

## PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS

*New Members Sworn*

*Mar 24*—Sir Robert Peel, baronet, *Huntingdon Borough*

Arthur John Thornhill, esquire, *Cambridge County*

William Hoey Kearney Redmond, esquire, *Wexford Borough*

*Parliamentary Oath (Mr. Bradlaugh)*

Letter received by Mr. Deputy Speaker from Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the Members for Northampton *Mar 31, 1137*

Moved, "That Mr. Bradlaugh be permitted to use the Library of this House, being otherwise subject to the Resolution of the 21st February" (*Sir Stafford Northcote*); after short debate, Motion agreed to

*Mr. Bradlaugh—The Library of the House*, Question, Mr. Newdegate; Answer, The Deputy Speaker *April 1, 1286*

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Cork City*

*Army Annual*, 2R. 1108; Comm. Motion for Adjournment, 1591, 1594; *add. cl.* 1740, 1749, 1755, 1767; Motion for reporting Progress, 1768, 1772, 1774

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Parliament—Business of the House, 311;—Easter Recess, 1815  
Public Business—Office of Speaker, 1175  
Summary Jurisdiction over Children (Ireland), 3R. Motion for Adjournment, 1597

### Patent Medicines Bill

(*Mr. Warton, Dr. Farquharson*)

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
Mar 26, 801  
Amendt. to leave out "now," add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. W. H. James*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put, and negatived  
Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off [Bill 9]  
Question, Mr. Warton; Answer, Mr. Muddella April 3, 1495

### Patents—International Convention

Question, Mr. B. Samuelson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice April 4, 1649

PATRICK, Mr. R. W. COCHRAN-, *Ayrshire, N.*

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### Payment of Wages in Public-Houses Prohibition Act, 1883—Evasion of the Act

Question, Mr. Bryce; Answer, Sir William Harcourt Mar 31, 1145

PEDDIE, Mr. J. DICK-, *Kilmarnock, &c.*  
Scotland—General Assembly of the Established Church—Representative Elders, 1799

PEEL, Right Hon. A. W. (*see* SPEAKER, The)

PEEL, Right Hon. Sir R., *Huntingdon*  
Representation of the People, 2R. 1196; Personal Explanation, 1525

PELL, Mr. A., *Leicestershire, S.*

Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. 787  
Local Taxation, Res. 1023, 1052, 1055, 1079, 1085, 1303  
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PHIPPS, Mr. C. P., *Westbury*

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays, 2R. 1414

PLAYFAIR, Right Hon. Sir Lyon, *Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities*

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*Removal of Paupers to Ireland*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke Mar 24, 619  
*The Poland Street Workhouse Inquiry*, Question, Lord Algernon Percy; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke Mar 28, 1012

### Poor Rates—Railway Book-stalls

Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. George Russell Mar 25, 736

### Portugal

*The Congo Treaty*, Question, Mr. Jacob Bright; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 18, 158; Questions, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Newdegate, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. A. J. Balfour; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington Mar 20, 301; Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice Mar 24, 594; Questions, Mr. Bourke; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, 606; Mar 27, 870; Question, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answer, Mr. Jacob Bright Mar 31, 1163; Questions, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. A. J. Balfour, Mr. Ritchie; Answers, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Jacob Bright, 1171; Question, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answer, Mr. Gladstone April 3, 1507; Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice April 7, 1804

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*The Mozambique Tariff—Duty on Textile Fabrics in Ships entering the Congo River, Question, Mr. Crum; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice Mar 31, 1157*

POST OFFICE (Questions)

*Acceleration of the Irish Mails, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Fawcett Mar 28, 1009*

*Contracts—The West India Mail Service, Questions, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley Mar 24, 607; April 7, 1813*

*Good Conduct Stripes for Postmen, Question, Sir Trevor Lawrence; Answer Mr. Fawcett Mar 24, 610*

*International Parcel Post, Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, Mr. Fawcett; Question, Mr. Warton; [no reply] April 3, 1484*

*Postage of Printed Matter, Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, Mr. Fawcett Mar 31, 1169*

*Surveyors' Clerks, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Mr. Fawcett April 3, 1474*

Telegraph Department

*Cheap Telegrams, Question, Mr. Puleston; Answer, Mr. Fawcett April 3, 1504*

*Telegraphic Communication between Scotland and England, Question, Mr. Buchanan; Answer, Mr. Fawcett Mar 17, 26*

Post Office Protection Bill

(Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Courtney)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup>\* April 1 [Bill 161]

POWER, Mr. J. O'Connor, Mayo

Representation of the People, 2R. 1880

POWERSCOURT, Viscount

Sunday Opening of National Museums and Galleries, Res. 429, 441

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882

*Adjournment of a Case at Petty Sessions under Section 7, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland Mar 28, 1005*

*Compensation for Malicious Burning—Mr. Waller, J.P., Moystown, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan April 4, 1655*

*Proclamations, Question, Mr. Archdale; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. Sexton; [no reply] Mar 25, 740*

*Section 8—Extra Police, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 17, 38*

*Application by Proclamation of Section 8 to the County of Louth, Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 28, 1006*

*Extra Police, Cork City, Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan Mar 31, 1155*

*Seizure of a Horse for Taxes levied under the Act, Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland Mar 31, 1164*

PRICE, Captain G. E., Devonport

Navy—Officers of the Royal Marines, 1651

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PRICE, Captain G. E.—cont.

Navy—Marine Artillery and Infantry, Motion for a Select Committee, 319

West Indies—Jamaica—The Franchise Commission, 459

Prisons (England and Wales)

*Chatham Convict Prison—Case of Denis Deasy, Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Sir William Harcourt Mar 24, 595*

*Mat Making, Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt April 4, 1645*

Public Health—Cremation

Questions, Dr. Cameron; Answers, Sir William Harcourt Mar 17, 37

Public Health (Members and Officers) Bill

(Sir John Kennaway, Mr. Cowen, Mr. Long)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup>\* April 2 [Bill 164]

Public Notaries Bill [H.L.]

(The Lord Monson)

l. Presented; read 1<sup>a</sup>\* April 3 (No. 53)

Public Prosecutor Act, 1879—Rules of Debate

Questions, Mr. Monk, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Warton, Mr. R. H. Paget; Answers, The Attorney General, Mr. Speaker Mar 25, 745

PULESTON, Mr. J. H., Devonport

Inland Revenue Officers—Out-door Department, 1171

Leaseholders (Facilities of Purchase of Fee Simple), 2R. 230

Metropolis—Hyde Park Corner—The Wellington Statue, 1470

Navy—Marine Artillery and Infantry, Motion for a Select Committee, 321

Post Office (Telegraph Department)—Cheap Telegrams, 1504

RAIKES, Right Hon. H. C., Cambridge University

Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement), Nomination of Select Committee, 1365

Representation of the People, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 712, 894, 907, 1352

Railway Commission—Legislation

Questions, Mr. R. H. Paget, Mr. Stuart-Wortley; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain April 3, 1501

Railways—Continuous Brakes—Legislation

Question, Earl De La Warr; Answer, Lord Sudeley Mar 31, 1122

RAMSAY, Mr. J., Falkirk, &c.

Infants, 2R. 835

**RANKIN, Mr. J., Leominster**  
Pauperism—Return of Causes for Individuals, 1610

**RATHBONE, Mr. W., Carnarvonshire**  
Local Taxation, Res. 1060

**READ, Mr. Clare S., Norfolk, W.**  
Contagious Diseases (Animals), 2R. 190; Personal Explanation, 310  
Local Taxation, Res. 1069, 1085

**Real Assets Administration Bill**  
(*Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. Warton*)  
c. Committee \*—R.P. Mar 19 [Bill 98]  
Committee—R.P. Mar 24, 1713  
Committee; Report April 7, 1916

**REDESDALE, Earl of (Chairman of Committees)**  
London, Reigate, and Brighton Railway, 414  
Metropolis—Hyde Park Corner—Site for the Wellington Statue, Motion for an Address, 572  
Parliament—Easter Recess—Adjournment, 735  
Parliament—Private Bills, Res. 155  
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays, 2R. 1445

**REDMOND, Mr. W. H. K., Wexford**  
Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy, Res. 1736  
Representation of the People, 2R. 1561  
Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1883, Appointment and Nomination of Select Committee, 1602

**REID, Mr. R. T., Hereford**  
Leaseholders (Facilities of Purchase of Fee Simple), 2R. 234, 239

**Representation of the People Bill**  
(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate*)

c. *Disqualification of the Police*, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, The Attorney General Mar 18, 163

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" Mar 24, 619

Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "this House declines to proceed further with a measure, having for its object the addition of two million voters to the electoral body of the United Kingdom, until it has before it the entire scheme contemplated by the Government for the amendment of the Representation of the People" (*Lord John Manners*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Raikes*) put, and agreed to; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed [Second Night] Mar 27, 893; after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. W. E. Forster*); after further short debate, Motion agreed to; Debate further adjourned

*Representation of the People Bill—cont.*

Debate resumed Mar 28, 1105; after short debate; Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Third Night] Mar 31, 1181; after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*); after further short debate, Motion agreed to; Debate further adjourned

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*The Marquess of Hartington*); Question put, and agreed to

Debate resumed [Fourth Night] April 1, 1303; after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Marriott*); after further short debate, Question put, and negatived

Question again proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after further debate, Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned," put, and agreed to; Debate further adjourned

Personal Explanation, Sir Robert Peel; Reply, Sir Charles W. Dilke April 3, 1525

Debate resumed [Fifth Night] April 3, 1551; after long debate, Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Stuart-Wortley*) put, and agreed to; Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed [Sixth Night] April 7, 1815; after long debate, Question put; A. 340, N. 210; M. 130

Div. List, A. and N., 1912

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup> [Bill 119]

**Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County) Bill**

(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan*)

c. Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* Mar 17 [Bill 124]

Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" Mar 21, 498; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Plunket*); after short debate, Question put; A. 67, N. 127; M. 60 (D. L. 49); it being ten minutes before Seven of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned

**Revision of Voters and Jurors Lists (Dublin County) [Salary]**

c. Res. considered in Committee, and agreed to Mar 26, 843

Res. reported Mar 27

**RIBBLESDALE, Lord**

Army—Royal Military College, Sandhurst—Examinations, 850

**RICHARD, Mr. H., Merthyr Tydvil**

Egypt (War in the Soudan)—General Gordon's Proclamation to the Tribes, 881

**RICHMOND AND GORDON, Duke of**

London, Reigate, and Brighton Railway, 415  
Medical Act Amendment, Comm. 261; Report, 1128, 1129

**RIDLEY, Sir M. W.,** *Northumberland, N.*  
Highways (Scotland)—County Road Trustees  
of Berwickshire, &c. 1263

**RITCHIE, Mr. C. T.,** *Tower Hamlets*

Criminal Law—Brutal Assaults, 1790  
Customs—Extra Messengers, 1490  
Parliament—Business of the House, 313  
Parliament—Notices of Motions and Orders  
of the Day, Motion for Postponement, 1302  
Portugal—Congo Treaty, 1172  
Representation of the People, 2R. 935

**ROGERS, Mr. J. E. Thorold,** *Southwark*  
Contagious Diseases (Animals), Personal Ex-  
planation, 310

**ROSEBERRY, Earl of**

Australian Colonies—Deportation of French  
Recidivists, 1002, 1004

**ROSS, Mr. C.,** *St. Ives*

Representation of the People, 2R. 606

**ROUNDELL, Mr. C. S.,** *Grantham*

College Charter Act, 1871—St. Paul's Hostel,  
Cambridge, 597  
Granting of Charters by the Board of Trade—  
Facilities for Opposition, 864

**Royal Courts of Justice Bill**

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Herbert Gladstone*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> \* Mar 17 [Bill 139]  
Read 2<sup>nd</sup> \* Mar 24

**Royal Irish Constabulary [Additional  
Officers, Salaries, &c.] Bill**

(*Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Solicitor General for  
Ireland*)

c. Res. considered in Committee, and agreed to  
April 1, 1888  
Res. reported; Bill ordered \* April 2

**RUSSELL, Mr. C.,** *Dundalk*

Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy, Res.  
1663  
Representation of the People, 2R. 1218

**RUSSELL, Mr. G. W. E.** (Parliamentary  
Secretary to the Local Government  
Board), *Aylesbury*

Poor Rates—Railway Book-Stalls, 737  
Representation of the People, 2R. 906, 907  
Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1883, Ap-  
pointment and Nomination of Select Com-  
mittee, 1600  
Vaccination Acts (Prosecutions)—Mr. J. A.  
Petvin, 18  
Water Supply (Metropolis)—The Filter Beds  
of the Southwark and Vauxhall Water Com-  
pany, 583

**RYLANDS, Mr. P.,** *Burnley*

Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. 783  
Metropolis—Hyde Park Corner—Site for the  
Wellington Statue, 1470

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays  
Bill**

(*Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Houlds-  
worth, Sir William M'Arthur, Mr. Walter  
James, Mr. Charles Ross, Mr. Charles Wilson,  
Mr. Caine*) [Bill 11]

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
April 2, 1889

Amendt. to leave out from "That," add  
"this House, whilst unable to concur  
in a proposal to close houses of refreshment  
during the whole of Sunday, is of opinion that  
the hours during which such houses are open  
on that day might be materially curtailed"  
(*Mr. John Talbot*) v.; Question proposed,  
"That the words, &c.;" after long debate,  
Debate adjourned

**SALISBURY, Marquess of**

Africa (South)—Transvaal Convention of 1881  
—Article 20, 10

Army—Royal Military College, Sandhurst—  
Examinations, 843, 853

Criminal Law Amendment, 2R. 1460

Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Khartoum,  
1614

Relief of General Gordon, 1125

H.R.H. the Duke of Albany—Address of Con-  
dolence to H.M. the Queen, 1120

Parliament—Private Bills, Res. 154

Sunday Opening of National Museums and  
Galleries, Res. 449

**SALT, Mr. T.,** *Stafford*

Egyptian War, 1882—The Indian Contingent  
—Case of Mr. Stringer, 856

Elementary Education Act (1876) — Pupil  
Teacher Grant, 830

**SAMUELSON, Mr. B.,** *Banbury*

International Convention on Patents, 1649

**SAMUELSON, Mr. H. B.,** *Frome*

Army (Annual), Comm. add. cl. 1771

*Science and Art Department—Working  
Men's Institute, Belfast*

Questions, Mr. Biggar; Answers, Mr. Mun-  
della April 3, 1481

**SCLATER-BOOTH, Right Hon. G.,** *Hants, N.*

Army Estimates, 1884-5—Land Forces, 129

Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. 784

Local Taxation, Res. 1056

Representation of the People, 2R. 1107

Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Depart-  
ments, &c. 391  
Report, 492

**SCOTLAND** (*Questions*)

*Criminal Law—Case of Lachlan M'Leod,*  
Questions, Mr. Biggar; Answers, The Lord  
Advocate Mar 27, 858; April 3, 1489

*Education—School Boards in Lewis,* Question,  
Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Mundella  
Mar 24, 595



## SCOTLAND—cont.

*General Assembly of the Established Church—Representative Elders—Legislation, Questions, Mr. Dick-Peddie, Mr. Dalrymple; Answers, The Lord Advocate April 7, 1779*

*Highways—County Road Trustees of Berwickshire, &c., Question, Sir Matthew White Ridley; Answer, Mr. Hibbert April 1, 1268*

*Law and Police—Case of Threatening Letter Writing at Rousay—Frederick Leonard, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, The Lord Advocate Mar 17, 17*

*Local Government Board—Secretary for Scotland, Questions, Mr. Buchanan, Sir Alexander Gordon, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answers, Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Speaker Mar 21, 455; Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Sir William Harcourt April 4, 1654; Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Sir William Harcourt April 7, 1791*

*Poor Law—Maintenance of Pauper Lunatics—Dumfries Parochial Boards, Question, Captain Maxwell-Heron; Answer, The Lord Advocate April 7, 1788*

*Post Office—The Postmastership of Keith, Question, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answer, Mr. Fawcett Mar 20, 30*

*Preservation of the Castle of St. Andrews, Question, Mr. Williamson; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre Mar 31, 1156*

*Sale of Newspapers at Waverley Railway Station, Edinburgh—Alleged Ill-usage of Children by Railway Officials, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Lord Advocate Mar 17, 29*

*The Highland Crofters—Report of the Royal Commission, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate April 3, 1503*

*The Sasine Office, Edinburgh, Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, Mr. Courtney Mar 20, 278*

## Scotland—Ordnance Survey

Moved, "That there be laid before the House, Copies of the Correspondence that has taken place between the Treasury and the Royal Society of Edinburgh as to the bathymetrical survey of the lochs of Scotland" (*The Lord Balfour*) Mar 18, 151; after short debate, Motion agreed to

SELBORNE, Earl of (*see* CHANCELLOR, The LORD)SELLAR, Mr. A. C., *Haddington, &c.*

Parliament—Private Bill Committees, 1145, 1146

Representation of the People, 2R. 1208

SELWIN-IBBETSON, Sir H. J., *Essex, W.*

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays, 2R. 1427

## Settled Land Bill [H.L.]

(*The Earl Cairns*)

Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> \* April 3 (No. 52)

SEXTON, Mr. T., *Sligo*

Army (Annual), 2R. 1111, 1114; Comm. 1593; *add. cl.* Motion for reporting Progress, 1764, 1766; Amendt. 1775, 1777

Copyhold Enfranchisement, Res. Nomination of Select Committee, 1115

Dominion of Canada—The Orange Society, 593, 594

Excise—Foreign-bound Ships' Stores, 743

Freshwater Fisheries Act Amendment, *Consid. cl.* 6, 556

## Ireland—Questions

Arrears of Rent Act, 1882—Lieut.-Colonel Digby, 1486, 1487, 1488

Crime and Outrage—Outrages in Kilkenny, 299

Emigration—Sligo Board of Guardians, 1270, 1271;—Rev. T. Heany, 1649, 1650

Encumbered Estates Court—Mr. George Bolton, 1644

Intermediate Education Act—Roman Catholic Examiners, 609

Landlord and Tenant—Illegal Distress—Mr. Arthur Hamill, County Court Judge, 869

Law and Justice—Catholic and Orange Witnesses, 1152—Spring Assizes—Return of Members of Parliament not summoned to serve on Grand Juries, 1016, 1017

Licensing Laws—Case of Daniel O'Neill, 1020

Poor Law—Sligo Union, 1271;—Election of Chairman, &c. 1795

Prevention of Crime Act, 1882 (Proclamations), 741, 1006;—Co. Louth, 1007

Prisons—Deaths in Waterford Gaol, 1502, 1806

Rev. Mr. Firth, 1001, 1012

Royal Irish Constabulary—Phoenix Park Depot, 22

## Ireland—Magistracy—Questions

Disqualification of Dispensary Doctors, 1153, 1154

Eligibility of Poor Law Medical Officers—Dr. Flannery—Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo, 1794, 1795

Enniscrone (Co. Sligo) Magistrates—Inequality of Sentences, 452

Enniskillen Petty Sessions—Captain M'Ternan, R.M.—Meeting of the Magistrates, 1782, 1783, 1807, 1808

High Sheriff of Drogheda, 586, 587

Mr. Richard Harvey, Government Stamp Distributor at Drogheda, 1650

## Ireland, State of—Questions

Meetings of the National League—Intrusion of the Police, 21, 877

Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Extra Police, 38

Riots at Ballymote, 297, 299

Riots at Londonderry—Report of the Commission of Inquiry, 1160;—Trial of Thomas Doherty at Sligo, 300

Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy, Res. 1687, 1698, 1708

Law and Justice (England and Wales)—Welsh Juries, 739

Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement), Nomination of Select Committee, 1361

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**SEXTON, Mr. T.—*cont.***

- Representation of the People, 2R. 1248  
 Royal Irish Constabulary [Additional Officers, Salaries, &c.], Res. 1118  
 Summary Jurisdiction over Children (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 4, 981; Motion for reporting Progress, 983, 984, 985, 986; 3R. 1597  
 Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Departments, 404, 411  
 Report, 495, 498  
 Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1883, Appointment and Nomination of Select Committee, 1603

**SHAFTESBURY, Earl of**

- Sunday Opening of National Museums and Galleries, Res. Amendt. 430, 449

**SHEIL, Mr. E., *Meath Co.***

- Ireland—Emigration—Mr. Tuke's Committee, 35  
 Labourers' Act, 1883, 587;—Inquiry at Cavan, Co. Meath, 588  
 Metropolitan Railway (Park Railway and Parliament Street Improvement), Nomination of Select Committee, Motion for Adjournment, 1361, 1362

**SLAGG, Mr. J., *Manchester***

- High Court of Justice (Provincial Sittings), 740  
 Spain—Commercial Negotiations, 742

**SMITH, Right Hon. W. H., *Westminster***

- Army Estimates, 1884-5—Land Forces, 128  
 Inland Revenue—Solicitors' Licences, 291  
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 Navy Estimates—Sea and Coastguard Services, &c. 366, 376, 384, 385, 387  
 New Forest—Woods and Plantations—Receipt and Expenditure, 1141, 1803  
 Parliament—Arrangement of Public Business, 1653  
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 Supply—Army Estimates, 1884-5—Departmental Statement, 120

**SMITH, Mr. S., *Liverpool***

- Africa (West Coast)—Consul Hewett, 296  
 Contagious Diseases Acts—Tables of Comparison, 890  
 Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays, 2R. 1404

**SOLICITOR GENERAL, The (Sir FARRER HERSCHELL), *Durham***

- Real Assets Administration, Comm. 713, 717; *cl.* 2, 1918

**SOMERSET, Duke of**

- Sunday Opening of National Museums and Galleries, Res. 439

**Southampton Corporation (Cemetery, &c.) Bill (by Order)**

- c.* Considered Mar 31, 1130

**Southern Pacific—South Sea Islanders**

- Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice Mar 17, 52

**Spain**

- Commercial Negotiations, Question, Mr. Slagg; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice Mar 25, 742  
*Gibraltar—The "Marianne Notobohn,"* Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley Mar 24, 584

**SPEAKER, The (Right Hon. Arthur W. PEEL), *Warwick***

- Army (Term of Service), Res. 60  
 Army (Annual), 2R. 980  
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 Bishops (House of Peers), Res. 542  
 Copyhold Enfranchisement, Res. Nomination of Select Committee, 1117  
 Cork Butter Market, 273; Instruction to the Committee, 578  
 Egypt (Military Operations in the Soudan)—Colonel Burnaby, 49  
 Policy of H.M. Government, 1528  
 Egypt (Military Operations in the Eastern Soudan)—Policy of the Government, Res. 765  
 India—Export of Wheat, 890  
 Ireland—Lunatic Asylums—Cork District Lunatic Asylum—Disposal of Deceased Patients, 743  
 Poor Law—Athlone Board of Guardians—Election of Chairman, 1480  
 Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy, Res. 1675, 1687, 1700, 1732  
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 Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, 2R. 842, 843  
 Parliament—Questions  
 Business of the House, 616, 1506;—Easter Recess, 1815  
 New Rules of Procedure—"Blocking," 892  
 Rules of Debate—Production of Official Documents, 1022  
 Parliamentary Elections—Chelsea Liberal Association, 747, 748  
 Public Prosecutor Act, 1879—Rules of Debate, 745  
 Revision of Jurors and Voters Lists (Dublin County), Comm. 500  
 Supply, Report, 488, 498

**SPENCER, Hon. C. R., *Northamptonshire, N.***

- Representation of the People, 2R. 914

**STANHOPE, Earl**

- Ecclesiastical Commissioners—House Property in Southwark, Motion for a Paper, 559  
 Education Code, The New—Article 107 B, Motion for an Address, 1261

STANHOPE, Hon. E., *Lincolnshire, Mid*  
 Bankruptcy Act, 1883—Case of Mr. Kirkby,  
 870, 871  
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STANLEY, Right Hon. Colonel F. A.,  
*Lancashire, N.*

Army (Dress of the Army)—Feather Head-  
 Dress of the Highland Regiments, 65  
 Army Estimates, 1884-5—Land Forces, Mo-  
 tion for reporting Progress, 123, 134

STANLEY, Hon. E. L., *Oldham*  
 Education Code, Motion for an Address, 1387

STANSFELD, Right Hon. J., *Halifax*  
 Representation of the People, 2R. 1345

STEVENSON, Mr. J. C., *South Shields*  
 Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays, 2R.  
 1389

STORER, Mr. G., *Nottinghamshire, S.*  
 Contagious Diseases (Animals), Comm. 791  
 Contagious Diseases (Animals)—Rumoured  
 Orders for Closing Cattle Markets, 1174  
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 1449

*Straits Settlements—The Rajah of Tenom*  
*—Crew of the "Nisero"*

Questions, Mr. C. M. Palmer; Answers, Lord  
 Edmond Fitzmaurice *April 7, 1798*

STRATHEDEN AND CAMPBELL, Lord  
 Metropolis—Hyde Park Corner—Site for the  
 Wellington Statue, Motion for an Address,  
 561, 572  
 Re-union of Austria, Germany, and Russia,  
 Motion for an Address, 1629, 1641

STRATHNAIRN, Lord  
 Army—Royal Military College, Sandhurst—  
 Examinations, 851  
 Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Relief of  
 General Gordon, 1124

STRUTT, Hon. C. H., *Essex, E.*  
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SUDELEY, Lord  
 Isle of Man Harbours, 2R. 1253  
 Metropolis—Hyde Park Corner—Site for the  
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*Suez Canal—New English Directors*  
 Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers,  
 The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Mar 17,*  
 19

SULLIVAN, Mr. T. D., *Westmeath*  
 Army (Annual), Comm. *add. cl.* 1774  
 Ireland—Magistracy—Coronership of West-  
 meath, 1793  
 Ireland—Constitution of the Magistracy, Res.  
 1678  
 Supply—Civil Services and Revenue Depart-  
 ments, 402

Summary Jurisdiction over Children  
 (Ireland) Bill (*Mr. Gibson, Sir Richard*  
*Wallace, Mr. Blake, Mr. Corry*)

c. Committee; Report *Mar 27, 980* [Bill 75]  
 Considered \* *Mar 28*

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3<sup>o</sup>"  
*April 3, 1597*; after short debate, Moved,  
 "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr.*  
*Parnell*); Question put, and agreed to; De-  
 bate adjourned

Summary Jurisdiction (Repeal &c.) Bill  
 (*Mr. Hibbert, Secretary Sir William Harcourt*)  
 c. 2R. deferred, after short debate *April 3, 1596*  
 [Bill 55]

Superannuation Bill  
 (*Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Courtney*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Mar 21* [Bill 146]

## SUPPLY

*Army Estimates—The Medical Vote*, Question,  
 Mr. Guy Dawnay; Answer, The Marquess  
 of Hartington *Mar 20, 305*  
*The Education Estimates*, Question, Mr. J. G.  
 Talbot; Answer, Mr. Mundella *Mar 27,*  
 884

## SUPPLY

Considered in Committee *Mar 17, 101*—ARMY  
 ESTIMATES, 1884-5—Departmental Statement  
 of the Secretary of State for War  
 Resolutions reported *Mar 18*

[See title *Army (Annual) Bill*]

Resolutions [March 14] reported, and, after  
 debate, agreed to *Mar 17, 145*  
 Resolutions [March 15] reported, and, after  
 debate, agreed to *Mar 17, 146*  
 Considered in Committee *Mar 20, 362*—NAVY  
 ESTIMATES—CIVIL SERVICES (VOTE ON AC-  
 COUNT, £3,531,050)  
 Resolutions reported and, after short debate,  
 agreed to *Mar 21, 481*

SYDNEY, Earl (Lord Steward)  
 H.R.H. the Duke of Albany—Her Majesty's  
 Answer to the Address, 1453

TALBOT, Mr. J. G., *Oxford University*  
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c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> *April 2* [Bill 163]

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c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> *Mar 28* [Bill 159]

Waterworks Rating Bill

(*Mr. Dodds, Mr. Barran, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Northcote, Mr. Coddington*)

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Considered in Committee *Mar 17*

Resolved, That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the Service of the years ending on the 31st days of March 1883 and 1884, the sum of £1,384,655 14s. 10d., be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom Resolution reported, and agreed to *Mar 18*

[See title *Consolidated Fund (No. 1) Bill*]

Considered in Committee *Mar 20*

Resolved, That towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the Service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885, the sum of £10,432,850, be granted out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom

Resolution reported, and agreed to *Mar 21*

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